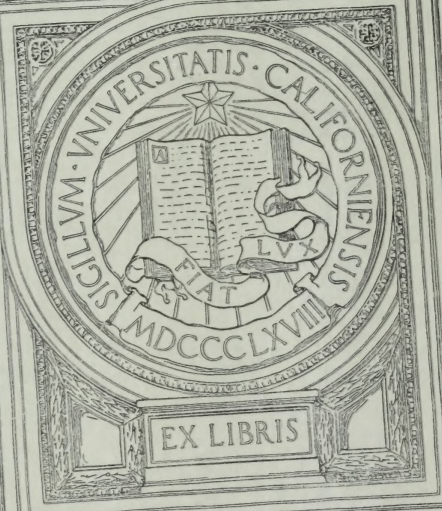
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INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND

BY

HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE

NEW AND REVISED EDITION

WITH ANNOTATIONS AND AN INTRODUCTION

BY

JOHN M. ROBERTSON

AUTHOR OF "BUCKLE AND HIS CRITICS," "MODERN HUMANISTS," ETC.



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LONDON
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LIMITED
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO

171050

EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE present is an absolutely complete reprint of Buckle's work, with a new index. The two volumes in which it originally appeared (1857–61) bore the title *History of Civilization in England*, their subject-matter, however, being simply the uncompleted "General Introduction" to the projected work so entitled. The old title-page (preserved in the three-volume edition) was thus something of a misnomer, and this has been corrected.

It was suggested to Buckle, before the issue of his second volume, that he himself should publish a popular edition of his book without the notes. It is now reprinted, with all the notes and many fresh annotations, at a lower price than would have been charged in Buckle's day for an abridgment. Even notes that might have been held redundant are faithfully reproduced, so that the student can everywhere judge of Buckle's work for himself; and the editor's notes are scrupulously distinguished from his by brackets, and by the absence of reference numbers. Buckle's references in his second volume to the first are of course altered to apply to the present edition. A few small grammatical errors, evidently due to his weak health at the period of publication, have been corrected; but where correction would involve interference with the cadence or structure of a sentence, even grammatical laxities have been left untouched.

Some difference of opinion may arise on a point which has given the editor some perplexity—the question,

namely, as to the length to which he should carry annotation. To some he may seem to have carried it too far: others may count him remiss in omitting to question certain passages. His rule has been to avoid discussion of indeterminable issues, such as the proposition on page 13 that Homer and Shakspere have been the "most accurate investigators of the human mind"; or that on page 222 as to the relative merits of Barrow and Taylor; or the opinion that Whitefield has been the most passion-moving orator since the apostles. But wherever he has noted a mis-statement of historical fact, a fallacy of argument, or an inconsistency of theory or phrase, he has sought to rectify it, even at the risk of seeming officious.

Realizing the difficulty of supervising so discursive a student as Buckle in all his various fields, he has taken competent counsel as to the sections which treat of physiological matters; and in regard to the political and intellectual history of Scotland, with which Buckle deals so fully, he has had welcome aid from a vigilant student. Finally he is much indebted to Mr. Ernest Newman for taking on himself the laborious task of revising the whole of the proofs. The result, he hopes, is a worthily correct text.

J. M. R.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

I

It is said concerning Buckle, by one who talked with him, that "a book that would not descend to posterity was evidently one for which he had but scant respect." The test is at least one which every book must pass in order to be proved important; and Buckle himself has thus far passed it easily. His book now enters on its period of non-copyright sale; and all who have followed its fortunes know that there still awaits it a large welcome from a new generation.

Of the select list of serious works which have passed thus far down the stream of time since his day, few have weathered more opposition. Only Darwin and Strauss among his contemporaries, perhaps, gave a more serious shock to standing opinions: and in his case the vivacity of the attack elicited a proportional resentment. For a generation, most notices of his book in his own country were hostile. Latterly there has been a lull in the criticism; but all the while the treatise has been doing its work for thousands of readers—preparing their minds, that is, for the reception of a science of human history. Whatever may be thought of its merit, its place in culture-evolution is clear. Where Darwin definitely brought within the scope of scientific law the phenomena of biology, as previous pioneers had done those of geology and astronomy, Buckle began anew the most complicated and difficult task of all—the reduction to law of the phenomena of social evolution. The harder task might well be more imperfectly done; but the utility of his great effort is substantially proved by the persistent interest it evokes. Other scientific thinkers of his day, approaching the same problem on different sides, have had similar success; and it is not our business here to weigh his work against theirs. Suffice it to say that Buckle's plan of reaching social science inductively through a study of history, with the help of economics and statistics, has its special value as compared with Comte's method

of deductive construction and prescription, and Spencer's great survey of social anatomy and functional life in terms of the total process of evolution.

II

The first duty, however, of those who now republish Buckle is to see that his work is revised. The analogy of those of Gibbon and Adam Smith—to name no others—reminds us that the very qualities of originality and comprehensiveness which give the pioneer's work its importance, set up a need for revision. Sir William Hamilton, in editing the works of Reid as "the best result of Scottish speculation," is constrained to oppugn his author in scores of notes, some of them stringently condemnatory. Any one who will consult further the index of McCulloch's edition of the *Wealth of Nations*, under the heading "Smith, Dr.," will find two and a half columns of entries in small type, nearly all referring to errors of fact or argument in the text. "Erroneous," "wrong," "oversight," "mistaken," "overstates," "exaggerates," "defective"—such are the constantly recurring terms of the references. If such criticism, passed by an appreciative disciple, hold good of the greatest of economic classics, described by Buckle as probably the most important book ever written, Buckle's own work cannot conceivably escape the need for overhauling.

It is thus the invidious function of the editor of such an issue as the present to make his notes turn mainly on what he holds to be errors or oversights, either of statement or argument; and Buckle's range of detail and theory is so immense that the proposed corrections are not less numerous than those advanced by McCulloch in his edition of Smith. But the attentive reader will soon realize that all this is in the normal way of things literary; and that mistakes in detail, which no pioneer can escape, do not affect the service which such a work is fitted to render. Already there has accumulated a large body of specialist demurrers to the statements and theories of Darwin; and in the recent anonymous work, *The Primrose and Darwinism* (1902), the great naturalist will be found to have incurred charges of positive error of observation, and vitiating error of experimental method, in addition to the decisive objections already sustained by some of his ablest disciples against some of his generalizations. Buckle, we may be sure, would warmly have disclaimed any favourable comparison of his work with that of Bacon, whom he so profoundly admired; but we may fitly note that equally warm

admirers admit the presence of much downright rubbish in the total work of that great stimulator of sound thinking.

It is a significant if not a surprising fact that of the corrections which have to-day to be made on Buckle's performance only a mere handful were noted by the hostile critics of the past generation. Of the charges of error brought by them against him, as it happens, the great majority are sheer misconceptions of his plainest teaching. The last of the many instances I have met with is the statement of Professor Jevons that "Buckle referred the character of a nation to the climate and the soil of its abode."[1] This is a repetition of a statement made by several other writers of high standing; and the reader who will attentively peruse the second chapter of this book will see that it completely misrepresents him. What he taught was that climate and soil in early civilizations determined (*a*) the food supply, and so (*b*) the degree of population, and (*c*) their economic condition; besides further affecting them as regards the regularity or intermittence of their industry. For the rest, no one ever laid more stress on the operation of the "intellectual laws," which in Europe he declared to countervail the physical.

Where a thinker like Professor Jevons could thus misread and misjudge, others multiplied misconception and injustice. The explanation is simple. Buckle, like Gibbon and Smith before him, and like Darwin in his own day, called upon men to look at the process of things through new windows, and most of the opposition to him, as to them, came from men who denied either that he had opened any windows, or that through his anything could be truly seen. Beginning in a state of oppugnancy, they impugned whatever in his argument looked like new principles, and struck angrily at the nearest of his generalizations. Invited by him to recognize natural laws in the whole course of human affairs, where formerly they had seen mystery or "providence," they resisted every step in the argument, and sought on the way to discredit him on points of fact without having made any all-round survey. A study of much of their criticism gives one the impression that the first flight of them never read him with patience; and unfortunately these were followed by others who, less prejudiced, were yet content to regard him as discredited. Yet the valid objections, whether general or particular, hitherto brought against Buckle's work are notably few; and they are found nearly always to come from men who, while finding him at fault in matters within their special field, yet were in sym-

[1] *Letters and Journal of Stanley Jevons*, 1886, p. 454.

pathy with his general attitude to his problem. We to-day, accepting his principles and his method, and looking sympathetically, yet critically, through the windows he opened, can detect ten errors of fact or argument for every one noted in the past by his avowed enemies. It was so with Gibbon, whose contemporary opponents, misdirected by their very antagonism, heaped up against him mostly idle charges, where his scholarly modern disciple, Mr. Bury, can make real corrections. Similarly, the completest body of criticism passed upon the *Wealth of Nations* was that of McCulloch, who regarded Smith as the true founder of economic science ; and the correction of Darwin in turn is being done by convinced Darwinians.

III

The present editor, unfortunately, can claim no such competence for his task as some of these have shown for theirs. He can but plead that the task here is an uncommonly extensive one, that no one else has shown any disposition to take it up, and that he has grappled with it as best he could after much sympathetic study of Buckle's work, in the conviction that its essentially sound teaching can best be furthered by an impartial scrutiny of all its details. He is sure that the book can do for others what it once did for him—give a far-reaching guidance over the great field of the history of social evolution, and a vivid and lasting stimulus to the exploration. Some even of what in the eye of a mature student are the formal faults in Buckle's work—in particular its tendency to enthusiastic declamation—are rather helps than hindrances to us all in an earlier stage of our studies ; and perhaps those who have ripened most in the later stages will be the readiest to admit that his faults are the faults of a man of genius.

Certain it is that students of all degrees of culture are found to delight in his energy and variety. At his best, indeed, he cannot be surpassed in the great qualifications of fulness of knowledge, breadth of grasp, and vivacity and lucidity of presentment. In respect of these powers, he brought a freshness and force of interest into historical matters, that not even his greatest predecessors had compassed. He is fuller of colour than Montesquieu, and more abundantly and exactly informative than Voltaire—two early masters of socio-historical exposition, to whom he paid generously just tribute. Even if his theories of social causation be ignored, he remains one of the most interesting of historians ; and nowhere else, thus far, can there be found more illuminating surveys of

national and epochal evolution than he has made in the histories of England, France, Spain, and Scotland.

Since he wrote, new histories of Spain and Scotland have been produced by thoroughly qualified scholars, who enable us to rectify some of his slips ; but they leave us as appreciative as ever of his peculiar gift of presenting the total movement and causal sequence of the lives of the nations. So with the periods of English and French history with which he has dealt in this unfinished Introduction : fresh and fruitful investigations help us to revise his judgments, but leave his service to comprehension only the clearer.

IV

Needless to say, however, Buckle is to be read not merely for his colligations of historical detail, but further for his doctrine as to historical causation. If he were not substantially right in his reiterated thesis that human history is in its own way reducible to science, his book would be in the main a mistake ; for it was to illustrate historical law that he planned and wrote it. On the general question, though eminent persons in England, still proffer negatives, the judgment of modern thought is now definitely on his side. Even in the England of a quarter of a century ago Mr. Huxley pronounced sociology, perhaps prematurely, a constituted science ; and to-day, though there is still not a single sociological chair in the United Kingdom, there are so many in France, Germany, Italy and the United States, that it is practically certain we cannot much longer do without them. In *L'Année Sociologique* for 1902 there are noted one hundred and sixty-five " sociological " works published in Germany, one hundred and forty-six in France, fifty-two in England, forty-eight in Italy, and thirty in the United States. Of the one hundred and forty-six French books twenty-six deal with sociology proper—the study and elucidation of social processes— nine being devoted to its objects and methods, as against five in Italy, two in the United States, two in Germany and *none* in England. These figures tell of our backwardness, but they broadly suggest that nearly everywhere else men are establishing scientific views of social causation.

While, however, the possibility of a true science of social evolution is thus increasingly recognized, in the light of the first principles of all science, its details, needless to say, are under constant discussion ; and it is not to be supposed that Buckle can escape gainsaying. After looking all round his work more than once, the present writer is disposed to say that its shortcomings

are in the ordinary way of pioneer experience. Every pioneer tends on the one hand to think at times on the plane of the current misconceptions from which he has broken away, and on the other hand to propose incomplete reconstructions. Smith and Darwin unquestionably did so ; and Buckle similarly fell short. Setting out with the doctrine that all human progress is in terms of the interaction of organism and environment, and recognizing that instead of setting down total racial experience to a total race character we must look for our explanations in the total experience, he more than once lapses into the old occultist way of discussing a nation's forwardness or backwardness as a matter of racial fault or merit. This, which some people regard as an antidote to fatalism, is essentially a fatalistic conception, tending to shut out the true view, that in matters social a comprehension of conditions is already a change of conditions.

As regards his special theses, again, Buckle exhibits the usual difficulty of *correlating* new theories. He rightly affirms, among other things, (1) that new knowledge is the essential condition of material and moral betterment, and (2) that a relatively moderate play of climatic forces tends to evoke a relatively large measure of human energy. But in explaining the rise of European civilization he does not reconcile those propositions. He writes as if the special evocation of human energy in Europe by the parsimony or passivity of nature sufficed to produce the needed knowledge. Yet he had also shewn (3) that for the accumulation of knowledge there were originally needed some such natural conditions as are seen in ancient Egypt, Mexico, Peru and India, the accumulation of wealth being antecedent to that of knowledge.

To rectify the exposition we have to note that the higher European civilization is derivative, first by way of Mediterranean contacts with the civilizations of Egypt and Western Asia, then by way of Mediterranean contacts with northern barbarism. Buckle indeed, though in his note-book he had transcribed Grote's statements about it, came too early for the full recognition of the first process, which is only now being properly realized ; but he should have noted the later dependence of all north-European civilization on that of the south. It is somewhat remarkable that his immense reading does not appear to include more than the most prominent works of previous sociologists, and that he does not mention such Scottish and French writers of the previous three generations as Millar, Dunbar, Volney, Walckenaer, and Salverte, who indeed frequently coincide with him, but whose ideas might at times have suggested to

him new developments. Even to the treatises of the greater sociologists of the past, as Bodin, Machiavelli, Vico and Montesquieu, he gives no very searching attention. The explanation seems to be that he had a good deal of what he regarded as the English instinct for induction, and preferred to approach and present his theory by way of masses of fact, which the older writers had not collected. The defect that is apt to attach to this otherwise priceless method is the non-correlation of the theories thus approached. Thus, after telling us that in Europe nature evokes more energy both of mind and body than elsewhere, Buckle gives us a copious and interesting chapter which sets forth the almost complete lack of mental initiative in European life between the fall of the Western Empire and the beginning of the Renaissance. Fresh facts, no doubt, would point to the solution, but a due regard to theoretic construction would have prevented the hiatus.

Another common drawback of the inductive habit is that when the student does proceed to draw his conclusions he is apt to err permanently from lack of the habit of theoretic synthesis. All early errors of quasi-scientific belief, broadly speaking, stood for incomplete inductions. Men observed a certain number of phenomena and generalized from them, where a great many more phenomena needed to be taken into account before they could understand the problem. And as induction is always liable to be thus incomplete, the deductive check is essential where, in the nature of the case, there cannot be that " universal agreement " which is the sole sufficient inductive evidence. Thus Buckle at times pushes a generalization beyond its true area. He is not uniform in his mastery of periods. Of the Scotland of the seventeenth century, and the Spain of the eighteenth, his knowledge is comprehensive and luminous ; no man before him ever grasped a period more vitally or presented it more vividly. But when he goes about to trace the antecedents, and shape his formula of causation, he makes a less complete inquest, being primed by his impression of the later evolution, so that we get from him statements which are reached rather by deduction than by induction, yet are not deductively harmonized. In the untranslatable French phrase, he is *trop simpliste* : he makes the evolution more straightforward and homogeneous than it really was, thus erring both inductively and deductively.

Sometimes, again, as in his account of the French intellectual evolution of the eighteenth century, he even misreads a generalization framed by a predecessor, here proceeding on a mere

hypothesis, when a simple scrutiny of the bibliographical facts would have kept him right ; or, yet again, when possessed by a doctrine such as that of *laissez faire*, he makes a mass of evidence, such as the history of the reign of Louis XIV, yield a foregone conclusion, and makes no allowance for multiplicity of causation. His service, in short, is that of a great pioneer, a strenuous path-breaker, a stimulator : in the vast imbroglio of historical fact he sees or sets up currents of coördination, electrifying us with a new sense of mastery and comprehension : he is not the final and accurate codifier of sociological law. His success, in short, whatever be its degree, is of the *kind* attained by Montesquieu, by Adam Smith, by Comte, by Herder, by Darwin. As pioneering success goes, that is no trifle ; and on this head we should always keep before us a wise saying of his own, penned when he was near the end of what he was able to achieve. The process of scientific advance, he writes " is always so slow, that no single discovery has ever been made except by the united labours of several generations. In estimating, therefore, what each man has done, we must judge him not by the errors he commits but by the truths he propounds. Most of his errors are not really his own. He inherits them from his predecessors ; and if he throws some of them off we should be grateful, instead of being dissatisfied that he has not rejected all." We may note an obvious case in point. One of the most pervasive of his minor faults of method, the habit of ascribing unity of opinion, action, and character to whole nations—as when he says that " the Spanish," " the Scotch " and " the French " acted and thought in certain ways—is but an extension into his sociology of an inveterate popular hallucination, rooting in elementary psychosis and elementary political feeling.

V

When, applying the only final critical test, the comparative, we set against Buckle's work that of any or all of the other socio-historical writers of his day, or even of ours, we realize further that even his shortcomings are not salient as beside theirs, while his positive attainment is signally greater. It is possible for a biassed judge, with a one-sided method, to belittle him as beside Darwin, or Herder, or Spencer, or even Comte ; but it is not possible to put him at a disadvantage as beside the other men who undertook to explain history. Some of his critics were perhaps warranted in calling some of his propositions crude, but

the fact remains that none of those critics, any more than any of his competitors, has thus far superseded or even improved upon his performance. He is practically the first historical sociologist of the modern scientific movement. Other men, working on special lines, had reached a number of the general facts, economic and geographical, on which he founded, but none before him had turned them to a creative historical purpose. After all deduction for error, he remains a more satisfactory interpreter of history than Comte, whose power is at its highest in abstract synthesis ; and he is on this side clearly complementary to Mr. Spencer, who studies the anatomy of social frame rather than its variously conditioned activities and their psychic reactions. At his best, when fully faithful to his chosen method, he yields us the satisfaction that belongs only to a true scientific solution ; and even when his solution is inadequate it carries the compensation that has been justly ascribed to the errors of the wise, that of arousing and warning and instructing the judgment where the bare record of the facts which he sought to elucidate would have done no new service whatever.

In this way Buckle's remarkable discursiveness, sometimes censured as an intellectual vice, is finally educative. It so opens up new lines of association as to produce a widened sense of the interplay of social forces and a new alertness of attention to their phenomena. The result is that after we have appreciatively read him, hardly any history satisfies us, so poorly does the average narrative feed the curiosity he aroused. Since his day, indeed, there has been much talk of bringing into history the " new " method—really as old as Voltaire—of keeping national life-conditions in the foreground and the mere political kaleidoscope in the background ; but it is only within the past decade or so that the promise has been at all fulfilled ; and the average history still falls far short of it. Not one student in a thousand, perhaps, combines Buckle's qualifications in respect of knowledge of languages, of science, of economics, and of the subsidiary literature of history, as travels, memoirs, and theology. Doubtless his variety was at times a snare to him, in particular when he passed from the empirical testimony of statistics to the metaphysic of " law " and causation, a kind of problem for which he had no great faculty, or at least no sufficient discipline. But these lapses he commits in the company of Darwin, for one ; and even in committing them he sets up a criticism that clears the air. The whole matter is more intelligible since he stirred it ; and no one seemed to have thought of clearing it up before him.

VI

Lastly, Buckle is to be appreciated, like every other author, in the light of his physical life. Criticism of his work takes on a different aspect when it is realized that it was done by a self-trained student whose health was always feeble, and who achieved it all before he was thirty-nine years old. Much of it, indeed, was done before he was thirty ; it is in short, as historiography goes, a young man's performance ; and it is one of the proofs of its potency that we nevertheless cannot so think of it save with an effort. He was in reality mentally as well as physically aged when he sank in the middle of his planned task ; and yet it has never had the gain of revision in the light of mature experience. There are few more pathetic passages in literary biography than those in which he breaks off his exposition to confess that he can never fulfil his great original plan, and that even the shrunken scheme to which he had soon learned to narrow it was likely to be too much for his shaken powers. He was physically faltering on his path years before the end ; his tone after his mother's death is that of an aged and lonely man ; and even if he had not in 1862 succumbed to fever on his eastern journey, undertaken to rest his brain and refresh his spirits, it is doubtful whether he could have held out to the extent of completing even the plan of his Introduction. It is thus, in the words of his sympathetic biographer, Mr. Huth, the fragment of a fragment.

It is, however, a fragment which only a man of genius could have wrought, and the total scheme was one which only an original and powerful mind could have framed. In these aspects Buckle is abundantly revealed to us in Mr. Huth's deeply interesting narrative, concerning which a formerly hostile critic has admitted that in reading it his mental attitude towards Buckle was radically changed. It is indeed impossible, after thus learning how warm a heart went with the great brain, how much unselfish goodness with the rigorous theory of social *laissez faire* which he expounded, to be misled either by the aspersions of his enemies or by his own occasional violences of judgment. These are to be found chiefly in the latter part of his work, where failing strength and the perturbing consciousness of it set up at times an extravagant vehemence of diction, away from the purpose and spirit of sociology. And even in these closing sections he was making an intellectual impact on the national life which no other man had had the courage to attempt, and of which the effect is not yet spent.

There is thus in his life and work a total effect of originality and power, whatever criticism we may pass on his treatment of any one problem. Born in 1821, so sickly a child that he could scarcely stand a modicum of schooling, and surrounded by the reactionary influences of that period, he built up for himself, from the age of nineteen, a comprehensive and critical knowledge which no English publicist of his day could surpass, and brought it into order and coherence with an industry which would have been admirable in a strong man—all this in an environment about as little favourable to original thinking as any man ever innovated in. He was one of the cases, always rare and now growing rarer, of a man of independent means devoting his life to studious toil for sheer love of ideas. Perpetually studying on his travels, he mastered nineteen languages, and with all his hard work he was one of the first chess players of his time. Could such exuberance of mental power but have been lodged in a sound body, the world would have had from him a great performance indeed. As it is, he has left the record of a personality not easily to be forgotten, and a book that will not soon cease to interest and instruct. Placed as it now is within reach of the people, with the needed safeguards against its oversights, it will find the audience which above all he desired to have for it, and which will probably not be the slowest to assimilate its message.

J. M. R.

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CHAPTER XIX

AN EXAMINATION OF THE SCOTCH INTELLECT DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE RESOURCES FOR INVESTIGATING HISTORY, AND PROOFS OF THE REGULARITY OF HUMAN ACTIONS. THESE ACTIONS ARE GOVERNED BY MENTAL AND PHYSICAL LAWS: THEREFORE BOTH SETS OF LAWS MUST BE STUDIED, AND THERE CAN BE NO HISTORY WITHOUT THE NATURAL SCIENCES.

Of all the great branches of human knowledge, history is that upon which most has been written, and which has always been most popular. And it seems to be the general opinion that the success of historians has, on the whole, been equal to their industry; and that if on this subject much has been studied, much also is understood.

This confidence in the value of history is very widely diffused, as we see in the extent to which it is read, and in the share it occupies in all plans of education. Nor can it be denied that, in a certain point of view, such confidence is perfectly justifiable. It cannot be denied that materials have been collected which, when looked at in the aggregate, have a rich and imposing appearance. The political and military annals of all the great countries in Europe, and of most of those out of Europe, have been carefully compiled, put together in a convenient form, and the evidence on which they rest has been tolerably well sifted. Great attention has been paid to the history of legislation, also to that of religion: while considerable, though inferior, labour has been employed in tracing the progress of science, of literature, of the fine arts, of useful inventions, and, latterly, of the manners and comforts of the people. In order to increase our knowledge of the past, antiquities of every kind have been examined; the sites of ancient cities have been laid bare, coins dug up and deciphered, inscriptions copied, alphabets restored, hieroglyphics interpreted, and, in some instances, long forgotten languages reconstructed and rearranged. Several of the laws which regulate the changes of human speech have been discovered, and, in the hands of philologists, have been made to elucidate even the most obscure periods in the early migration of nations. Political economy has been raised to a science, and by it much light has been thrown on the causes of that unequal distribution of wealth which is the most fertile source of social disturbance. Statistics have been so sedulously cultivated, that we have the most extensive information, not only respecting the material interests of men, but also respecting their moral peculiarities; such as, the amount of different crimes, the proportion they bear to each other, and the influence exercised over them by age, sex, education, and the like. With this great movement physical geography has kept pace: the phenomena of climate have been registered, mountains measured, rivers surveyed and tracked to their source, natural productions of all kinds carefully studied, and their hidden properties unfolded; while every food which sustains life has been chemically analyzed, its constituents numbered and weighed, and the nature of the connexion between them and the human frame has, in many cases, been

satisfactorily ascertained. At the same time, and that nothing should be left undone which might enlarge our knowledge of the events by which man is affected, there have been instituted circumstantial researches in many other departments ; so that in regard to the most civilized peoples, we are now acquainted with the rate of their mortality, of their marriages, the proportion of their births, the character of their employments, and the fluctuations both in their wages and in the prices of the commodities necessary to their existence. These and similar facts have been collected, methodized, and are ripe for use. Such results, which form, as it were, the anatomy of a nation, are remarkable for their minuteness ; and to them there have been joined other results less minute, but more extensive. Not only have the actions and characteristics of the great nations been recorded, but a prodigious number of different tribes in all parts of the known world have been visited and described by travellers, thus enabling us to compare the condition of mankind in every stage of civilization, and under every variety of circumstance. When we moreover add that this curiosity respecting our fellow-creatures is apparently insatiable ; that it is constantly increasing ; that the means of gratifying it are also increasing ; and that most of the observations which have been made are still preserved ;—when we put all these things together, we may form a faint idea of the immense value of that vast body of facts which we now possess, and by the aid of which the progress of mankind is to be investigated.

But if, on the other hand, we are to describe the use that has been made of these materials, we must draw a very different picture. The unfortunate peculiarity of the history of man is, that although its separate parts have been examined with considerable ability, hardly any one has attempted to combine them into a whole, and ascertain the way in which they are connected with each other. In all the other great fields of inquiry the necessity of generalization is universally admitted, and noble efforts are being made to rise from particular facts in order to discover the laws by which those facts are governed. So far, however, is this from being the usual course of historians, that among them a strange idea prevails that their business is merely to relate events, which they may occasionally enliven by such moral and political reflections as seem likely to be useful. According to this scheme, any author who, from indolence of thought, or from natural incapacity, is unfit to deal with the highest branches of knowledge, has only to pass some years in reading a certain number of books, and then he is qualified to be an historian : he is able to write the history of a great people, and his work becomes an authority on the subject which it professes to treat.

The establishment of this narrow standard has led to results very prejudicial to the progress of our knowledge. Owing to it, historians, taken as a body, have never recognized the necessity of such a wide and preliminary study as would enable them to grasp their subject in the whole of its natural relations. Hence the singular spectacle of one historian being ignorant of political economy ; another knowing nothing of law ; another nothing of ecclesiastical affairs and changes of opinion ; another neglecting the philosophy of statistics, and another physical science ; although these topics are the most essential of all, inasmuch as they comprise the principal circumstances by which the temper and character of mankind have been affected, and in which they are displayed. These important pursuits being, however, cultivated, some by one man, and some by another, have been isolated rather than united : the aid which might be derived from analogy and from mutual illustration has been lost ; and no disposition has been shown to concentrate them upon history, of which they are, properly speaking, the necessary components.

Since the early part of the eighteenth century, a few great thinkers have indeed arisen who have deplored the backwardness of history, and have done everything in their power to remedy it. But these instances have been extremely rare : so rare, that in the whole literature of Europe there are not more than three or four really original works which contain a systematic attempt to investigate the history of man according to those exhaustive methods which in other branches of knowledge have proved successful, and by which alone empirical observations can be raised to scientific truths.

Among historians in general, we find, after the sixteenth century, and especially during the last hundred years, several indications of an increasing comprehensiveness of view, and of a willingness to incorporate into their works subjects which they would formerly have excluded. By this means their assemblage of topics has become more diversified, and the mere collection and relative position of parallel facts has occasionally suggested generalizations no traces of which can be found in the earlier literature of Europe. This has been a great gain, in so far as it has familiarized historians with a wider range of thought, and encouraged those habits of speculation which, though liable to abuse, are the essential condition of all real knowledge, because without them no science can be constructed.

But, notwithstanding that the prospects of historical literature are certainly more cheering now than in any former age, it must be allowed that, with extremely few exceptions, they are only prospects, and that as yet scarcely anything has been done towards discovering the principles which govern the character and destiny of nations. What has been actually effected I shall endeavour to estimate in another part of this Introduction: at present it is enough to say, that for all the higher purposes of human thought history is still miserably deficient, and presents that confused and anarchical appearance natural to a subject of which the laws are unknown, and even the foundation unsettled.[1]

Our acquaintance with history being so imperfect, while our materials are so numerous, it seems desirable that something should be done on a scale far larger than has hitherto been attempted, and that a strenuous effort should be made to bring up this great department of inquiry to a level with other departments, in order that we may maintain the balance and harmony of our knowledge. It is in this spirit that the present work has been conceived. To make the execution of it fully equal to the conception is impossible: still I hope to accomplish for the history of man something equivalent, or at all events analogous, to what has been effected by other inquirers for the different branches of natural science. In regard to nature, events apparently the most irregular and capricious have been explained, and have been shown to be in accordance with certain fixed and universal laws. This has been done because men of ability, and, above all, men of patient, untiring thought, have studied natural events with the view of discovering their regularity: and if human events were subjected to a similar treatment, we have every right to expect similar results. For it is clear that they who affirm that the facts of history are incapable of being generalized, take for granted the very question at issue. Indeed they do more than this. They not only assume what they cannot prove, but they assume what in the present state of knowledge is highly improbable. Whoever is at all acquainted with what has been done during the last two centuries must be aware that every generation demonstrates some events to be regular and predictable, which the preceding generation had declared to be irregular and unpredictable; so that the marked tendency of advancing civilization is to strengthen our belief in the universality of order, of method and of law. This being the case, it follows that if any facts, or class of facts, have not yet been reduced to order, we, so far from pronouncing them to be irreducible, should rather be guided by our experience of the past, and should admit the probability that what we now call inexplicable will at some future time be explained. This expectation of discovering regularity in the midst of confusion is so familiar to scientific men, that among the most eminent of them it becomes an article of faith: and if the same expectation is not generally found among historians, it must be ascribed partly to their being of inferior ability to the investigators of nature, and partly to the greater complexity of those social phenomena with which their studies are concerned.

Both these causes have retarded the creation of the science of history. The most celebrated historians are manifestly inferior to the most successful culti-

[1] A living writer, who has done more than any other to raise the standard of history, contemptuously notices "l'incohérente compilation de faits déjà improprement qualifiée *d'histoire*." *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. v. p. 18. There is much in the method and in the conclusions of this great work with which I cannot agree; but it would be unjust to deny its extraordinary merits.

vators of physical science: no one having devoted himself to history who in point of intellect is at all to be compared with Kepler, Newton, or many others that might be named.[2] And as to the greater complexity of the phenomena, the philosophic historian is opposed by difficulties far more formidable than those which meet the student of nature; since, while on the one hand, his observations are more liable to those causes of error which arise from prejudice and passion, he, on the other hand, is unable to employ the great physical resource of experiment, by which we can often simplify even the most intricate problems in the external world.

It is not, therefore, surprising that the study of the movements of Man should be still in its infancy, as compared with the advanced state of the study of the movements of Nature. Indeed the difference between the progress of the two pursuits is so great, that while in physics the regularity of events, and the power of predicting them, are often taken for granted, even in cases still unproved, a similar regularity is in history not only not taken for granted, but is actually denied. Hence it is that whoever wishes to raise history to a level with other branches of knowledge is met by a preliminary obstacle; since he is told that in the affairs of men there is something mysterious and providential, which makes them impervious to our investigations, and which will always hide from us their future course. To this it might be sufficient to reply, that such an assertion is gratuitous; that it is by its nature incapable of proof; and that it is moreover opposed by the notorious fact that everywhere else increasing knowledge is accompanied by an increasing confidence in the uniformity with which, under the same circumstances, the same events must succeed each other. It will, however, be more satisfactory to probe the difficulty deeper, and inquire at once into the foundation of the common opinion that history must always remain in its present empirical state, and can never be raised to the rank of a science. We shall thus be led to one vast question, which indeed lies at the root of the whole subject, and is simply this: Are the actions of men, and therefore of societies, governed by fixed laws, or are they the result either of chance or of supernatural interference? The discussion of these alternatives will suggest some speculations of considerable interest.

For, in reference to this matter, there are two doctrines, which appear to represent different stages of civilization. According to the first doctrine, every event is single and isolated, and is merely considered as the result of a blind chance. This opinon, which is most natural to a perfectly ignorant people,*

[2] I speak merely of those who have made history their main pursuit. Bacon wrote on it, but only as a subordinate object; and it evidently cost him nothing like the thought which he devoted to other subjects.

[As the test applied in the last clause of this note will not exclude Voltaire, to whose work as an historian Buckle in a later chapter gives his warmest praise, it is to be presumed that his assertion in the text is an oversight. He would probably not have denied that Fra Paolo, Clarendon, Hume, Gibbon, Grote, Thirlwall, James Mill, Hallam, Carlyle, Milman, Macaulay, Guizot, Sismondi, Koch, Heeren, K. O. Müller, and Ranke (to say nothing of the ancients or of such students of the science of history as Vico and Montesquieu) were reasonably to be compared with the great physicists on points of intellect apart from physics and mathematics.—Ed.]

[* Buckle's discussion of "chance" does not proceed upon an analysis of the conception, and assumes that it is a conceptual negation of causation. In reality it has never been so. The "perfectly ignorant peoples," so far from having such an idea, have at all times ascribed phenomena which transcended their knowledge and control to unseen powers or wills vaguely resembling their own. The "doctrine of Chance" of the ancient atomists, which is disparaged below, was really an attempt to supersede the latter conception by positing sequences in nature independent of *volition*. Thus, though they did not clear their own conception, and left a free field for meaningless contrary rhetoric against an idea of "blind" chance, they in a measure prepared the way for the conception of "natural law" as distinct from "particular providence." In any critical use of the term, "chance" means simply untraced or untraceable sequence or coincidence—in other words, *unknown* law.—Ed.]

would soon be weakened by that extension of experience which supplies a knowledge of those uniformities of succession and of co-existence that nature constantly presents. If, for example, wandering tribes, without the least tincture of civilization, lived entirely by hunting and fishing, they might well suppose that the appearance of their necessary food was the result of some accident which admitted of no explanation. The irregularity of the supply, and the apparent caprice with which it was sometimes abundant and sometimes scanty, would prevent them from suspecting anything like method in the arrangements of nature; nor could their minds even conceive the existence of those general principles which govern the order of events, and by a knowledge of which we are often able to predict their future course. But when such tribes advance into the agricultural state, they for the first time use a food of which not only the appearance, but the very existence, seems to be the result of their own act. What they sow, that likewise do they reap. The provision necessary for their wants is brought more immediately under their own control, and is more palpably the consequence of their own labour. They perceive a distinct plan, and a regular uniformity of sequence, in the relation which the seed they put into the ground bears to the corn when arrived at maturity. They are now able to look to the future, not indeed with certainty, but with a confidence infinitely greater than they could have felt in their former and more precarious pursuits.[3] Hence there arises a dim idea of the stability of events, and for the first time there begins to dawn upon the mind a faint conception of what at a later period are called the Laws of Nature. Every step in the great progress will make their view of this more clear. As their observations accumulate, and as their experience extends over a wider surface, they meet with uniformities that they had never suspected to exist, and the discovery of which weakens that doctrine of chance with which they had originally set out. Yet a little further, and a taste for abstract reasoning springs up; and then some among them generalize the observations that have been made, and, despising the old popular opinion, believe that every event is linked to its antecedent by an inevitable connexion, that such antecedent is connected with a preceding fact; and that thus the whole world forms a necessary chain, in which indeed each man may play his part, but can by no means determine what that part shall be.

Thus it is that, in the ordinary march of society, an increasing perception of the regularity of nature destroys the doctrine of Chance, and replaces it by that of Necessary Connexion. And it is, I think, highly probable that out of these two doctrines of Chance and Necessity there have respectively arisen the subsequent dogmas of Free Will and Predestination.* Nor is it difficult to understand the manner in which, in a more advanced state of society, this metamorphosis would occur. In every country, as soon as the accumulation of wealth has reached a certain point, the produce of each man's labour becomes more than sufficient for his own support: it is therefore no longer necessary that all should work; and there is formed a separate class, the members of which pass their lives for the most part in the pursuit of pleasure; a very few, however, in the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge. Among these last there are always found some who, neglecting external events, turn their attention to the study of their own minds;[4] and such men, when possessed of great abilities, become

[3] Some of the moral consequences of thus diminishing the precariousness of food are noticed by M. Charles Comte in his *Traité de Législation*, vol. ii. pp. 273–275. Compare *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. pp. 180–181. But both these able writers have omitted to observe that the change facilitates a perception of the regularity of phenomena.

[4] On the relation between this and the previous creation of wealth, see *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 30: "Ein gewisser Grad von Cultur und Wohlstand ist eine nothwendige äussere Bedingung der Entwickelung des philosophischen Geistes.

[* The historical fact is that the doctrine of Free Will, equally with that of Predestination, arose on the ground of theology, not on that of non-theistic atomism. Compare *Luthardt, History of Christian Ethics*, § 43; *Milman, History of Latin Christianity*, Bk. ii. ch. ii.—Ed.]

the founders of new philosophies and new religions, which often exercise immense influence over the people who receive them. But the authors of these systems are themselves affected by the character of the age in which they live. It is impossible for any man to escape the pressure of surrounding opinions; and what is called a new philosophy or a new religion is generally not so much a creation of fresh ideas as a new direction given to ideas already current among contemporary thinkers.[5] Thus, in the case now before us, the doctrine of Chance in the external world corresponds to that of Free Will in the internal; while the other doctrine of Necessary Connexion is equally analogous to that of Predestination; the only difference being that the first is a development by the metaphysician, the second by the theologian. In the first instance, the metaphysician, setting out with the doctrine of Chance, carries into the study of the mind this arbitrary and irresponsible principle, which in its new field becomes Free Will; an expression by which all difficulties seem to be removed, since perfect freedom, itself the cause of all actions, is caused by none, but, like the doctrine of Chance, is an ultimate fact admitting of no further explanation.[6] In the second instance, the theologian, taking up the doctrine of Necessary Connexion, recasts it into a religious shape; and his mind being already full of conceptions of order and of uniformity,* he naturally ascribes such undeviating regularity to the prescience of Supreme Power; and thus to the magnificent notion of One God there is added the dogma that by Him all things have from the beginning been absolutely predetermined and pre-ordained.

So lange der Mensch noch mit den Mitteln seiner Existenz und der Befriedigung seiner thierischen Bedürfnisse beschäftiget ist, so lange gehet die Entwickelung und Bildung seiner Geisteskräfte nur langsam von statten, und er nähert sich nur Schritt vor Schritt einer freiern Vernunftthätigkeit." . . . . "Daher finden wir, dass man nur in denen Nationen anfing zu philosophiren, welche sich zu einer beträchtlichen Stufe des Wohlstandes und der Cultur emporgehoben hatten." Hence, as I shall endeavour to prove in the next chapter, the immense importance of the physical phenomena which precede and often control the metaphysical. In the history of the Greek mind we can distinctly trace the passage from physical to metaphysical inquiries. See *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 519, edit. 1847. That the atomic doctrine, in its relation to chance, was a natural precursor of Platonism, is marked in *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. pp. 53, 54, an able though one-sided work. Compare, respecting the Chance of the atomists, *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 553; an hypothesis, as Ritter says, "destructive of all inner energy," consequently antagonistic to the psychological hypothesis which subsequently sprang up and conquered it. That physical researches came first, is moreover attested by Diogenes Laertius: Μέρη δὲ φιλοσοφίας τρία, φυσικόν, ἠθικόν, διαλεκτικόν· φυσικὸν μέν, τὸ περὶ κόσμου, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ. ἠθικὸν δέ, τὸ περὶ βίου καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· διαλεκτικὸν δέ, τὸ ἀμφοτέρων τοὺς λόγους πρεσβεῦον. καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἀρχελάου τὸ φυσικὸν εἶδος ἦν ἀπὸ δὲ Σωκράτους, ὡς προείρηται, τὸ ἠθικόν· ἀπὸ δὲ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου, τὸ διαλεκτικόν. *De Vitis Philosophorum, Proœm.* segm. 18, vol. i. p. 12: compare lib. ii. segm. 16, vol. i. p. 89.

[5] Beausobre has some good remarks on this in his learned work *Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 179, where he says that the great religious heresies have been founded on previous philosophies. Certainly no one acquainted with the history of opinions will admit the sweeping assertion of M. Stahl that "la philosophie d'un peuple a sa racine dans sa théologie." *Klimrath, Travaux*, vol. ii. p. 454, Paris, 1843. [Stahl had in view the fact that all the currently accepted or "orthodox" philosophies of modern Europe had started from theological presuppositions.—Ed.]

[6] "Also ist ein Wille, dem die blose gesetzgebende Form der Maxime allein zum Gesetze dienen kann, ein freier Wille." *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* in *Kant's Werke*, vol. iv. p. 128. "Hat selber für sich eigentlich keinen Bestimmungsgrund." *Metaphysik der Sitten* in *Werke*, vol. v. p. 12. "Die unbedingte Causalität der Ursache." *Kritik der*

[* The generalization as to "the" theologian overlooks the constant oppositions of theological schools. The Pelagians and Armenians were theologians no less than the Predestinarians: and the doctrine of prayer at all times tends to limit "conceptions of order and of uniformity."—Ed.]

These opposite doctrines of free will and predestination [7] do, no doubt, supply a safe and simple solution of the obscurities of our being ; and as they are easily understood, they are so suited to the average capacity of the human mind, that even at the present day an immense majority of men are divided between them ; and they have not only corrupted the sources of our knowledge, but have given rise to religious sects, whose mutual animosities have disturbed society, and too often embittered the relations of private life. Among the more advanced European thinkers there is, however, a growing opinion that both doctrines are wrong, or, at all events, that we have no sufficient evidence of their truth. And as this is a matter of great moment, it is important, before we proceed further, to clear up as much of it as the difficulties inherent in these subjects will enable us to do.

Whatever doubts may be thrown on the account which I have given of the probable origin of the ideas of free will and predestination, there can, at all events, be no dispute as to the foundation on which those ideas are now actually based. The theory of predestination is founded on a theological hypothesis ; that of free will on a metaphysical hypothesis. The advocates of the first proceed on a supposition for which, to say the least of it, they have as yet brought forward no good evidence. They require us to believe that the Author of Creation, whose beneficence they at the same time willingly allow, has, notwithstanding His supreme goodness, made an arbitrary distinction between the elect and the non-elect ; that He has from all eternity doomed to perdition millions of creatures yet unborn, and whom His act alone can call into existence : and that He has done this, not in virtue of any principle of justice, but by a mere stretch of despotic power.[8] This doctrine owes its authority among Protestants to the dark though powerful mind of Calvin : but in the early Church it was first systematically methodized by Augustin, who appears to have borrowed it from the Manichæans.[9] At all events, and putting aside its incompatibility with other notions which are supposed to be fundamental,[10] it must, in a scientific

reinen Vernunft in *Werke*, vol. ii. p. 339. See also *Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Metaphysik* in vol. iii. p. 268.

[7] That these doctrines, when treated according to the ordinary methods of reasoning, not only oppose but exclude each other, would be universally admitted if it were not for a desire generally felt to save certain parts of each : it being thought dangerous to give up free will on account of weakening moral responsibility, and equally dangerous to give up predestination on account of impugning the power of God. Various attempts have therefore been made to reconcile liberty with necessity, and make the freedom of man harmonize with the foreknowledge of the Deity. Compare on this point a remarkable letter from Locke to Molyneux (*Locke's Works*, vol. viii. p. 305), with the argument in one of Bentley's Sermons (*Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8) ; also *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iv. pp. 143, 144 ; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. iv. pp. 301–304 ; *Copleston's Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, pp. 6, 7, 46, 69, 70, 85, 92, 108, 136 ; *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist.* vol. i. p. 207, vol. ii. p. 96 ; *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. iv. pp. 294, 389–391 ; *Bishop of Lincoln on Tertullian*, 1845, p. 323 ; *Hodgson on Buddhism*, in *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol ii. p. 232.

[8] Even Ambrose, who never went so far as Augustin, states this principle in its repulsive nakedness : "Deus quos dignat vocat, quos vult religiosos facit." *Neander*, vol. iv. p. 287. Calvin declares "that God, in predestinating from all eternity one part of mankind to everlasting happiness, and another to endless misery, was led to make this distinction by no other motive than His own good pleasure and free will." *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 103, see also p. 100 ; and *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 552.

[9] On the Manichæan origin of Augustin's opinions, compare *Potter, Esprit de l'Eglise* vol. ii. p. 171, Paris, 1821 ; *Tomline's Refutation of Calvinism*, 1817, pp. 571–576 ; *Southey's Book of the Church*, 1824, vol. i. pp. 301, 302 ; *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, 1828, vol. i. p. 325. However, Beausobre (*Histoire de Manichée*, vol. ii. pp. 33–40) seems to have proved a difference between the election of Augustin and that of Basilides.

[10] On the absurdity of "an omnipotent arbitrary Deity," and on the incongruity of such a combination with φύσει καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον, see *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. i.

investigation, be regarded as a barren hypothesis, because, being beyond one province of our knowledge, we have no means of ascertaining either its truth or its falsehood.

The other doctrine, which has long been celebrated under the name of Free Will, is connected with Arminianism ; but it in reality rests on the metaphysical dogma of the supremacy of human consciousness. Every man, it is alleged, feels and knows that he is a free agent : nor can any subtleties of argument do away with our consciousness of possessing a free will.[11] Now the existence of this supreme jurisdiction, which is thus to set at defiance all the ordinary methods of reasoning, involves two assumptions : of which the first, though possibly true, has never been proved ; and the other is unquestionably false. These assumptions are, that there is an independent faculty called consciousness, and that the dictates of that faculty are infallible. But, in the first place, it is by no means certain that consciousness is a faculty ; and some of the ablest thinkers have been of opinion that it is merely a state or condition of the mind.[12] Should this turn out to be the case, the argument falls to the ground ; since, even if we admit that all the faculties of the mind, when completely exercised, are equally accurate, no one will make the same claim for every condition into which the mind itself may be casually thrown.* However, waiving this objection, we may, in the second place, reply, that even if consciousness is a faculty, we have the testimony of all history to prove its extreme fallibility.[13] All the great stages

pp. 45, 419, vol. iii. p. 241, vol. iv. p. 160. See also *Theodicee* in Kant's *Werke*, vol. vi. pp. 141, 142, and *Metaphysik der Sitten* in vol. v. p. 332, upon " den göttlichen Zweck in Ansehung des menschlichen Geschlechts."

[11] Johnson said to Boswell, " Sir, we *know* our will is free, and there's an end on't." *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, edit. Croker, 1848, p. 203. " La question : Sommes-nous libres ? me paraît au-dessous de la discussion. Elle est résolue par le témoignage de la conscience attestant que dans certains cas nous pourrions faire le contraire de ce que nous faisons." *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, I. Série, vol. i. pp. 190, 191. " Die Freiheit des Menschen, als moralischen Wesens, gründet sich auf das sittliche Bewusstseyn." *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. v. p. 161. That this is the only ground for believing in the freedom of the will is so evident, that we need not notice the mystical proof of Philo (*Ritter's Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iv. p. 447) ; nor the physical one of the Basilidian monads (*Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 23) ; still less the argument of Bardesanes, who thought to demonstrate freedom by the variety of human customs ! *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 323, which should be compared with *Burdach's Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. v. p. 50, Paris, 1839.

[12] Mr. James Mill (*Analysis of the Mind*, vol. i. pp. 171, 172) says that consciousness and belief are the same, and that great error has arisen from calling " consciousness a feeling distinct from all other feelings." According to Locke (*Essay concerning Human Understanding*, book ii. chap. i., *Works*, vol. i. p. 89), " consciousness is the perception of what passes in a man's own mind." Brown (*Philosophy of the Mind*, pp. 67, 68) denies that consciousness is a faculty : and Sir W. Hamilton complains of " Reid's degradation of consciousness into a special faculty." *Notes to Reid's Works*, pp. 223, 297, 373. M. Cousin (*Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. Série, vol. i. p. 131) pronounces consciousness to be " phénomène complexe " ; and at p. 94, " la *condition* nécessaire de l'intelligence c'est la conscience " : while a still later writer (*Jobert's New System of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 25) declares that " we have the consciousness of our consciousness—this is certain." The statement in Alciphron, Dialogue vii. (*Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. pp. 505, 506) is equally unsatisfactory : and what still further perplexes the question is the existence of what is now recognized as " double consciousness." See on this extraordinary phenomenon *Elliotson's Physiology*, pp. 367–369, 1165 ; *Mayo's Physiology*, pp. 195, 196 ; *Prichard's Treatise on Insanity*, pp. 450, 451 ; *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, p. 379.

[13] This requires explanation. Consciousness is infallible as to the *fact* of its testimony ;

[* This illustration of the idea " *merely* a state or condition of the mind," goes to show that Buckle had not realized the full force of the criticisms he cites. Briefly put, they amount to saying that consciousness *is* mind, or a name for the mind, not a " condition " into which it " may be casually thrown."—Ed.]

through which, in the progress of civilization, the human race has successively passed, have been characterized by certain mental peculiarities or convictions, which have left their impress upon the religion, the philosophy, and the morals of the age. Each of these convictions has been to one period a matter of faith, to another a matter for derision ;[14] and each of them has, in its own epoch, been as intimately bound up with the minds of men, and become as much a part of their consciousness, as is that opinion which we now term freedom of the will. Yet it is impossible that all these products of consciousness can be true, because many of them contradict each other. Unless, therefore, in different ages there are different standards of truth, it is clear that the testimony of a man's consciousness is no proof of an opinion being true ; for if it were so, then two propositions diametrically opposed to each other might both be equally accurate. Besides this, another view may be drawn from the common operations of ordinary life. Are we not in certain circumstances conscious of the existence of spectres and phantoms ; and yet is it not generally admitted that such things have no existence at all ? Should it be attempted to refute this argument by saying that such consciousness is apparent and not real, then I ask, What is it that judges between the consciousness which is genuine and that which is spurious ?[15] If this boasted faculty deceives us in some things, what security have

but fallible as to the *truth*. That we are conscious of certain phenomena, is a proof that those phenomena exist in the mind, or are presented to it ; but to say that this demonstrates the truth of the phenomena is to go a step further, and not only offer a testimony, but also pass a judgment. The moment we do this, we introduce the element of fallibility ; because consciousness and judgment put together cannot be always right, inasmuch as judgment is often wrong.

The late Blanco White—a thinker of considerable subtlety—says : "The important distinction between *libertas a necessitate* and *libertas a coactione*, is seldom attended to. Nothing whatever can *force* my will : every man is more or less conscious of that fact : but at the same time we are, or may be, equally conscious that we are never decided without a motive." *Life of B. White*, by Himself, 1845, vol. iii. p. 90. But how can a man be conscious that "nothing whatever *can* force his will" ? This is not consciousness but judgment : it is a judgment of what may be, not a consciousness of what is. If there is any meaning in the word 'consciousness,' it must refer solely to the present, and can never include future contingencies as to what *may* be or *can* be. [The rebuttal here miscarries somewhat. White might have said, "nothing has ever forced my will," and this would have served the purpose of his argument without being open to Buckle's verbal demurrer. The true answer is that the conception of "freedom" is irrelevant to that of volition, being relevant only to action. A natural sequence is neither "free" nor "unfree."—Ed.]

[14] As Herder says, "Was diese Nation ihrem Gedankenkreise unentbehrlich hält, daran hat jene nie gedacht oder hält es gar für schädlich." *Ideen zur Gesch. der Menschheit*, vol. ii. p. 130.

[15] Plato was struck by the extreme difficulty of finding a standard in the human mind whereby we may test the truth or falsehood of spectral phenomena and dreams. And the only conclusion to which this consummate thinker could arrive, was that whatever appears true to the individual mind is true for him : which, however, is an evasion of the problem, not a solution of it. See the Theætetus, where Plato, as usual, puts his own speculations into the mouth of Socrates. He opens the question at the beginning of sec. 39 (*Platonis Opera*, vol. iii. p. 426, edit. Bekker, Lond. 1826), Μή τοίνυν ἀπολίπωμεν ὅσον ἐλλεῖπον αὐτοῦ. λείπεται δὲ ἐνυπνίων τε πέρι καὶ νόσων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μανίας, etc. [P. 157, E.] These are the supposed sources of error, but Socrates, after discussing them, and entangling Theætetus in a maze, sums up at the end of sec. 45, p. 434, ἀληθὴς ἄρα ἐμοὶ ἡ ἐμὴ αἴσθησις. See further p. 515, on the formation of erroneous judgments ; and respecting the assertions made by many of the Greeks that πᾶσα φαντασία ἀληθὴς and πᾶσα δόξα ἀληθὴς, compare *Cudworth*, vol. iii. p. 379, vol. iv. p. 118. For physiological considerations concerning the preservation of consciousness in dreams and in insanity, see *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. p. 406 ; his *Cours de Phrénologie*, p. 49 ; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. p. 97, vol. ii. p. 790 ; *Simon's Pathology*, p. 204 ; *Holland's*

we that it will not deceive us in others? If there is no security, the faculty is not trustworthy. If there is a security, then whatever it may be, its existence shows the necessity for some authority to which consciousness is subordinate, and thus does away with that doctrine of the supremacy of consciousness, on which the advocates of free will are compelled to construct the whole of their theory. Indeed, the uncertainty as to the existence of consciousness as an independent faculty, and the manner in which that faculty, if it exists, has contradicted its own suggestions, are two of the many reasons which have long since convinced me that metaphysics will never be raised to a science by the ordinary method of observing individual minds; but that its study can only be successfully prosecuted by the deductive application of laws which must be discovered historically, that is to say, which must be evolved by an examination of the whole of those vast phenomena which the long course of human affairs presents to our view.

Fortunately, however, for the object of this work, the believer in the possibility of a science of history is not called upon to hold either the doctrine of predestined events, or that of freedom of the will;[16] and the only positions which, in this stage of the inquiry, I shall expect him to concede are the following: That when we perform an action, we perform it in consequence of some motive or motives; that those motives are the results of some antecedents; and that, therefore, if we are acquainted with the whole of the antecedents, and with all the laws of their movements, we could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their immediate results. This, unless I am greatly mistaken, is the view which must be held by every man whose mind is unbiased by system, and who forms his opinions according to the evidence actually before him.[17] If, for example, I am intimately acquainted with the character of any person, I can frequently tell how he will act under some given circumstances. Should I fail in this prediction, I must ascribe my error not to the arbitrary and capricious freedom of his will, nor to any supernatural pre-arrangement, for of neither of these things have we

Medical Notes, p. 434; *Henle, Anatomie Générale*, vol. ii. p. 287; *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. v. p. 223. See, too, the passages in Tennemann which connect this difficulty with the theory of representation (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 357, vol. ii. pp. 119, 159, vol. iii. p. 406, vol. iv. p. 418); and the attempt of Berkeley (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 93, 101, 176) to turn it into a defence of his own system on the ground that our belief respecting the external world may be as false when we are awake as when we dream. The solution offered by the Stoics is merely a verbal and unproved distinction: διαφέρει δὲ φαντασία καὶ φάντασμα. φαντασμα μὲν γάρ ἐστι δόκησις διανοίας οἷα γίνεται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους· φαντασία δὲ ἐστι τύπωσις ἐν ψυχῇ τουτέστιν ἀλλοίωσις, ὡς ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ περὶ ψυχῆς ὑφίσταται. *Diog. Laert. de Vitis Philos.* lib. vii. segm. 50, vol. i. p. 395.

[16] Meaning by free will, a cause of action residing in the mind, and exerting itself independently of motives. If any one says that we have this power of acting without motives, but that in the practical exercise of the power we are always guided by motives either conscious or unconscious,—if any one says this, he asserts a barren proposition, which does not interfere with my views, and which may or may not be true, but which most assuredly no one has ever yet succeeded in proving.

[17] That is, according to the phenomenal evidence presented to the understanding, and estimated by the ordinary logic with which the understanding is conversant. But Kant has made a most remarkable attempt to avoid the practical consequences of this, by asserting that freedom, being an idea produced by the reason, must be referred to transcendental laws of the reason; that is, to laws which are removed from the domain of experience, and cannot be verified by observation. In regard, however, to the scientific conceptions of the understanding (as distinguished from the Reason) he fully admits the existence of a Necessity destructive of Liberty. In Note A, at the end of this chapter, I shall put together the most important passages in which Kant unfolds this view. [The phrase "destructive of Liberty" is again an obscuring of the issue, inasmuch as it suggests a spurious alternative. Liberty is predicable only of actions, when an alternative does exist. Let willing be realized as=wishing, and it will be seen that the concept of freedom is as irrelevant to the phenomenon as to that of gravitation.—Ed.]

the slightest proof; but I must be content to suppose either that I had been misinformed as to some of the circumstances in which he was placed, or else that I had not sufficiently studied the ordinary operations of his mind. If, however, I were capable of correct reasoning, and if, at the same time, I had a complete knowledge both of his disposition and of all the events by which he was surrounded, I should be able to foresee the line of conduct which, in consequence of those events, he would adopt.[18]

Rejecting, then, the metaphysical dogma of free will and the theological dogma of predestined events,[19] we are driven to the conclusion that the actions of men, being determined solely by their antecedents, must have a character of uniformity, that is to say, must, under precisely the same circumstances, always issue in precisely the same results. And as all antecedents are either in the mind or out of it, we clearly see that all the variations in the results, in other words, all the changes of which history is full, all the vicissitudes of the human race, their progress or their decay, their happiness or their misery, must be the fruit of a double action; an action of external phenomena upon the mind, and another action of the mind upon the phenomena.

These are the materials out of which a philosophic history can alone be constructed. On the one hand, we have the human mind obeying the laws of its own existence, and, when uncontrolled by external agents, developing itself according to the conditions of its organization. On the other hand, we have what is called Nature, obeying likewise its laws; but incessantly coming into contact with the minds of men, exciting their passions, stimulating their intellect, and therefore giving to their actions a direction which they would not have taken without such disturbance.* Thus we have man modifying nature, and nature modifying man; while out of this reciprocal modification all events must necessarily spring.

The problem immediately before us is to ascertain the method of discovering the laws of this double modification: and this, as we shall presently see, leads us into a preliminary inquiry as to which of the two modifications is the more important; that is to say, whether the thoughts and desires of men are more influenced by physical phenomena, or whether the physical phenomena are more influenced by them. For it is evident that whichever class is the more

[18] This is, of course, an hypothetical case, merely given as an illustration. We never can know the whole of any man's antecedents, or even the whole of our own; but it is certain that the nearer we approach to a complete knowledge of the antecedent, the more likely we shall be to predict the consequent.

[19] The doctrine of providential interference is bound up with that of predestination, because the Deity, foreseeing all things, must have foreseen His own intention to interfere. To deny this foresight, is to limit the omniscience of God. Those, therefore, who hold that, in particular cases, a special providence interrupts the ordinary course of events, must also hold that in each case the interruption had been predestined; otherwise they impeach one of the Divine attributes. For, as Thomas Aquinas puts it (*Neander's History of the Church*, vol. viii. p. 176), "knowledge, as knowledge, does not imply, indeed, causality; but in so far as it is a knowledge belonging to the artist who forms, it stands in the relation of causality to that which is produced by his art."

The same argument is stated by Alciphron, though not quite so conclusively; *Dialogue* vii. sec. 20 in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. p. 515: and as to the impossibility of Omniscience having new knowledge or an afterthought, see *Hitchcock's Religion of Geology*, 1851, pp. 267, 328; an ingenious work, but one which leaves all the real difficulties untouched. Compare *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philos.* vol. iv. pp. 326, 327, with *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. vi. pp. 151, 342–345, vol. ix. pp. 81–94, vol. xi. p, 178; and, in particular, the question raised (vol. viii. p. 242), "Ob das Vorherwissen Gottes die Ursache der künftigen Dinge sey, oder nicht." It was to meet all this, that some asserted the eternity of matter, and others the existence of two original principles, one good and one evil. *Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée*, vol. ii. pp. 145, 146, 252, 336.

[* As "disturbance" here means the whole of the correlations, the last clause creates a confusion. "Without such disturbance" men would not exist.—ED.]

active, should, if possible, be studied before the other; and this partly because its results will be more prominent, and therefore more easy to observe; and partly because by first generalizing the laws of the greater power we shall leave a smaller residue of unexplained facts than if we had begun by generalizing the laws of the lesser power. But before entering into this examination, it will be convenient to state some of the most decisive proofs we now possess of the regularity with which mental phenomena succeed each other. By this means the preceding views will be considerably strengthened; and we shall, at the same time, be able to see what those resources are which have been already employed in elucidating this great subject.

That the results actually effected are extremely valuable, is evident not only from the wide surface which the generalizations cover, but also from the extraordinary precautions with which they have been made. For while most moral inquiries have depended on some theological or metaphysical hypothesis, the investigations to which I allude are exclusively inductive; they are based on collections of almost innumerable facts, extending over many countries, thrown into the clearest of all forms, the form of arithmetical tables; and finally, they have been put together by men who, being for the most part mere government officials,[20] had no particular theory to maintain, and no interest in distorting the truth of the reports they were directed to make.

The most comprehensive inferences respecting the actions of men, which are admitted by all parties as incontestable truths, are derived from this or from analogous sources; they rest on statistical evidence, and are expressed in mathematical language. And whoever is aware of how much has been discovered by this single method, must not only recognize the uniformity with which mental phenomena succeed each other, but must, I think, feel sanguine that still more important discoveries will be made so soon as there are brought into play those other powerful resources which even the present state of knowledge will abundantly supply. Without however, anticipating future inquiries, we are, for the moment, only concerned with those proofs of the existence of a uniformity in human affairs which statisticians have been the first to bring forward.

The actions of men are by an easy and obvious division separated into two classes, the virtuous and the vicious; and as these classes are correlative, and when put together compose the total of our moral conduct, it follows that whatever increases the one, will in a relative point of view diminish the other; so that if we can in any period detect a uniformity and a method in the vices of a people there must be a corresponding regularity in their virtues; or if we could prove a regularity in their virtues we should necessarily infer an equal regularity in their vices; the two sets of actions being, according to the terms of the division, merely supplementary to each other.[21] Or, to express this proposition in another way, it is evident that if it can be demonstrated that the bad actions of men vary in obedience to the changes in the surrounding society, we shall be obliged to infer that their good actions, which are, as it were, the residue of their bad ones, vary in the same manner; and we shall be forced to the further conclusion, that such variations are the result of large and general causes, which, working upon the aggregate

[20] *Dufau, Traité de Statistique*, pp. 75, 148.

[21] Some moralists have also established a third class of actions, which they call indifferent, as belonging neither to virtue nor to vice; and hence there arose the famous doctrine of probability, set up by several eminent Romish casuists, and hotly attacked by Pascal. But this, if we put aside its worst feature, namely its practical bearings, is merely a question of definition; inasmuch as every indifferent act must lean on the side either of evil or of good, and may therefore be referred to the category to which it inclines; and certainly every increase of vice diminishes virtue relatively though not always absolutely. Among the Greek philosophers there was a schism on this point: Ἀρέσκει δὲ αὐτοῖς (i.e. the Stoics) μηδὲν μέσον εἶναι ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας· τῶν περιπατητικῶν μεταξὺ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας εἶναι λεγόντων τὴν προκοπήν. *Diog. Laert. de Vitis Philosophorum*, lib. vii. segm. 127, vol. i. p. 445.

of society, must produce certain consequences, without regard to the volition of those particular men of whom the society is composed.

Such is the regularity we expect to find, if the actions of men are governed by the state of the society in which they occur; while, on the other hand, if we can find no such regularity, we may believe that their actions depend on some capricious and personal principle peculiar to each man, as free will or the like. It becomes, therefore, in the highest degree important to ascertain whether or not there exists a regularity in the entire moral conduct of a given society; and this is precisely one of those questions for the decision of which statistics supply us with materials of immense value.

For the main object of legislation being to protect the innocent against the guilty, it naturally followed that European governments, so soon as they became aware of the importance of statistics, should begin to collect evidence respecting the crimes they were expected to punish. This evidence has gone on accumulating, until it now forms of itself a large body of literature, containing, with the commentaries connected with it, an immense array of facts, so carefully compiled, and so well and clearly digested, that more may be learned from it respecting the moral nature of Man than can be gathered from all the accumulated experience of preceding ages.[22] But as it will be impossible in this Introduction to give anything like a complete statement of those inferences which, in the actual state of statistics, we are authorized to draw, I shall content myself with examining two or three of the most important, and pointing out the connexion between them.

Of all offences, it might well be supposed that the crime of murder is one of the most arbitrary and irregular. For when we consider that this, though generally the crowning act of a long career of vice, is often the immediate result of what seems a sudden impulse; that when premeditated, its committal, even with the least chance of impunity, requires a rare combination of favourable circumstances for which the criminal will frequently wait; that he has thus to bide his time, and look for opportunities he cannot control; that when the time has come, his heart may fail him; that the question whether or not he shall commit the crime may depend on a balance of conflicting motives, such as fear of the law, a dread of the penalties held out by religion, the prickings of his own conscience, the apprehension of future remorse, the love of gain, jealousy, revenge, desperation;—when we put all these things together, there arises such a complication of causes, that we might reasonably despair of detecting any order or method in the result of those subtle and shifting agencies by which murder is either caused or prevented. But now, how stands the fact? The fact is, that murder is committed with as much regularity, and bears as uniform a relation to certain known circumstances, as do the movements of the tides, and the rotations of the seasons. M. Quetelet, who has spent his life in collecting and methodizing the statistics of different countries, states, as the result of his laborious researches, that "in everything which concerns crime, the same numbers re-occur with a constancy which cannot be mistaken; and that this is the case even with those crimes which seem quite independent of human foresight, such, for instance, as murders, which are generally committed after quarrels arising from circumstances apparently casual. Never-

[22] I say this advisedly: and whoever has examined these subjects must be aware of the way in which writers on morals repeat the commonplace and hackneyed notions of their predecessors; so that a man, after reading everything that has been written on moral conduct and moral philosophy, will find himself nearly as much in the dark as when his studies first began. The most accurate investigators of the human mind have hitherto been the poets, particularly Homer and Shakespeare; but these extraordinary observers mainly occupied themselves with the concrete phenomena of life; and if they analyzed, as they probably did, they have concealed the steps of the process, so that we can now only verify their conclusions empirically. The great advance made by the statisticians consists in applying to these inquiries the doctrine of averages, which no one thought of doing before the eighteenth century.

theless, we know from experience that every year there not only take place nearly the same number of murders, but that even the instruments by which they are committed are employed in the same proportion."[23] This was the language used in 1835 by confessedly the first statistician in Europe, and every subsequent investigation has confirmed its accuracy. For later inquiries have ascertained the extraordinary fact that the uniform reproduction of crime is more clearly marked, and more capable of being predicted, than are the physical laws connected with the disease and destruction of our bodies. Thus, for instance, the number of persons accused of crime in France between 1826 and 1844 was, by a singular coincidence, about equal to the male deaths which took place in Paris during the same period, the difference being that the fluctuations in the amount of crime were actually smaller than the fluctuations in the mortality; while a similar regularity was observed in each separate offence, all of which obeyed the same law of uniform and periodical repetition.[24]

This, indeed, will appear strange to those who believe that human actions depend more on the peculiarities of each individual than on the general state of society. But another circumstance remains behind still more striking. Among public and registered crimes there is none which seems so completely dependent on the individual as suicide. Attempts to murder or to rob may be, and constantly are, successfully resisted; baffled sometimes by the party attacked, sometimes by the officers of justice. But an attempt to commit suicide is much less liable to interruption. The man who is determined to kill himself is not prevented at the last moment by the struggles of an enemy, and as he can easily guard against the interference of the civil power,[25] his act

[23] "Dans tout ce qui se rapporte aux crimes, les mêmes nombres se reproduisent avec une constance telle, qu'il serait impossible de la méconnaître, même pour ceux des crimes qui sembleraient devoir échapper le plus à toute prévision humaine, tels que les meurtres, puisqu'ils se commettent, en général, à la suite de rixes qui naissent sans motifs, et dans les circonstances, en apparence, les plus fortuites. Cependant l'expérience prouve que non seulement les meurtres sont annuellement à peu près en même nombre, mais encore que les instruments qui servent à les commettre sont employés dan les mêmes proportions." *Quételet sur l'Homme*, Paris, 1835, vol. i. p. 7; see also vol. ii. pp. 164, 247.

[24] "Thus, in twenty years' observations, the number of persons accused of various crimes in France, and registered under their respective ages, scarcely varies at any age from year to year, comparing the proportion per cent. under each age with the totals. The number of persons accused in all France, in the years 1826 to 1844, was about equal to the deaths of males registered in Paris; but singularly enough, the former results are more regular than the latter, notwithstanding the accidental causes which might affect them; notwithstanding even a revolution in Paris, which convulsed society and brought in a new dynasty." *Brown on the Uniform Action of the Human Will*, in *The Assurance Magazine*, no. viii., July 1852, pp. 340, 350. That the variations in crime are less than those of mortality is also noticed in *Statistique Morale*, pp. 18, 34, in *Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique*, vol. xxi., Bruxelles, 1848, 4to.

[25] The folly of lawgivers thinking that by their enactments they can diminish suicide, is exposed by M. C. Comte in his *Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 486. See also some good remarks by Jefferson, in his observations on criminal law in *Appendix to Jefferson's Memoirs, by Randolph*, vol. i. pp. 126, 127. Heber (*Journey through India*, vol i. pp. 389, 390) found that the English Government had vainly attempted to check the suicides frequently committed at Benares by drowning; and in our country the interference of legislators is met by the perjury of jurors, since, as Bentham says, English juries do not hesitate to violate their oaths by declaring the suicide to be *non compos*. *Principles of Penal Law*, in *Bentham's Works*, edit. Bowring, 1843, vol. i. pp. 479, 480. In regard to the determination of the individual, and the impossibility of baffling his intention, there are cases recorded of persons who, being deprived of the ordinary means of destruction, put an end to life by holding their breath; while others effected their purpose by turning back the tongue so as to exclude air from the larynx. *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, pp. 491, 492.

becomes as it were isolated; it is cut off from foreign disturbances, and seems more clearly the product of his own volition than any other offence could possibly be. We may also add that, unlike crimes in general, it is rarely caused by the instigation of confederates; so that men, not being goaded into it by their companions, are uninfluenced by one great class of external associations which might hamper what is termed the freedom of their will. It may, therefore, very naturally be thought impracticable to refer suicide to general principles, or to detect anything like regularity in an offence which is so eccentric, so solitary, so impossible to control by legislation, and which the most vigilant police can do nothing to diminish. There is also another obstacle that impedes our view: this is, that even the best evidence respecting suicide must always be very imperfect. In case of drowning, for example, deaths are liable to be returned as suicides which are accidental; while, on the other hand, some are called accidental which are voluntary.[26] Thus it is, that self-murder seems to be not only capricious and uncontrollable, but also very obscure in regard to proof; so that on all these grounds it might be reasonable to despair of ever tracing it to those general causes by which it is produced.

These being the peculiarities of this singular crime, it is surely an astonishing fact that all the evidence we possess respecting it points to one great conclusion, and can leave no doubt on our minds that suicide is merely the product of the general condition of society, and that the individual felon only carries into effect what is a necessary consequence of preceding circumstances.[27] In a given state of society a certain number of persons must put an end to their own life. This is the general law; and the special question as to who shall commit the crime depends of course upon special laws; which, however, in their total action must obey the large social law to which they are all subordinate.* And the

[26] This also applies to other cases besides those of drowning. See *Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence*, 1846, pp. 587, 597; and on the difficulty of always distinguishing a real suicide from an apparent one, see *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. p. 575. From a third to a half of all suicides are by drowning. Compare *Dufau, Traité de Statistique*, p. 304; *Winslow's Anatomy of Suicide*, 1840, p. 277; *Quetelet, Statistique Morale*, p. 66. But among these, many are no doubt involuntary; and it is certain that popular opinion grossly exaggerates the length of time during which it is possible to remain under water. *Brodie's Surgery*, 1846, pp. 89–92.

[The note is not clear. "Among these" presumably means "among the recorded cases of drowning"; and the last clause is probably meant to convey that suicide by drowning is *ultimately* "involuntary" in the sense that one cannot of one's own accord stay under water until dead.—Ed.]

[27] "Tout semble dépendre de causes déterminées. Ainsi, nous trouvons annuellement à peu près le même nombre de suicides, non-seulement en général, mais encore en faisant la distinction des sexes, celle des âges, ou même celle des instruments employés pour se détruire. Une année reproduit si fidèlement les chiffres de l'année qui a

[* The conception of "law" here set forth is incorrect: and the idea that one law "obeys" another must be put aside. "Law in nature" is merely a name for an observed constancy of relation between phenomena, e.g. that water boils at a certain temperature and barometrical pressure. In this sense, the alleged "general law" is merely the sum total of the so-called "special laws," the whole causation occurring in terms of specific relations: e.g. a certain organism, under certain moral or physiological conditions, and at a certain temperature, will aim at suicide, and will under certain conditions succeed. But the law is solely in terms of specific series, which are part of the "given state of society"—and of the environment; not of any "general" predestination to death of a given number of victims. Mr. Venn (*Logic of Chance*, 2nd ed. p. 236) records that a "sort of panic" was set up "in many quarters" by Buckle's exposition. The truth involved, however, is really on all fours with that embodied in any other set of "vital statistics." In note 32, below, Buckle points to a truer conception of law; but there also the phrasing is lax, and in the text at that point it is still more so. The phrase "prodigious energy of those vast social laws" must have been penned before the note in question.—Ed.]

power of the larger law is so irresistible, that neither the love of life nor the fear of another world can avail anything towards even checking its operation. The causes of this remarkable regularity I shall hereafter examine; but the existence of the regularity is familiar to whoever is conversant with moral statistics. In the different countries for which we have returns, we find year by year the same proportion of persons putting an end to their own existence: so that, after making allowance for the impossibility of collecting complete evidence, we are able to predict, within a very small limit of error, the number of voluntary deaths for each ensuing period; supposing, of course, that the social circumstances do not undergo any marked change. Even in London, notwithstanding the vicissitudes incidental to the largest and most luxurious capital in the world, we find a regularity greater than could be expected by the most sanguine believer in social laws; since political excitement, mercantile excitement, and the misery produced by the dearness of food, are all causes of suicide, and are all constantly varying.[28] Nevertheless, in this vast metropolis, about 240 persons every year make away with themselves; the annual suicides oscillating, from the pressure of temporary causes, between 266, the highest, and 213, the lowest. In 1846, which was the great year of excitement caused by the railway panic, the suicides in London were 266; in 1847 began a slight improvement, and they fell to 256; in 1848 they were 247; in 1849 they were 213; and in 1850 they were 229.[29]

Such is some, and only some, of the evidence we now possess respecting the regularity with which, in the same states of society, the same crimes are necessarily reproduced. To appreciate the full force of this evidence, we must remember that it is not an arbitrary selection of particular facts, but that it is generalized from an exhaustive statement of criminal statistics, consisting of many millions of observations, extending over countries in different grades of civilization, with different laws, different opinions, different morals, different habits. If we add to this, that these statistics have been collected by persons specially employed for that purpose, with every means of arriving at the truth, and with no interest to deceive, it surely must be admitted that the existence of crime according to a fixed and uniform scheme, is a fact more clearly attested than any other in the moral history of man. We have here parallel chains of evidence formed with extreme care, under the most different circumstances, and all pointing in the same direction; all of them forcing us to the conclusion that the offences of men are the result not so much of the vices of the individual offender as of the state of society into which that individual is thrown.[30] This is an inference resting on broad and tangible proofs accessible to all the world; and as such cannot be overturned, or even impeached, by any of those hypotheses with which metaphysicians and theologians have hitherto perplexed the study of past events.

Those readers who are acquainted with the manner in which in the physical world the operations of the laws of nature are constantly disturbed, will expect

précédé, qu'on peut prévoir ce qui doit arriver dans l'année qui va suivre." *Quetelet, Statistique Morale*, 1848, p. 35; see also p. 40.

[28] On the causes of suicides, see *Burdach's Traité de Physiologie*, vol. v. pp. 476–478; and *Forry's Climate and its Endemic Influences*, p. 329. The latest researches of M. Casper confirm the statement of earlier statisticians, that suicide is more frequent among Protestants than among Catholics. *Casper, Denkwürdigkeiten zur medicinischen Statistik*, Berlin, 1846. p. 139. [The alleged rule is not invariable.—ED.]

[29] See the tables in *The Assurance Magazine*, no. iv. p. 309, no. v. p. 34, no. viii. p. 350. These are the only complete consecutive returns of London suicides yet published: those issued by the police being imperfect. *Assurance Magazine*, no. v. p. 53. From inquiries made for me at the General Register Office, in January 1856, I learnt that there was an intention of completing the yearly returns, but I do not know if this has since been done.

[30] "L'expérience démontre en effet, avec toute l'évidence possible, cette opinion, qui pourra sembler paradoxale au premier abord, que *c'est la société qui prépare le crime, et que le coupable n'est que l'instrument qui l'exécute.*" *Quetelet sur l'Homme*, vol. ii. p. 325.

to find in the moral world disturbances equally active. Such aberrations proceed, in both instances, from minor laws which at particular points meet the larger laws, and thus alter their normal action. Of this, the science of mechanics affords a good example in the instance of that beautiful theory called the parallelogram of forces; according to which the forces are to each other in the same proportion as is the diagonal of their respective parallelograms.[31] This is a law pregnant with great results; it is connected with those important mechanical resources, the composition and resolution of forces; and no one acquainted with the evidence on which it stands ever thought of questioning its truth. But the moment we avail ourselves of it for practical purposes, we find that in its action it is warped by other laws, such as those concerning the friction of air, and the different density of the bodies on which we operate, arising from their chemical composition, or, as some suppose, from their atomic arrangement. Perturbations being thus let in, the pure and simple action of the mechanical law disappears. Still, and although the results of the law are incessantly disturbed, the law itself remains intact.[32] Just in the same way, the great social law, that the moral actions of men are the product not of their volition, but of their antecedents,* is itself liable to disturbances which trouble its operation without affecting its truth. And this is quite sufficient to explain those slight variations which we find from year to year in the total amount of crime produced by the same country. Indeed, looking at the fact that the moral world is far more abundant in materials than the physical world, the only ground for astonishment is, that these variations should not be greater; and from the circumstance that the discrepancies are so trifling, we may form some idea of the prodigious energy of those vast social laws which, though constantly interrupted, seem to triumph over every obstacle, and which, when examined by the aid of large numbers, scarcely undergo any sensible perturbation.[33]

[31] The diagonal always giving the resultant when each side represents a force; and if we look on the resultant as a compound force, a comparison of diagonals becomes a comparison of compounds.

[32] A law of nature being merely a generalization of relations, and having no existence except in the mind, is essentially intangible; and therefore, however small the law may be, it can never admit of exceptions, though its operation may admit of innumerable exceptions. Hence, as Dugald Stewart (*Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 211) rightly says, we can only refer to the laws of nature "by a sort of figure or metaphor." This is constantly lost sight of even by authors of repute; some of whom speak of laws as if they were causes, and therefore liable to interruption by larger causes; while other writers pronounce them to be "delegated agencies" from the Deity. Compare *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 318, 435, 495; *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. ii. p. 67; *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. i. p. 160. Mr. Paget, in his able work, *Lectures on Pathology*, vol. i. p. 481, vol. ii. p. 542, with much greater accuracy calls such cases "apparent exceptions" to laws; but it would be better to say, "exceptions to the operations of laws." The context clearly proves that Mr. Paget distinctly apprehends the difference; but a slight alteration of this kind would prevent confusion in the minds of ordinary readers.

[33] Mr. Rawson, in his *Inquiry into the Statistics of Crime in England and Wales* (published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. ii. pp. 316–344), says, p. 327. "No greater proof can be given of the possibility of arriving at certain constants with regard to crime, than the fact which appears in the following table, that the greatest variation which has taken place during the last three years, in the proportion of any class of criminals at the same period of life, has not exceeded a half per cent." See also *Report of British Association for* 1839, *Transac. of Sec.*, p. 118. Indeed, all writers who have examined the evidence are forced to admit this regularity, however they may wish to explain it. M. Dufau (*Traité de Statistique*, p. 144) says, "Les faits de l'ordre

[* The antithesis here put is fallacious. The volitions are the products of the antecedents; and the moral actions express the volitions. The formula "not . . . but . . . " is thus beside the case.—Ed.]

Nor is it merely the crimes of men which are marked by this uniformity of sequence. Even the number of marriages annually contracted is determined, not by the temper and wishes of individuals, but by large general facts, over which individuals can exercise no authority.* It is now known that marriages bear a fixed and definite relation to the price of corn ;[34] and in England the experience of a century has proved that, instead of having any connexion with personal feelings, they are simply regulated by the average earnings of the great mass of the people :[35] so that this immense social and religious institution is not only swayed, but is completely controlled, by the price of food and by the rate of wages. In other cases, uniformity has been detected, though the causes of the uniformity are still unknown. Thus, to give a curious instance, we are now able to prove that even the aberrations of memory are marked by this general character of necessary and invariable order. The post-offices of London and of Paris have lately published returns of the number of letters which the writers, through forgetfulness, omitted to direct ; and making allowance for the difference of circumstances, the returns are year after year copies of each other. Year after year the same proportion of letter-writers forget this simple act ; so that for each successive period we can actually foretell the number of persons whose memory will fail them in regard to this trifling and, as it might appear, accidental occurrence.[36]

To those who have a steady conception of the regularity of events, and have firmly seized the great truth that the actions of men, being guided by their antecedents, are in reality never inconsistent, but, however capricious they may appear, only form part of one vast scheme of universal order of which we in the present state of knowledge can barely see the outline,—to those who understand this, which is at once the key and the basis of history, the facts just adduced, so far from being strange, will be precisely what would have been expected and ought long since to have been known. Indeed, the progress of inquiry is becoming so rapid and so earnest, that I entertain little doubt that before another century has elapsed, the chain of evidence will be complete, and it will be as rare to find an historian who denies the undeviating regularity of the moral world, as it now is to find a philosopher who denies the regularity of the material world.

It will be observed, that the preceding proofs of our actions being regulated by law, have been derived from statistics ; a branch of knowledge which, though

moral sont, aussi bien que ceux de l'ordre naturel, le produit de causes constantes et régulières," etc. ; and at p. 367, " C'est ainsi que le monde moral se présente à nous, de ce point de vue, comme offrant, de même que le monde physique, un ensemble continu d'effets dus à des causes constantes et régulières, dont il appartient surtout à la statistique de constater l'action." See to the same effect *Moreau-Christophe des Prisons en France*, Paris, 1838, pp. 53, 189.

[34] " It is curious to observe how intimate a relation exists between the price of food and the number of marriages." . . . " The relation that subsists between the price of food and the number of marriages is not confined to our own country ; and it is not improbable that, had we the means of ascertaining the facts, we should see the like result in every civilized community. We possess the necessary returns from France ; and these fully bear out the view that has been given." *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, vol. ii. pp. 244, 245, London, 1838.

[35] " The marriage returns of 1850 and 1851 exhibit the excess which since 1750 has been invariably observed when the substantial earnings of the people are above the average." *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. xv. p. 185.

[36] See *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. ii. pp. 409–411, which, says this able writer, proves that " forgetfulness as well as free-will is under constant laws." But this is using the word free-will in a sense different from that commonly employed.

[* In this and the following sentence we have again spurious antitheses. The " large general facts " exist solely *through* " the temper and wishes of individuals " in relation to the changes in the environment. The " personal feelings " are simply adjusted to the economic conditions.—Ed.]

still in its infancy,[37] has already thrown more light on the study of human nature than all the sciences put together. But although the statisticians have been the first to investigate this great subject by treating it according to those methods of reasoning which in other fields have been found successful; and although they have, by the application of numbers, brought to bear upon it a very powerful engine for eliciting truth,—we must not, on that account, suppose that there are no other resources remaining by which it may likewise be cultivated: nor should we infer that because the physical sciences have not yet been applied to history, they are therefore inapplicable to it. Indeed, when we consider the incessant contact between man and the external world, it is certain that there must be an intimate connexion between human actions and physical laws; so that if physical science has not hitherto been brought to bear upon history, the reason is, either that historians have not perceived the connexion, or else that, having perceived it, they have been destitute of the knowledge by which its workings can be traced. Hence there has arisen an unnatural separation of the two great departments of inquiry, the study of the internal and that of the external: and although, in the present state of European literature, there are some unmistakable symptoms of a desire to break down this artificial barrier, still it must be admitted that as yet nothing has been actually accomplished towards effecting so great an end. The moralists, the theologians, and the metaphysicians, continue to prosecute their studies without much respect for what they deem the inferior labours of scientific men; whose inquiries, indeed, they frequently attack as dangerous to the interests of religion, and as inspiring us with an undue confidence in the resources of the human understanding. On the other hand, the cultivators of physical science, conscious that they are an advancing body, are naturally proud of their own success; and, contrasting their discoveries with the more stationary position of their opponents, are led to despise pursuits the barrenness of which has now become notorious.

It is the business of the historian to mediate between these two parties, and reconcile their hostile pretensions by showing the point at which their respective studies ought to coalesce. To settle the terms of this coalition, will be to fix the basis of all history. For since history deals with the actions of men, and since their actions are merely the product of a collision between internal and external phenomena, it becomes necessary to examine the relative importance of those phenomena, to inquire into the extent to which their laws are known, and to ascertain the resources for future discovery possessed by these two great classes, the students of the mind and the students of nature. This task I shall endeavour to accomplish in the next two chapters: and if I do so with anything approaching to success, the present work will at least have the merit of contributing something towards filling up that wide and dreary chasm which, to the hindrance of our knowledge, separates subjects that are intimately related, and should never be disunited.

[37] Achenwall, in the middle of the eighteenth century, is usually considered to be the first systematic writer on statistics, and is said to have given them their present name. See *Lewis, Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, 1852, vol. i. p. 72; *Biographie Universelle*, vol. i. p. 140: *Dufau, Traité de Statistique*, pp. 9, 10. Even so late as 1800, the Bishop of Llandaff wrote to Sir John Sinclair, "I must think the kingdom is highly indebted to you for bringing forward a species of knowledge (statistics) wholly new in this country, though not new in other parts of Europe." *Sinclair's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 230. Sinclair, notwithstanding his industry, was a man of slender powers, and did not at all understand the real importance of statistics, of which, indeed, he took a mere practical view. Since then statistics have been applied extensively to medicine; and still more recently, and on a similar scale, to philology and to jurisprudence. Compare *Bouillaud, Philosophie Médicale*, pp. 96, 186; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. pp. 474, 475; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. ii. pp. 665–667; *Holland's Medical Notes*, pp. 5, 472; *Vogel's Pathological Anatomy*, pp. 15–17; *Simon's Pathology*, p. 180; *Phillips on Scrofula*, pp. 70, 118, etc.; *Prichard's Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. iv. p. 414; *Eschbach, Étude du Droit*, pp. 392–394.

NOTE A.

"Der Begriff der Freiheit ist ein reiner Vernunftbegriff, der eben darum für die theoretische Philosophie transcendent, d. i. ein solcher ist, dem kein angemessenes Beispiel in irgend einer möglichen Erfahrung gegeben werden kann, welcher also keinen Gegenstand einer uns möglichen theoretischen Erkenntiss ausmacht, und schlechterdings nicht für ein constitutives, sondern lediglich als regulatives, und zwar nur blos negatives Princip der speculativen Vernunft gelten kann, im praktischen Gebrauche der selben aber seine Realität durch praktische Grundsätze beweist, die, als Gesetze, eine Causalität der reinen Vernunft, unabhängig von allen empirischen Bedingungen (dem Sinnlichen überhaupt) die Willkühr zu bestimmen, und einen reinen Willen in uns beweisen, in welchem die sittlichen Begriffe und Gesetze ihren Ursprung haben." *Metaphysik der Sitten*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. v. p. 20, 21. "Würden die Gegenstände der Sinnenwelt für Dinge an sich selbst genommen, und die oben angeführten Naturgesetze für Gesetze der Dinge an sich selbst, so wäre der Widerspruch" (i.e. between Liberty and Necessity) "unvermeidlich. Ebenso, wenn das Subject der Freiheit gleich den übrigen Gegenständen als blose Erscheinung vorgestellt würde, so könnte ebensowohl der Widerspruch nicht vermieden werden: denn es würde ebendasselbe von einerlei Gegenstande in derselben Bedeutung zugleich bejaht und verneint werden. Ist aber Naturnothwendigkeit blos auf Erscheinungen bezogen, und Freiheit blos auf Dinge an sich selbst, so entspringt kein Widerspruch, wenn man gleich beide Arten von Causalität annimmt oder zugibt, so schwer oder unmöglich es auch sein mochte, die von der letzteren Art begreiflich zu machen." . . . "Natur also und Freiheit ebendemselben Dinge, aber in verschiedener Beziehung, einmal als Erscheinung, das andremal als einem Dinge an sich selbst ohne Widerspruch beigelegt werden können." . . . "Nun kann ich ohne Widerspruch sagen: alle Handlungen vernünftiger Wesen, sofern sie Erscheinungen sind (in irgend einer Erfahrung angetroffen werden) stehen unter der Naturnothwendigkeit; ebendieselben Handlungen aber, blos respective auf das vernünftige Subject und dessen Vermögen, nach bloser Vernunft zu handeln, sind frei." *Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Metaphysik*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. iii. pp. 268–270. "Denn ein Geschöpf zu sein und als Naturwesen blos dem Willen seines Urhebers zu folgen; dennoch aber als freihandelndes Wesen, (welches seinen vom äusseren Einfluss unabhängigen Willen hat, der dem ersteren vielfältig zuwider sein kann,) der Zurechnung fähig zu sein, und seine eigene That doch auch zugleich als die Wirkung eines höheren Wesens anzusehen: ist eine Vereinbarung von Begriffen, die wir zwar in der Idee einer Welt, als des höchsten Gutes, zusammen denken müssen; die aber nur der einsehen kann, welcher bis zur Kenntniss der übersinnlichen (intelligiblen) Welt durchdringt und die Art einsieht, wie sie der Sinnenwelt zum Grunde liegt." *Theodicee*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. vi. p. 149. "Nun wollen wir annehmen, die durch unsere Kritik nothwendig gemachte Unterscheidung der Dinge, als Gegenstände der Erfahrung, von eben denselben, als Dingen an sich selbst, wäre gar nicht gemacht, so müsste der Grundsatz der Causalität und mithin der Naturmechanismus in Bestimmung derselben durchaus von allen Dingen überhaupt als wirkenden Ursachen gelten. Von eben demselben Wesen also, z. B. der menschlichen Seele, wurde ich nicht sagen können, ihr Wille sei frei, und er sei doch zugleich der Naturnothwendigkeit unterworfen, d. i. nicht frei, ohne in einen offenbaren Widerspruch zu gerathen; weil ich die Seele in beiden Sätzen in eben derselben Bedeutung, nämlich als Ding überhaupt (als Sache an sich selbst), genommen habe, und, ohne vorhergehende Kritik, auch nicht anders nehmen konnte. Wenn aber die Kritik nicht geirrt hat, da sie das Object in zweierlei Bedeutung nehmen lehrt, nämlich, als Erscheinung, oder als Ding an sich selbst; wenn die Deduction ihrer Verstandesbegriffe richtig ist, mithin auch der Grundsatz der Causalität nur auf Dinge im ersten Sinne genommen, nämlich so fern sie Gegenstände der Erfahrung sind, geht, eben dieselben aber nach der zweiten Bedeutung ihm nicht unterworfen sind, so wird eben derselbe Wille in der Erscheinung (den sichtbaren Handlungen) als dem Naturgesetze nothwendig gemäss und so fern nicht frei, und doch andererseits, als einem Dinge an sich selbst angehörig, jenem nicht unterworfen, mithin als frei gedacht, ohne dass hiebei ein Widerspruch vorgeht." *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. p. 24. "Und hier zeigt die zwar gemeine aber betrügliche Voraussetzung der absoluten Realität der Erscheinungen sogleich ihren nachtheiligen Einfluss, die Vernunft zu verwirren. Denn sind Erscheinungen Dinge an sich selbst, so ist die Freiheit nicht zu retten. Alsdann ist Natur die vollstän

dige und an sich hinreichend bestimmende Ursache jeder Begebenheit, und die Bedingung derselben ist jederzeit nur in der Reihe der Erscheinungen enthalten, die sammt ihrer Wirkung unter dem Naturgesetze nothwendig sind. Wenn dagegen Erscheinungen für nichts mehr gelten, als die in der That sind, nämlich nicht für Dinge an sich, sondern blose Vorstellungen, sie nach empirischen Gesetzen zusammenhängen, so müssen sie selbst noch Gründe haben, die nicht Erscheinungen sind." . . . "Hier habe ich nur die Anmerkung machen wollen, dass, da der durchgängige Zusammenhang aller Erscheinungen in einem Context der Natur ein unnachlässliches Gesetz ist, dieses alle Freiheit nothwendig umstürzen müsste, wenn man der Realität der Erscheinungen hartnäckig anhängen wollte. Daher auch diejenigen, welche hierin der gemeinen Meinung folgen, niemals dahin haben gelangen können, Natur und Freiheit mit einander zu vereinigen." *Kritik*, in *Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 419, 420. Finally, at p. 433, "Man muss wohl bemerken dass wir hiedurch nicht die Wirklichkeit der Freiheit, als eines der Vermögen, welche die Ursache von den Erscheinungen unserer Sinnenwelt enthalten, haben darthun wollen. Denn ausser dass dieses gar keine transcendentale Betrachtung, die blos mit Begriffen zu thun hat, gewesen sein wurde, so könnte es auch nicht gelingen, indem wir aus der Erfahrung niemals auf etwas was gar nicht nach Erfahrungsgesetzen gedacht werden muss, schliessen können. Ferner haben wir auch gar nicht einmal die Möglichkeit der Freiheit beweisen wollen ; denn dieses wäre auch nicht gelungen, weil wir überhaupt von keinem Realgrunde und keiner Causalität aus blosen Begriffen *a priori* die Möglichkeit erkennen können. Die Freiheit wird hier nur als transcendentale Idee behandelt, wodurch die Vernunft die Reihe der Bedingungen in der Erscheinung durch das sinnlich Unbedingte schlechthin anzuheben denkt, dabei sich aber in eine Antinomie mit ihren eigenen Gesetzen, welche sie dem empirischen Gebrauche des Verstandes vorschreibt, verwickelt. Dass nun diese Antinomie auf einem blosen Scheine beruhe, und dass Natur der Causalität aus Freiheit wenigstens nicht widerstreite, das war das Einzige, was wir leisten konnten und woran es uns auch einzig und allein gelegen war."

These passages prove that Kant saw that the phenomenal reality of Free Will is an indefensible doctrine : and as the present work is an investigation of the laws of phenomena, his transcendental philosophy does not affect my conclusions. According to Kant's view (with which I am inclined to agree) the ordinary metaphysical and theological treatment of this dark problem is purely empirical, and therefore has no value. The denial of the supremacy of consciousness follows as a natural consequence, and is the result of the Kantian philosophy, and not, as is often said, the base of it.

CHAPTER II

Influence exercised by Physical Laws over the Organization of Society and over the Character of Individuals

If we inquire what those physical agents are by which the human race is most powerfully influenced, we shall find that they may be classed under four heads : namely, Climate, Food, Soil, and the General Aspect of Nature ; by which last I mean those appearances which, though presented chiefly to the sight, have, through the medium of that or other senses, directed the association of ideas, and hence in different countries have given rise to different habits of national thought. To one of these four classes may be referred all the external phenomena by which Man has been permanently affected. The last of these classes, or what I call the General Aspect of Nature, produces its principal results by exciting the imagination, and by suggesting those innumerable superstitions which are the great obstacles to advancing knowledge. And as, in the infancy of a people, the power of such superstitions is supreme, it has happened that the various Aspects of Nature have caused corresponding varieties in the popular character, and have imparted to the national religion peculiarities which, under certain circumstances, it is impossible to efface. The other three agents, namely, Climate, Food, and Soil, have, so far as we are aware, had no direct influence of this sort ; but they have, as I am about to prove, originated the most important consequences in regard to the general organization of society, and from them there have followed many of those large and conspicuous differences between nations which are often ascribed to some fundamental difference in the various races into which mankind is divided. But while such original distinctions of race are altogether hypothetical,[1] the discrepancies which are caused by difference of climate, food, and soil, are capable of a satisfactory explanation, and, when understood, will be found to clear up many of the difficulties which still obscure the study of history. I purpose, therefore, in the first place, to examine the laws of these three vast agents in so far as they are connected with Man in his social condition ; and having traced the working of those laws with as

[1] I cordially subscribe to the remark of one of the greatest thinkers of our time, who says of the supposed differences of race, "Of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent and natural differences." *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i. 390. Ordinary writers are constantly falling into the error of assuming the existence of this difference, which may or may not exist, but which most assuredly has never been proved. Some singular instances of this will be found in *Alison's History of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 336, vol. vi. p. 136, vol. viii. pp. 525, 526, vol. xiii. p. 347 ; where the historian thinks that by a few strokes of his pen he can settle a question of the greatest difficulty, connected with some of the most intricate problems in physiology. On the supposed relation between race and temperament, see *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. iii. p. 355.

much precision as the present state of physical knowledge will allow, I shall then examine the remaining agent, namely, the General Aspect of Nature, and shall endeavour to point out the most important divergences to which its variations have, in different countries, naturally given rise.

Beginning, then, with climate, food, and soil, it is evident that these three physical powers are in no small degree dependent on each other : that is to say, there is a very close connexion between the climate of a country and the food which will ordinarily be grown in that country ; while at the same time the food is itself influenced by the soil which produces it, as also by the elevation or depression of the land, by the state of the atmosphere, and, in a word, by all those conditions to the assemblage of which the name of Physical Geography is, in its largest sense, commonly given.[2]

The union between these physical agents being thus intimate, it seems advisable to consider them not under their own separate heads, but rather under the separate heads of the effects produced by their united action. In this way we shall rise at once to a more comprehensive view of the whole question ; we shall avoid the confusion that would be caused by artificially separating phenomena which are in themselves inseparable ; and we shall be able to see more clearly the extent of that remarkable influence which, in an early stage of society, the powers of Nature exercise over the fortunes of Man.

Of all the results which are produced among a people by their climate, food, and soil, the accumulation of wealth is the earliest, and in many respects the most important. For although the progress of knowledge eventually accelerates the increase of wealth, it is nevertheless certain that, in the first formation of society, the wealth must accumulate before the knowledge can begin. As long as every man is engaged in collecting the materials necessary for his own subsistence, there will be neither leisure nor taste for higher pursuits ; no science can possibly be created, and the utmost that can be effected will be an attempt to economize labour by the contrivance of such rude and imperfect instruments as even the most barbarous people are able to invent.

In a state of society like this, the accumulation of wealth is the first great step that can be taken, because without wealth there can be no leisure, and without leisure there can be no knowledge. If what a people consume is always exactly equal to what they possess, there will be no residue, and therefore, no capital being accumulated, there will be no means by which the unemployed classes may be maintained.[3] But if the produce is greater than the consumption, an overplus arises, which, according to well known principles, increases itself,* and eventually becomes a fund out of which, immediately or remotely, every one is supported who does not create the wealth upon which he lives. And now it is that the existence of an intellectual class first becomes possible, because for the first time there exists a previous accumulation, by means of which men can use what they did not produce, and are thus enabled to devote themselves to subjects for which at an earlier period the pressure of their daily wants would have left them no time.

[2] As to the proper limits of physical geography, see *Prichard on Ethnology*, in *Report of the British Association for* 1847, p. 235. The word ' climate ' I always use in the narrow and popular sense. Dr. Forry and many previous writers make it nearly coincide with ' physical geography ' : " Climate constitutes the aggregate of all the external physical circumstances appertaining to each locality in its relation to organic nature." *Forry's Climate of the United States and its Endemic Influences*, New York, 1842, p. 127.

[3] By unemployed classes, I mean what Adam Smith calls the unproductive classes ; and though both expressions are strictly speaking inaccurate, the word ' unemployed ' seems to convey more clearly than any other the idea in the text.

[* The " principles " alluded to seem to be the formulas of the " Wage-Fund theory " to the effect that saved capital " increases itself " by employing labour. But this doctrine, now abandoned by economists even as an account of the processes of a capitalistic industrial State, is doubly inapplicable to the phenomena of wealth-accumulation in a primary civilization. This seems to be recognized by Buckle in the next paragraph.—Ed.]

Thus it is that of all the great social improvements the accumulation of wealth must be the first, because without it there can be neither taste nor leisure for that acquisition of knowledge on which, as I shall hereafter prove, the progress of civilization depends. Now, it is evident that among an entirely ignorant people, the rapidity with which wealth is created will be solely regulated by the physical peculiarities of their country. At a later period, and when the wealth has been capitalized, other causes come into play; but until this occurs, the progress can only depend on two circumstances: first on the energy and regularity with which labour is conducted, and secondly on the returns made to that labour by the bounty of nature. And these two causes are themselves the result of physical antecedents. The returns made to labour are governed by the fertility of the soil, which is itself regulated partly by the admixture of its chemical components, partly by the extent to which, from rivers or from other natural causes, the soil is irrigated, and partly by the heat and humidity of the atmosphere. On the other hand, the energy and regularity with which labour is conducted will be entirely dependent on the influence of climate. This will display itself in two different ways. The first, which is a very obvious consideration, is, that if the heat is intense, men will be indisposed, and in some degree unfitted, for that active industry which in a milder climate they might willingly have exerted. The other consideration, which has been less noticed, but is equally important, is, that climate influences labour not only by enervating the labourer or by invigorating him, but also by the effect it produces on the regularity of his habits.[4] Thus we find that no people living in a very northern latitude have ever possessed that steady and unflinching industry for which the inhabitants of temperate regions are remarkable. The reason of this becomes clear, when we remember that in the more northern countries the severity of the weather, and, at some seasons, the deficiency of light, render it impossible for the people to continue their usual out-of-door employments. The result is, that the working-classes, being compelled to cease from their ordinary pursuits, are rendered more prone to desultory habits; the chain of their industry is as it were broken, and they lose that impetus which long-continued and uninterrupted practice never fails to give. Hence there arises a national character more fitful and capricious than that possessed by a people whose climate permits the regular exercise of their ordinary industry. Indeed, so powerful is this principle, that we may perceive its operation even under the most opposite circumstances. It would be difficult to conceive a greater difference in government, laws, religion, and manners, than that which distinguishes Sweden and Norway, on the one hand, from Spain and Portugal on the other. But these four countries have one great point in common. In all of them continued agricultural industry is impracticable. In the two southern countries, labour is interrupted by the heat, by the dryness of the weather, and by the consequent state of the soil. In the two northern countries, the same effect is produced by the severity of the winter and the shortness of the days. The consequence is, that these four nations, though so different in other respects, are all remarkable for a certain instability and fickleness of character; presenting a striking contrast to the more regular and settled habits which are established in countries whose climate subjects the working classes to fewer interruptions, and imposes on them the necessity of a more constant and unremitting employment.[5]

These are the great physical causes by which the creation of wealth is governed. There are, no doubt, other circumstances which operate with considerable force,

[4] This has been entirely neglected by the three most philosophical writers on climate—Montesquieu, Hume, and M. Charles Comte in his *Traité de Législation*. It is also omitted in the remarks of M. Guizot on the influence of climate, *Civilisation en Europe*, p. 97.

[5] See the admirable remarks in *Laing's Denmark*, 1852, pp. 204, 366, 367; though Norway appears to be a better illustration than Denmark. In *Rey's Science Sociale*, vol. i. pp. 195, 196, there are some calculations respecting the average loss to agricultural industry caused by changes in the weather; but no notice is taken of the connexion between these changes, when abrupt, and the tone of the national character.

and which, in a more advanced state of society, possess an equal, and sometimes a superior, influence. But this is at a later period; and looking at the history of wealth in its earliest stage, it will be found to depend entirely on soil* and climate: the soil regulating the returns made to any given amount of labour; the climate regulating the energy and constancy of the labour itself. It requires but a hasty glance at past events, to prove the immense power of these two great physical conditions. For there is no instance in history of any country being civilized by its own efforts, unless it has possessed one of these conditions in a very favourable form. In Asia, civilization has always been confined to that vast tract where a rich and alluvial soil † has secured to man that wealth without some share of which no intellectual progress can begin. This great region extends, with a few interruptions, from the east of Southern China to the western coasts of Asia Minor, of Phœnicia, and of Palestine. To the north of this immense belt, there is a long line of barren country which has invariably been peopled by rude and wandering tribes, who are kept in poverty by the ungenial nature of the soil, and who, as long as they remained on it, have never emerged from their uncivilized state. How entirely this depends on physical causes is evident from the fact that these same Mongolian and Tartarian hordes have, at different periods, founded great monarchies in China, in India, and in Persia, and have on all such occasions attained a civilization nowise inferior to that possessed by the most flourishing of the ancient kingdoms. For in the fertile plains of Southern Asia,[6] nature has supplied all the materials of wealth; and there it was that these barbarous tribes acquired for the first time some degree of refinement, produced a national literature, and organized a national polity; none of which things they, in their native land, had been able to effect.[7] In the same way, the Arabs, in their own country, have, owing to the extreme aridity of their soil,[8] always been a rude and uncultivated people; for in their case, as in all others, great ignorance is the fruit of great poverty. But in the seventh century they conquered Persia;[9] in the eighth century they conquered the best part of Spain;[10] in the ninth century they conquered the Punjaub, and eventually nearly the

[6] This expression has been used by different geographers in different senses; but I take it in its common acceptation, without reference to the more strictly physical view of Ritter and his followers in regard to Central Asia. See *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iv. p. 278, edit. 1844. At p. 92, Prichard makes the Himalaya the southern boundary of Central Asia.

[7] There is reason to believe that the Tartars of Tibet received even their alphabet from India. See the interesting Essay on Tartarian Coins in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. pp. 276, 277; and on the Scythian Alphabet, see vol. xii. p. 336.

[8] In *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. i. p. 132, it is said that in Arabia there are "no rivers"; but Mr. Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 409) mentions one which empties itself into the sea five miles west of Aden. On the streams in Arabia, see *Meiners über die Fruchtbarkeit der Länder*, vol. i. pp. 149, 150. That the sole deficiency is want of irrigation appears from Burckhardt, who says (*Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 240), "In Arabia, wherever the ground can be irrigated by wells, the sands may be soon made productive." And for a striking description of one of the oases of Oman, which shows what Arabia might have been with a good river system, see *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. vii. pp. 106, 107.

[9] Mr. Morier (*Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. vii. p. 230) says, "the conquest of Persia by the Saracens, A.D. 651." However, the fate of Persia was decided by the battles of Kudseah and Nahavund, which were fought in 638 and 641: see *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. i. pp. xvi. 139, 142.

[10] In 712. *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 369.

[* Soil here includes such a factor as the annual overflow of the Nile, noted below. —Ed.]

[† It is important to note that in Mesopotamia, as in Egypt, the fertility of the soil depended on the annual overflow of the great rivers, with canalization. Cp. *E. Meyer, Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. § 128; *Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, pp. 29–31.]

whole of India.[11] Scarcely were they established in their fresh settlements, when their character seemed to undergo a great change. They, who in their original land were little else than roving savages, were now for the first time able to accumulate wealth, and, therefore, for the first time did they make some progress in the arts of civilization. In Arabia they had been a mere race of wandering shepherds ;[12] in their new abodes they became the founders of mighty empires,—they built cities, endowed schools, collected libraries ; and the traces of their power are still to be seen at Cordova, at Bagdad, and at Delhi.[13]

[11] They were established in the Punjaub early in the ninth century, but did not conquer Guzerat and Malwa until five hundred years later. Compare Wilson's note in the *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 481, 482, with *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. pp. 187, 188, 203. On their progress in the more southern part of the Peninsula, see *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. pp. 222, 223, vol. iv. pp. 28–30.

[12] "A race of pastoral barbarians." *Dickinson on the Arabic Language*, in *Journal of Asiat. Society*, vol. v. p. 323. Compare *Reynier, Economie des Arabes*, pp. 27, 28 ; where, however, a very simple question is needlessly complicated. The old Persian writers bestowed on them the courteous appellation of " a band of naked lizard-eaters." *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 133. Indeed, there are few things in history better proved than the barbarism of a people whom some writers wish to invest with a romantic interest. The eulogy passed on them by Meiners is rather suspicious ; for he concludes by saying, " die Eroberungen der Araber waren höchst selten so blutig und zerstörend, als die Eroberungen der Tataren, Persen, Türken, u.s.w., in ältern und neuern Zeiten waren." *Fruchtbarkeit der Länder*, vol. i. p. 153. If this is the best that can be said, the comparison with Tartars and Turks does not prove much ; but it is singular that this learned author should have forgotten a passage in Diodorus Siculus which gives a pleasant description of them nineteen centuries ago on the eastern side. *Bibliothec. Hist.* lib. ii. vol. ii. p. 137. *ἔχουσι δὲ βίον λῃστρικὸν, καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας κατατρέχοντες λῃστεύουσιν*, etc.

[The civilization of ancient Arabia is here underestimated ; and the notion of "the" Arabians as a homogeneous people at one state of culture is erroneous. Arabia has a considerable area of rain and spring-watered country, especially in the south-west, and many of the valleys are very fertile. *Hughes' Manual of Geography*, ii. § 25. In South Arabia, from five to eight centuries B.C., there was a wealthy civilization, carrying on commerce with the neighbouring countries (*Meyer, Geschichte des Alterthums*, i. §§ 186, 403), and of this there are notable architectural remains. At the end of the sixth century of our era, only a fifth of the population lived the Bedouin life ; and not only in the Hedjaz but in Nedj there were a number of towns, whose inhabitants practised agriculture and commerce. As of old, they dealt in the precious metals, frankincense and slaves (*Hauri, Der Islam*, 1882, pp. 6–7). As the records of the life of Mohammed show, he was born of town-dwellers ; in his youth he was a caravan-trader as well as a shepherd ; and among town-dwellers he made his first converts. When Islam became a movement for conquest, it naturally enrolled Arabs of all modes of life.—ED.]

[13] The only branch of knowledge which the Arabians ever raised to a science was astronomy, which began to be cultivated under the caliphs about the middle of the eighth century, and went on improving until " la ville de Bagdad fut, pendant le dixième siècle, le théâtre principal de l'astronomie chez les orientaux." *Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques*, vol. i. pp. 355, 364. The old Pagan Arabs, like most barbarous people living in a clear atmosphere, had such an empirical acquaintance with the celestial phenomena as was useful for practical purposes ; but there is no evidence to justify the common opinion that they studied this subject as a science. Dr. Dorn (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 371) says, " Of a scientific knowledge of astronomy among them no traces can be discovered." Beausobre (*Histoire de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 20) is quite enthusiastic about the philosophy of the Arabs in the time of Pythagoras ! and he tells us, that " ces peuples ont toujours cultivé les sciences." To establish this fact, he quotes a long passage from a life of Mohammed written early in the eighteenth century by Boulainvilliers, whom he calls " un des plus beaux génies de France." If this is an accurate description, those who have read the works of Boulainvilliers will think that France was badly off for men of genius ; and as to his life of Mohammed, it is little better than a

Precisely in the same manner, there is adjoining Arabia at the north, and only separated from it elsewhere by the narrow waters of the Red Sea, an immense sandy plain, which, covering the whole of Africa in the same latitude, extends westward until it reaches the shores of the Atlantic.[14] This enormous tract is, like Arabia, a barren waste;[15] and therefore, as in Arabia, the inhabitants have always been entirely uncivilized, acquiring no knowledge, simply because they have accumulated no wealth.[16] But this great desert is, in its eastern part, irrigated by the waters of the Nile, the overflowing of which covers the sand with a rich alluvial deposit, that yields to labour the most abundant, and indeed the most extraordinary, returns.[17] The consequence is, that in that spot, wealth was rapidly accumulated, the cultivation of knowledge quickly followed, and

romance: the author was ignorant of Arabic, and knew nothing which had not been already communicated by Maracci and Pococke. See *Biographie Universelle*, vol. v. p. 321.

In regard to the later Arabian astronomers, one of their great merits was to approximate to the value of the annual precession much closer than Ptolemy had done. See *Grant's History of Physical Astronomy*, 1852, p. 319.

[14] Indeed it goes beyond it: "the trackless sands of the Sahara desert, which is even prolonged for miles into the Atlantic Ocean in the form of sandbanks." *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. i. p. 149. For a singular instance of one of these sandbanks being formed into an island, see *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. p. 284. The Sahara desert, exclusive of Bornou and Darfour, covers an area of 194,000 square leagues; that is, nearly three times the size of France, or twice the size of the Mediterranean. Compare *Lyell's Geology*, p. 694, with *Somerville's Connexion of the Sciences*, p. 294. As to the probable southern limits of the plateau of the Sahara, see *Richardson's Mission to Central Africa*, 1853, vol. ii. pp. 146, 156; and as to the part of it adjoining the Mandingo country, see *Mungo Park's Travels*, vol. i. pp. 237, 238. Respecting the country south of Mandara, some scanty information was collected by Denham in the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad. *Denham's Northern and Central Africa*, pp. 121, 122, 144–146.

[15] Richardson, who travelled through it south of Tripoli, notices its "features of sterility, of unconquerable barrenness." *Richardson's Sahara*, 1848, vol. i. p. 86; and see the striking picture at p. 409. The long and dreary route from Mourzouk to Yeou, on Lake Tchad, is described by Denham, one of the extremely few Europeans who have performed that hazardous journey. *Denham's Central Africa*, pp. 2–60. Even on the shore of the Tchad there is hardly any vegetation, "a coarse grass and a small bell-flower being the only plants that I could discover," p. 90. Compare his remark on Bornou, p. 317. The condition of part of the desert in the fourteenth century is described in the *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 233, which should be compared with the account given by Diodorus Siculus of the journey of Alexander to the temple of Ammon. *Bibliothec. Historic.* lib. xvii. vol. vii. p. 348.

[16] Richardson, who travelled in 1850 from Tripoli to within a few days of Lake Tchad, was struck by the stationary character of the people. He says, "Neither in the desert nor in the kingdoms of Central Africa is there any march of civilization. All goes on according to a certain routine established for ages past." *Mission to Central Africa*, vol. i. pp. 304, 305. See similar remarks in *Pallme's Travels in Kordofan*, pp. 108, 109.

[17] Abd-Allatif, who was in Egypt early in the thirteenth century, gives an interesting account of the rising of the Nile, to which Egypt owes its fertility. *Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Egypte*, pp. 329–340, 374–376, and Appendix, p. 504. See also on these periodical inundations, *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 101–104; and on the half-astronomical half-theological notions connected with them, pp. 372–377, vol. v. pp. 291, 292. Compare on the religious importance of the Nile *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 409. The expression, therefore, of Herodotus (book ii. chap. v. vol. i. p. 484), δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, is true in a much larger sense than he intended; since to the Nile Egypt owes all the physical peculiarities which distinguish it from Arabia and the great African desert. Compare *Heeren's African Nations*, vol. ii. p. 58; *Reynier, Économie des Arabes*, p. 3; *Postans on the Nile and Indus*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. vii. p. 275; and on the difference between the soil of the Nile and that of the surrounding desert, see *Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, vol. i. p. 14.

this narrow strip of land [18] became the seat of Egyptian civilization; a civilization which, though grossly exaggerated,[19] forms a striking contrast to the barbarism of the other nations of Africa, none of which have been able to work out their own progress, or emerge, in any degree, from the ignorance to which the penury of nature has doomed them.*

These considerations clearly prove that of the two primary causes of civilization, the fertility of the soil is the one which in the ancient world exercised most influence. But in European civilization, the other great cause, that is to say, climate, has been the most powerful; and this, as we have seen, produces an effect partly on the capacity of the labourer for work, partly on the regularity or irregularity of his habits. The difference in the result has curiously corresponded with the difference in the cause. For although all civilization must have for its antecedent the accumulation of wealth, still what subsequently occurs will be in no small degree determined by the conditions under which the accumulation took place. In Asia, and in Africa, the condition was a fertile soil, causing an abundant return; in Europe, it was a happier climate, causing more successful labour. In the former case, the effect depends on the relation between the soil and its produce; in other words, the mere operation of one part of external nature upon another.† In the latter case, the effect depends on the relation between the climate and the labourer; that is the operation of external nature not upon itself, but upon man. Of these two classes of relations, the first, being the less complicated, is the less liable to disturbance, and therefore came sooner into play. Hence it is that, in the march of civilization, the priority is unquestionably due to the most fertile parts of Asia and Africa. But although their civilization was the earliest, it was very far indeed from being the best or most permanent. Owing to circumstances which I shall presently state, the only progress which is really effective depends, not upon the bounty of nature, but upon the energy of man. Therefore it is that the civilization of Europe, which in its earliest stage was governed by climate, has shown a capacity of development unknown to those civilizations which were originated by soil. For the powers of nature, notwithstanding their apparent magnitude, are limited

[18] "The average breadth of the valley from one mountain-range to the other, between Cairo in Lower, and Edfoo in Upper Egypt, is only about seven miles; and that of the cultivable land, whose limits depend on the inundation, scarcely exceeds five and a half." *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 216. According to Gerard, "the mean width of the valley between Syene and Cairo is about nine miles." Note in *Heeren's African Nations*, vol. ii. p. 62.

[19] I will give one instance of this from an otherwise sensible writer, and a man too of considerable learning: "As to the physical knowledge of the Egyptians, their contemporaries gave them credit for the astonishing power of their magic; and as we cannot suppose that the instances recorded in Scripture were to be attributed to the exertion of supernatural powers, we must conclude that they were in possession of a more intimate knowledge of the laws and combinations of nature than what is professed by the most learned men of the present age." *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, pp. 61, 62. It is a shame that such nonsense should be written in the nineteenth century: and yet a still more recent author (*Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. i. p. 28) assures us that "the Egyptians, for especial purposes, were endowed with great wisdom and science." Science properly so called, the Egyptians had none; and as to their wisdom, it was considerable enough to distinguish them from barbarous nations like the old Hebrews, but it was inferior to that of the Greeks, and it was of course immeasurably below that of modern Europe.

[* In terms of the evolution theory this statement must of course be reduced to merely relative terms, the Africans having, like all other races, evolved from a lower order of animal life.—Ed.]

[† This generalization omits to note the special reaction of nature on men's habits in the case of the annual inundations of the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Nile. It also underrates the habits of industry of the Chinese; and, as will be seen later, the theory of the reaction of climate on man in Europe overlooks the influence of culture-contacts from Asia and Egypt.—Ed.]

and stationary ; at all events, we have not the slightest proof that they have ever increased, or that they will ever be able to increase. But the powers of man, so far as experience and analogy can guide us, are unlimited ; nor are we possessed of any evidence which authorizes us to assign even an imaginary boundary at which the human intellect will of necessity be brought to a stand. And as this power which the mind possesses of increasing its own resources is a peculiarity confined to man, and one eminently distinguishing him from what is commonly called external nature, it becomes evident that the agency of climate, which gives him wealth by stimulating his labour, is more favourable to his ultimate progress than the agency of soil, which likewise gives him wealth, but which does so, not by exciting his energies, but by virtue of a mere physical relation between the character of the soil and the quantity or value of the produce that it almost spontaneously affords.*

Thus far as to the different ways in which climate and soil affect the creation of wealth. But another point of equal, or perhaps of superior, importance remains behind. After the wealth has been created, a question arises as to how it is to be distributed; that is to say, what proportion is to go to the upper classes and what to the lower. In an advanced stage of society, this depends upon several circumstances of great complexity, and which it is not necessary here to examine.[20] But in a very early stage of society, and before its later and refined complications have begun, it may, I think, be proved that the distribution of wealth is, like its creation, governed entirely by physical laws ; and that those laws are moreover so active as to have invariably kept a vast majority of the inhabitants of the fairest portion of the globe in a condition of constant and inextricable poverty. If this can be demonstrated, the immense importance of such laws is manifest. For since wealth is an undoubted source of power, it is evident that, supposing other things equal, an inquiry into the distribution of wealth is an inquiry into the distribution of power, and, as such, will throw great light on the origin of those social and political inequalities, the play and opposition of which form a considerable part of the history of every civilized country.

If we take a general view of this subject, we may say that after the creation and accumulation of wealth have once fairly begun, it will be distributed among two classes, those who labour, and those who do not labour ; the latter being, as a class, the more able, the former the more numerous. The fund by which both classes are supported is immediately created by the lower class, whose physical energies are directed, combined, and as it were economized, by the superior skill of the upper class. The reward of the workmen is called their wages ; the reward of the contrivers is called their profits. At a later period, there will arise what may be called the saving class ; that is, a body of men who neither contrive nor work, but lend their accumulations to those who contrive, and in return for the loan, receive a part of that reward which belongs to the contriving class. In this

[20] Indeed many of them are still unknown ; for, as M. Rey justly observes, most writers pay too exclusive an attention to the production of wealth, and neglect the laws of its distribution. *Rey, Science Sociale*, vol. iii. p. 271. In confirmation of this, I may mention the theory of rent, which was only discovered about half a century ago, and which is connected with so many subtle arguments that it is not yet generally adopted ; and even some of its advocates have shown themselves unequal to defending their own cause. The great law of the ratio between the cost of labour and the profits of stock is the highest generalization we have reached respecting the distribution of wealth ; but it cannot be consistently admitted by any one who holds that rent enters into price. [As is pointed out by McCulloch in his *Literature of Political Economy* (1845), and in his edition of the *Wealth of Nations* (1838, pp. xlvii, 452–3), the theory of rent was clearly set forth by Dr. James Anderson in 1777, a year after the issue of Adam Smith's great work. It seems to have been independently rediscovered by West and Malthus in 1815.—Ed.]

[* Strictly speaking, the alleged increase of " the mind's " resources takes place by way of comprehension and exploitation of the resources of nature, which are thus not limited and stationary any more than man's. And man obviously cannot transcend the resources of nature, wherein he exists.—Ed.]

case, the members of the saving class are rewarded for their abstinence in refraining from spending their accumulations,* and this reward is termed the interest of their money; so that there is made a threefold division,—Interest, Profits, and Wages. But this is a subsequent arrangement, which can only take place to any extent when wealth has been considerably accumulated; and in the stage of society we are now considering, this third, or saving class, can hardly be said to have a separate existence.[21] For our present purpose, therefore, it is enough to ascertain what those natural laws are, which, as soon as wealth is accumulated, regulate the proportion in which it is distributed to the two classes of labourers and employers.

Now, it is evident that wages being the price paid for labour, the rate of wages must, like the price of all other commodities, vary according to the changes in the market. If the supply of labourers outstrips the demand, wages will fall; if the demand exceeds the supply, they will rise. Supposing, therefore, that in any country there is a given amount of wealth to be divided between employers and workmen, every increase in the number of the workmen will tend to lessen the average reward each can receive. And if we set aside those disturbing causes by which all general views are affected, it will be found that, in the long run, the question of wages is a question of population; for although the total sum of the wages actually paid depends upon the largeness of the fund from which they are drawn, still the amount of wages received by each man must diminish as the claimants increase, unless, owing to other circumstances, the fund itself should so advance as to keep pace with the greater demands made upon it.[22]

[21] In a still more advanced stage, there is a fourth division of wealth, and part of the produce of labour is absorbed by Rent. This, however, is not an element of price, but a consequence of it; and in the ordinary march of affairs, considerable time must elapse before it can begin. Rent, in the proper sense of the word, is the price paid for using the natural and indestructible powers of the soil, and must not be confused with rent commonly so called; for this last also includes the profits of stock. I notice this, because several of the opponents of Ricardo have placed the beginning of rent too early, by overlooking the fact that apparent rent is very often profits disguised. [Ricardo's principal opponent in this matter was the Rev. Richard Jones. See his *Essay on the Distribution of Wealth*, pt. i. 1831, and Whewell's preface to his *Literary Remains*, 1859. Below, p. 42, Buckle seems to follow Jones rather than Ricardo.—Ed.]

[22] "Wages depend, then, on the proportion between the number of the labouring population, and the capital or other funds devoted to the purchase of labour; we will say, for shortness, the capital. If wages are higher at one time or place than at another, if the subsistence and comfort of the class of hired labourers are more ample, it is, and can be, for no other reason than because capital bears a greater proportion to population. It is not the absolute amount of accumulation or of production that is of importance to the labouring class; it is not the amount even of the funds destined for distribution among the labourers; it is the proportion between those funds and the numbers among whom they are shared. The condition of the class can be bettered in no other way than by altering that proportion to their advantage; and every scheme for their benefit which does not proceed on this as its foundation, is, for all permanent purposes, a delusion." *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, 1849, vol. i. p. 425. See also vol. ii. pp. 264, 265, and *M'Culloch's Political Economy*, pp. 379, 380. Ricardo, in his *Essay on the Influence of a Low Price of Corn*, has stated, with his usual terseness, the three possible forms of this question: "The rise or fall of wages is common to all states of society, whether it be the stationary, the advancing, or the retrograde state. In the stationary state, it is regulated wholly by the increase or falling off of the population. In the advancing state, it depends on whether the capital or the population advance at the more rapid course. In the retro-

[* The conception of "the reward of abstinence" is the contribution of Prof. N. W. Senior (1836) to the "Wage-Fund theory," which, as above noted, is now virtually abandoned by economists. It is unduly hard on that theory, however, to represent the "abstainers" as "a body of men who neither contrive nor work." How then did they get the money they save? Obviously the contrivers and workers alike may and do save in their degree.—Ed.]

To know the circumstances most favourable to the increase of what may be termed the wages-fund is a matter of great moment, but is one with which we are not immediately concerned. The question we have now before us regards not the accumulation of wealth, but its distribution ; and the object is to ascertain what those physical conditions are, which, by encouraging a rapid growth of population, over-supply the labour-market, and thus keep the average rate of wages at a very low point.

Of all the physical agents by which the increase of the labouring classes is affected, that of food is the most active and universal. If two countries, equal in all other respects, differ solely in this,—that in one the national food is cheap and abundant, and in the other scarce and dear, the population of the former country will inevitably increase more rapidly than the population of the latter.[23] And, by a parity of reasoning, the average rate of wages will be lower in the former than in the latter, simply because the labour-market will be more amply stocked.[24] An inquiry, therefore, into the physical laws on which the food of different countries depends, is, for our present purpose, of the greatest importance ; and fortunately it is one respecting which we are able, in the present state of chemistry and physiology, to arrive at some precise and definite conclusions.

The food consumed by man produces two, and only two, effects necessary to his existence. These are, first, to supply him with that animal heat without which the functions of life would stop ; and secondly, to repair the waste constantly taking place in his tissues, that is, in the mechanism of his frame.* For each of these separate purposes there is a separate food. The temperature of our body is kept up by substances which contain no nitrogen, and are called non-azotized ; the incessant decay in our organism is repaired by what are known as azotized substances, in which nitrogen is always found.[25] In the former case, the carbon of non-azotized food combines with the oxygen we take in, and gives rise to that internal combustion by which our animal heat is renewed. In the latter case, nitrogen having little affinity for oxygen,[26] the nitrogenous or azotized

grade state, it depends on whether population or capital decrease with the greater rapidity." *Ricardo's Works*, p. 379.

[23] The standard of comfort being of course supposed the same.

[24] "No point is better established, than that the supply of labourers will always ultimately be in proportion to the means of supporting them." *Principles of Political Economy*, chap. xxi., in *Ricardo's Works*, p. 176. Compare *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. xi. p. 86, and *M'Culloch's Political Economy*, p. 222. [The passage cited from Ricardo is vitally qualified by another in his fifth chapter (same ed., p. 52), pointing out that the required "means of support" vary indefinitely according to the standard of comfort of the labourers. Cp. p. 54, where he advocates a "reduction of people," and assumes its possibility. These remarks put on the passage quoted by Buckle another sense than it separately carries. At these and many other points, Ricardo failed to coördinate his teaching.—Ed.]

[25] The division of food into azotized and non-azotized is said to have been first pointed out by Magendie. See *Muller's Physiology*, vol. i. p. 525. It is now recognized by most of the best authorities. See, for instance, *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 134 ; *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, p. 685 ; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 1218, 1870. The first tables of food constructed according to it were by Boussingault ; see an elaborate essay by Messrs. Lawes and Gilbert on *The Composition of Foods*, in *Report of British Association for* 1852, p. 323 : but the experiments made by these gentlemen are neither numerous nor diversified enough to establish a general law ; still less can we accept their singular assertion, p. 346, that the comparative prices of different foods are a test of the nutriment they comparatively contain. [The term azote, the old name for nitrogen, is now abandoned.—Ed.]

[26] "Of all the elements of the animal body, nitrogen has the feeblest attraction for

[* Modern physiologists prefer to say that foods, besides replacing tissue, supply to the organism potential *energy*, of which heat is one form and *work* another. See Dr. R. Hutchison, Address on Dietetics, *Lancet*, April 25, 1903, p. 1154. Cp. Kirke-Haliburton, *Handbook of Physiology*, ed. 1900, p. 579.—Ed.]

food is, as it were, guarded against combustion ;[27] and being thus preserved, is able to perform its duty of repairing the tissues, and supplying those losses which the human organism constantly suffers in the wear and tear of daily life.

These are the two great divisions of food ; [28] and if we inquire into the laws which regulate the relation they bear to man, we shall find that in each division the most important agent is climate. When men live in a hot country, their animal heat is more easily kept up than when they live in a cold one ; therefore they require a smaller amount of that non-azotized food, the sole business* of which is to maintain at a certain point the temperature of the body. In the same way, they, in the hot country, require a smaller amount of azotized food, because on the whole their bodily exertions are less frequent, and on that account the decay of their tissues is less rapid.[29]

oxygen ; and, what is still more remarkable, it deprives all combustible elements with which it combines, to a greater or less extent, of the power of combining with oxygen, that is, of undergoing combustion." *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 372. [It is now recognized that the nitrogenous foods (proteids) do undergo some combustion, and yield some heat. Kirke-Haliburton, *Handbook of Physiology*, 1900, p. 581. Compare Burney Yeo, *Food in Health and Disease*, ed. 1893, p. 13.—Ed.]

[27] The doctrine of what may be called the protecting power of some substances is still imperfectly understood, and, until late in the eighteenth century, its existence was hardly suspected. It is now known to be connected with the general theory of poisons. See *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 516. To this we must probably ascribe the fact, that several poisons which are fatal when applied to a wounded surface, may be taken into the stomach with impunity. *Brodie's Physiological Researches*, 1851, pp. 137, 138. It seems more reasonable to refer this to chemical laws than to hold, with Sir Benjamin Brodie, that some poisons " destroy life by paralysing the muscles of respiration without immediately affecting the action of the heart." [If we read " the respiratory nerve-centres," Brodie's statement accords with the established opinion.—Ed.]

[28] Prout's well-known division into saccharine, oily, and albuminous, appears to me of much inferior value, though I observe that it is adopted in the last edition of *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, pp. 65, 160. The division by M. Lepelletier into " les alimens solides et les boissons " is of course purely empirical. *Lepelletier, Physiologie Médicale*, vol. ii. p. 100, Paris, 1832. In regard to Prout's classification, compare *Burdach's Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ix. p. 240, with *Wagner's Physiology*, p. 452. [Prout's division is in substance now generally adopted, as the current formula runs : sugars (or carbohydrates), fats, and proteids (albumens)—it being understood that certain necessary mineral elements, as salts, exist in all. Dr. Hutchison (as cited above) points out that potential energy is derivable from both carbohydrates and fats, and that the former are as a rule (though of course not for Eskimos) the cheaper—a fact of some importance from Buckle's point of view. See below, at *note* 40.—Ed.]

[29] The evidence of an universal connexion in the animal frame between exertion and decay, is now almost complete. In regard to the muscular system, see *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, pp. 440, 441, 581, edit. 1846 : " There is strong reason to believe the waste or decomposition of the muscular tissue to be in exact proportion to the degree in which it is exerted." This perhaps would be generally anticipated even in the absence of direct proof ; but what is more interesting, is that the same principle holds good of the nervous system. The human brain of an adult contains about one and a half per cent. of phosphorus ; and it has been ascertained that after the mind has been much exercised, phosphates are excreted, and that in the case of inflammation of the brain their excretion (by the kidneys) is very considerable. See *Paget's Lectures on Surgical Pathology*, 1853, vol. i. pp. 6, 7, 434 ; *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, pp. 192, 193, 222 ; *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 426 ; *Henle, Anatomie Générale*, vol. ii. p. 172. The reader may also consult respecting the phosphorus of the brain, the recent very able work of MM. Robin et Verdeil, *Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. p. 215, vol. ii. p. 348, Paris, 1853. According to these writers (vol. iii. p. 445), its existence in the brain was first announced by Hensing, in 1779.

[* This is not strictly accurate. Fats in some measure replace tissue. Comp. Burney Yeo, as cited, p. 22 ; Kirke-Haliburton, as cited, p. 573.—Ed.]

Since, therefore, the inhabitants of hot climates do, in their natural and ordinary state, consume less food than the inhabitants of cold ones, it inevitably follows that, provided other things remain equal, the growth of population will be more rapid in countries which are hot than in those which are cold. For practical purposes it is immaterial whether the greater plenty of a substance by which the people are fed arises from a larger supply, or whether it arises from a smaller consumption. When men eat less, the result will be just the same as if they had more ; because the same amount of nutriment will go further, and thus population will gain a power of increasing more quickly than it could do in a colder country, where, even if provisions were equally abundant, they, owing to the climate, would be sooner exhausted.

This is the first point of view in which the laws of climate are, through the medium of food, connected with the laws of population, and therefore with the laws of the distribution of wealth. But there is also another point of view, which follows the same line of thought, and will be found to strengthen the argument just stated. This is, that in cold countries, not only are men compelled to eat more than in hot ones, but their food is dearer, that is to say, to get it is more difficult, and requires a greater expenditure of labour. The reason of this I will state as briefly as possible, without entering into any details beyond those which are absolutely necessary for a right understanding of this interesting subject.

The objects of food are, as we have seen, only two : * namely, to keep up the warmth of the body, and repair the waste in the tissues.[30] Of these two objects, the former is effected by the oxygen of the air entering our lungs, and, as it travels through the system, combining with the carbon which we take in our food.[31] This combination of oxygen and carbon never can occur without pro-

[30] Though both objects are equally essential, the former is usually the more pressing ; and it has been ascertained by experiment, what we should expect from theory, that when animals are starved to death, there is a progressive decline in the temperature of their bodies ; so that the proximate cause of death by starvation is not weakness, but cold. [The cold is the result of the diminished combustion—an effect or symptom, not the cause.—Ed.] See *Williams' Principles of Medicine*, p. 36 ; and on the connexion between the loss of animal heat and the appearance of *rigor mortis* in the contractile parts of the body, see *Vogel's Pathological Anatomy of the Human Body*, p. 532. Compare the important and thoughtful work of Burdach, *Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. v. pp. 144, 436, vol. ix. p. 231. [In reality, *rigor mortis* is *delayed* by cold. See Kirke-Haliburton, *Handbook*, pp. 154–5.—Ed.]

[31] Until the last twenty or five-and-twenty years, it used to be supposed that this combination took place in the lungs ; but more careful experiments have made it probable that the oxygen unites with the carbon in the circulation, and that the blood-corpuscles are the carriers of the oxygen. Comp. *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 78 ; *Letters on Chemistry*, pp. 335, 336 ; *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1319 ; *Müller's Physiology*, vol. i. pp. 92, 159. That the combination does not take place in the air-cells is moreover proved by the fact that the lungs are not hotter than other parts of the body. See *Müller*, vol. i. p. 348 ; *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, p. 633 ; and *Brodie's Physiol. Researches*, p. 33. Another argument in favour of the red corpuscles being the carriers of oxygen, is that they are most abundant in those classes of vertebrata which maintain the highest temperature ; while the blood of invertebrata contains very few of them ; and it has been doubted if they even exist in the lower articulata and mollusca. See *Carpenter's Human Physiol.* pp. 109, 532 ; *Grant's Comparative Anatomy*, p. 472 ; *Elliotson's Human Physiol.*, p. 159. In regard to the different dimensions of corpuscles, see *Henle, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. pp. 457–467, 494, 495 ; *Blainville, Physiologie Comparée*, vol. i. pp. 298, 299, 301–304 ; *Milne Edwards, Zoologie*, part i. pp. 54–56 ; *Fourth Report of British Association*, pp. 117, 118 ; *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 103, 104 ; and, above all, the important observations of Mr. Gulliver (*Carpenter*, pp. 105, 106). These additions to our knowledge, besides being connected with the laws of animal heat and of nutrition, will, when generalized, assist speculative minds in raising pathology

[* See additional note above, p. 32.—Ed.]

ducing a considerable amount of heat, and it is in this way that the human frame is maintained at its necessary temperature.[32] By virtue of a law familiar to chemists, carbon and oxygen, like all other elements, will only unite in certain definite proportions ;[33] so that to keep up a healthy balance, it is needful that the food which contains the carbon should vary according to the amount of oxygen taken in : while it is equally needful that we should increase the quantity of both of these constituents whenever a greater external cold lowers the temperature of the body. Now it is obvious that in a very cold climate this necessity of providing a nutriment more highly carbonized will arise in two distinct ways. In the first place, the air being denser, men imbibe at each inspiration a greater volume of oxygen than they would do in a climate where the air is rarefied by heat.[34] In the second place, cold accelerates their respiration, and thus obliging them to inhale more frequently than the inhabitants of hot countries, increases the amount of oxygen which they on an average take in.[35] On

to a science. In the meantime I may mention the relation between an examination of the corpuscles, and the theory of inflammation which Hunter and Broussais were unable to settle : this is, that the proximate cause of inflammation is the obstruction of the vessels by the adhesion of the pale corpuscles. Respecting this striking generalization, which is still on its trial, compare *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, 1848, pp. 258–265, with *Paget's Surgical Pathology*, 1853, vol. i. pp. 313–317 ; *Jones and Sieveking's Pathological Anatomy*, 1854, pp. 28, 105, 106. The difficulties connected with the scientific study of inflammation are evaded in *Vogel's Pathological Anatomy*, p. 418 ; a work which appears to me to have been greatly overrated. [The adhesion of the pale corpuscles is merely one of the *stages* of the inflammatory process. See *Gibson's Text-Book of Medicine*, ed. 1901, i. 18–21.—Ed.]

[32] On the amount of heat disengaged by the union of carbon and oxygen, see the experiments of Dulong, in *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 44 ; and those of Despretz, in *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, p. 634. Just in the same way, we find that the temperature of plants is maintained by the combination of oxygen with carbon : see *Balfour's Botany*, pp. 231, 232, 322, 323. As to the amount of heat caused generally by chemical combination, there is an essay well worth reading by Dr. Thomas Andrews in *Report of British Association for* 1849, pp. 63–78. See also *Report for* 1852, *Transac. of Sec.* p. 40, and *Liebig and Kopp's Reports on the Progress of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 34, vol. iii. p. 16, vol. iv. p. 20 ; also *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, Paris, 1832, vol. i. part i. p. 411.

[33] The law of definite proportions, which, since the brilliant discoveries by Dalton, is the corner-stone of chemical knowledge, is laid down with admirable clearness in *Turner's Elements of Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 146–151. Compare *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 139–144 ; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 255 ; *Somerville's Connexion of the Sciences*, pp. 120, 121. But none of these writers have considered the law so philosophically as M. A. Comte, *Philosophie Positive*, vol. iii. pp.. 133–176, one of the best chapters in his very profound, but ill-understood work.

[34] "Ainsi, dans des temps égaux, la quantité d'oxygène consommée par le même animal est d'autant plus grande que la température ambiante est moins élevée." *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, vol. ii. p. 44. Compare *Simon's Lectures on Pathology*, 1850, p. 188, for the diminished quantity of respiration in a high temperature ; though one may question Mr. Simon's inference that *therefore* the blood is more venous in hot countries than in cold ones. This is not making allowance for the difference of diet, which corrects the difference of temperature.

[35] "The consumption of oxygen in a given time may be expressed by the number of respirations." *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 314 ; and see *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, p. 611. It is also certain that exercise increases the number of respirations ; and birds, which are the most active of all animals, consume more oxygen than any others. *Milne Edwards, Zoologie*, part i. p. 88, part ii. p. 371 ; *Flourens, Travaux de Cuvier*, pp. 153, 154, 265, 266. Compare, on the connexion between respiration and the locomotive organs, *Beclard, Anatomie Générale*, pp. 39, 44 ; *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ix. pp. 485, 556–559 ; *Carus' Comparative Anatomy*, vol. i. pp. 99, 164, 358, vol. ii. pp. 142, 160 ; *Grant's Comparative Anatomy*, pp. 455, 495, 522, 529, 537 ; *Rymer Jones' Animal Kingdom*, pp. 369, 440, 692, 714, 720 ; *Owen's Invertebrata*, pp. 322, 345,

both these grounds the consumption of oxygen becomes greater : it is therefore requisite that the consumption of carbon should also be greater ; since by the union of these two elements in certain definite proportions, the temperature of the body and the balance of the human frame can alone be maintained.[36]

Proceeding from these chemical and physiological principles, we arrive at the conclusion that the colder the country is in which a people live, the more highly carbonized will be their food. And this, which is a purely scientific inference, has been verified by actual experiment. The inhabitants of the polar regions consume large quantities of whale-oil and blubber ; while within the tropics such food would soon put an end to life, and therefore the ordinary diet consists almost entirely of fruit, rice, and other vegetables. Now it has been ascertained by careful analysis that in the polar food there is an excess of carbon ; in the tropical food an excess of oxygen. Without entering into details, which to the majority of readers would be distasteful, it may be said generally, that the oils contain about six times as much carbon as the fruits, and that they have in them very little oxygen ; [37] while starch, which is the most universal, and, in reference to nutrition, the most important constituent in the vegetable world,[38] is nearly half oxygen.[39]

The connexion between this circumstance and the subject before us is highly curious : for it is a most remarkable fact, and one to which I would call particular attention, that owing to some more general law, of which we are ignorant,

386, 505. Thus too it has been experimentally ascertained that in human beings exercise increases the amount of carbonic acid gas. *Mayo's Human Physiology*, p. 64 ; *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. iii. p. 359.

If we now put these facts together, their bearing on the propositions in the text will become evident ; because, on the whole, there is more exercise taken in cold climates than in hot ones, and there must therefore be an increased respiratory action. For proof that greater exercise is both taken and required, compare *Wrangel's Polar Expedition*, pp. 79, 102 ; *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. i. p. 385 ; *Simpson's North Coast of America*, pp. 49, 88, which should be contrasted with the contempt for such amusements in hot countries. Indeed, in polar regions all this is so essential to preserve a normal state, that scurvy can only be kept off in the northern part of the American continent by taking considerable exercise : see *Crantz, History of Greenland*, vol. i. pp. 46, 62, 338. [It is now agreed that exercise has nothing to do with the prevention or cure of scurvy. See Gibson, *Text-Book* cited, ii. 18–23.—Ed.]

[36] See the note at the end of this chapter.

[37] "The fruits used by the inhabitants of southern climes do not contain, in a fresh state, more than 12 per cent. of carbon ; while the blubber and train oil which feed the inhabitants of polar regions contain 66 to 80 per cent. of that element." *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 320 ; see also p. 375, and *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1315. According to Prout (*Mayo's Human Physiol.* p. 136), "the proportion of carbon in oily bodies varies from about 60 to 80 per cent." The quantity of oil and fat habitually consumed in cold countries is remarkable. Wrangel (*Polar Expedition*, p. 21) says of the tribes in the north-east of Siberia, "fat is their greatest delicacy. They eat it in every possible shape ; raw, melted, fresh, or spoilt." See also *Simpson's Discoveries on the North Coast of America*, pp. 147, 404.

[38] "So common, that no plant is destitute of it." *Lindley's Botany*, vol. i. p. 111 ; and at p. 121, "starch is the most common of all vegetable productions." Dr. Lindley adds (vol. i. p. 292), that it is difficult to distinguish the grains of starch secreted by plants from cytoblasts. See also on the starch-granules, first noticed by M. Link, *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, pp. 223, 370 ; and respecting its predominance in the vegetable world, compare *Thomson's Chemistry of Vegetables*, pp. 650–652, 875 ; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1160 ; *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1236 ; *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. ii. pp. 97, 98, 122.

[39] The oxygen is 49.39 out of 100. See the table in *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 379. Amidin, which is the soluble part of starch, contains 53.33 per cent of oxygen. See *Thomson's Chemistry of Vegetables*, p. 654, on the authority of Prout, who has the reputation of being an accurate experimenter.

highly carbonized food is more costly than food in which comparatively little carbon is found. The fruits of the earth, of which oxygen is the most active principle, are very abundant ; they may be obtained without danger, and almost without trouble. But that highly carbonized food which in a very cold climate is absolutely necessary to life, is not produced in so facile and spontaneous a manner. It is not, like vegetables, thrown up by the soil ; but it consists of the fat, the blubber, and the oil,[40] of powerful and ferocious animals. To procure it, man must incur great risk, and expend great labour. And although this is undoubtedly a contrast of extreme cases, still it is evident that the nearer a people approach to either extremity, the more subject will they be to the conditions by which that extremity is governed. It is evident that, as a general rule, the colder a country is, the more its food will be carbonized ; the warmer it is, the more its food will be oxidized.[41] At the same time, carbonized food, being chiefly drawn from the animal world, is more difficult to obtain than oxidized food, which is drawn from the vegetable world.[42] The result has been, that among nations where the coldness of the climate renders a highly carbonized diet essential, there is for the most part displayed, even in the infancy of society, a bolder and more adventurous character than we find among those other nations whose ordinary nutriment, being highly oxidized, is easily obtained, and indeed is supplied to them, by the bounty of nature, gratuitously and without a struggle.[43] From this original divergence there follow many other consequences, which, however, I am not now concerned to trace ; my present object being merely to point out how this difference of food affects the proportion in which wealth is distributed to the different classes.

The way in which this proportion is actually altered has, I hope, been made clear by the preceding argument. But it may be useful to recapitulate the facts on which the argument is based. The facts, then, are simply these. The rate of wages fluctuates with the population ; increasing when the labour-market is under-supplied, diminishing when it is over-supplied. The population itself, though affected by many other circumstances, does undoubtedly fluctuate with the supply of food ; advancing when the supply is plentiful, halting or receding

[40] Of which a single whale will yield "cent vingt tonneaux." *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. i. p. 297. In regard to the solid food, Sir J. Richardson (*Arctic Expedition*, 1851, vol. i. p. 243) says that the inhabitants of the Arctic regions only maintain themselves by chasing whales and "consuming blubber."

[41] It is said, that to keep a person in health, his food, even in the temperate parts of Europe, should contain "a full eighth more carbon in winter than in summer." *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 16.

[42] The most highly carbonized of all foods are undoubtedly yielded by animals ; the most highly oxidized by vegetables. In the vegetable kingdom there is, however, so much carbon, that its predominance, accompanied with the rarity of nitrogen, has induced chemical botanists to characterize plants as carbonized, and animals as azotized. But we have here to attend to a double antithesis. Vegetables are carbonized in so far as they are non-azotized ; but they are oxidized in opposition to the highly carbonized animal food of cold countries. Besides this, it is important to observe that the carbon of vegetables is most abundant in the woody and unnutritious part, which is not eaten ; while the carbon of animals is found in the fatty and oily parts, which are not only eaten, but are, in cold countries, greedily devoured.

[43] Sir J. Malcolm (*History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 380), speaking of the cheapness of vegetables in the East, says, "In some parts of Persia fruit has hardly any value." Cuvier, in a striking passage (*Règne Animal*, vol. i. pp. 73, 74), has contrasted vegetable with animal food, and thinks that the former, being so easily obtained, is the more natural. But the truth is that they are equally natural : though when Cuvier wrote scarcely anything was known of the laws which govern the relation between climate and food. On the skill and energy required to obtain food in cold countries, see *Wrangel's Polar Expedition*, pp. 70, 71, 191, 192 ; *Simpson's Discoveries on the North Coast of America*, p. 249 ; *Crantz, History of Greenland*, vol. i. pp. 22, 32, 105, 131, 154, 155, vol. ii. pp. 203, 265, 324.

when the supply is scanty. The food essential to life is scarcer in cold countries than in hot ones; and not only is it scarcer, but more of it is required;[44] so that on both grounds smaller encouragement is given to the growth of that population from whose ranks the labour-market is stocked. To express, therefore, the conclusion in its simplest form, we may say, that there is a strong and constant tendency in hot countries for wages to be low, in cold countries for them to be high.

Applying now this great principle to the general course of history, we shall find proofs of its accuracy in every direction. Indeed, there is not a single instance to the contrary. In Asia, in Africa, and in America, all the ancient civilizations were seated in hot climates; and in all of them the rate of wages was very low, and therefore the condition of the labouring classes very depressed. In Europe, for the first time, civilization arose in a colder climate: hence the reward of labour was increased, and the distribution of wealth rendered more equal than was possible in countries where an excessive abundance of food stimulated the growth of population. This difference produced, as we shall presently see, many social and political consequences of immense importance. But before discussing them, it may be remarked that the only apparent exception to what has been stated, is one which strikingly verifies the general law. There is one instance, and only one, of a great European people possessing a very cheap national food. This people, I need hardly say, is the Irish. In Ireland the labouring classes have for more than two hundred years been principally fed by potatoes, which were introduced into their country late in the sixteenth, or early in the seventeenth century.[45] Now, the peculiarity of the potato is, that until the appearance of the late disease, it was, and perhaps still is, cheaper than any other food equally wholesome. If we compare its reproductive power with the amount of nutriment contained in it, we find that one acre of average land sown with potatoes will support twice as many persons as the same quantity of land sown with wheat.[46] The consequence is, that in a country where men live on potatoes, the population will, if other things are tolerably equal, increase twice as fast as in a country where they live on wheat.

[44] Cabanis (*Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, p. 313) says, "Dans les temps et dans les pays froids on mange et l'on agit davantage." That much food is eaten in cold countries, and little in hot ones, is mentioned by numerous travellers, none of whom are aware of the cause. See *Simpson's Discov. on North Coast of America*, p. 218; *Custine's Russie*, vol. iv. p. 66; *Wrangel's Expedition*, pp. 21, 327; *Crantz, History of Greenland*, vol. i. pp. 145, 360; *Richardson's Central Africa*, vol. ii. p. 46; *Richardson's Sahara*, vol. i. p. 137; *Denham's Africa*, p. 37; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. v. p. 144, vol. viii. p. 188; *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 265; *Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, p. 45; *Ulloa's Voyage to South America*, vol. i. pp. 403, 408; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. iii. p. 283, vol. vi. p. 85, vol. xix. p. 121; *Spix and Martius's Travels in Brazil*, vol. i. p. 164; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. iii. p. 848; *Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, vol. i. pp. 379, 380, 460; *Low's Sarawak*, p. 140.

[45] Meyen (*Geography of Plants*, 1846, p. 313) says that the potato was introduced into Ireland in 1586; but according to Mr. M'Culloch (*Dictionary of Commerce*, 1849, p. 1048), "potatoes, it is commonly thought, were not introduced into Ireland till 1610, when a small quantity was sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to be planted in a garden on his estate in the vicinity of Youghal." Compare *Loudon's Encyclop. of Agriculture*, p. 845: "first planted by Sir Walter Raleigh on his estate of Youghall, near Cork."

[46] Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. xi. p. 67) supposes that it will support three times as many; but the statistics of this great writer are the weakest part of his work, and the more careful calculations made since he wrote, bear out the statement in the text. "It admits of demonstration that an acre of potatoes will feed double the number of people that can be fed from an acre of wheat." *Loudon's Encyclop. of Agriculture*, 5th edit., 1844, p. 845. So, too, in *M'Culloch's Dict.*, p. 1048, "an acre of potatoes will feed double the number of individuals that can be fed from an acre of wheat." The daily average consumption of an able-bodied labourer in Ireland is estimated at nine-and-a-half pounds of potatoes for men, and seven-and-a-half for women. See *Phillips on Scrofula*, 1846, p. 177.

And so it has actually occurred. ' Until a very few years ago, when the face of affairs was entirely altered by pestilence and emigration, the population of Ireland was, in round numbers, increasing annually three per cent. ; the population of England during the same period increasing one-and-a-half per cent.[47] The result was, that in these two countries the distribution of wealth was altogether different. Even in England the growth of population is somewhat too rapid ; and the labour-market being overstocked, the working-classes are not sufficiently paid for their labour.[48] But their condition is one of sumptuous splendour compared to that in which only a few years ago the Irish were forced to live. The misery in which they were plunged has no doubt always been aggravated by the ignorance of their rulers, and by that scandalous misgovernment which, until very recently, formed one of the darkest blots on the glory of England. The most active cause, however, was, that their wages were so low as to debar them, not only from the comforts, but from the common decencies of civilized life ; and this evil condition was the natural result of that cheap and abundant food, which encouraged the people to so rapid an increase, that the labour-market was constantly gorged.[49] So far was this carried, that an intelligent observer who travelled through Ireland twenty years ago, mentions that at that time the average wages were fourpence a day ; and that even this wretched pittance could not always be relied upon for regular employment.[50]

Such have been the consequences of cheap food in a country which, on the whole, possesses greater natural resources* than any other in Europe.[51] And if we investigate on a larger scale the social and economical condition of nations, we shall see the same principle everywhere at work. We shall see that, other

[47] *Malthus, Essay on Population*, vol. i. pp. 424, 425, 431, 435, 441, 442 ; *M'Culloch's Political Economy*, pp. 381, 382.

[48] The lowest agricultural wages in our time have been in England about 1*s*. a day ; while from the evidence collected by Mr. Thornton in 1845, the highest wages then paid were in Lincolnshire, and were rather more than 13*s*. a week ; those in Yorkshire and Northumberland being nearly as high. *Thornton on Over-Population*, pp. 12–15, 24, 25. Godwin, writing in 1820, estimates the average at 1*s*. 6*d*. a day. *Godwin on Population*, p. 574. Mr. Phillips, in his work *On Scrofula*, 1846, p. 345, says, "At present the ratio of wages is from 9*s*. to 10*s*."

[49] The most miserable part, namely Connaught, in 1733 contained 242,160 inhabitants ; and in 1821, 1,110,229. See *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. ii. p. 490.

[50] Mr. Inglis, who in 1834 travelled through Ireland with a particular view to its economical state, says, as the result of very careful inquiries, "I am quite confident, that if the whole yearly earnings of the labourers of Ireland were divided by the whole number of labourers, the result would be under this sum—*Fourpence* a day for the labourers of Ireland." *Inglis, Journey throughout Ireland in* 1834, Lond. 1835, 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 300. At Balinasloe, in the county of Galway, "A gentleman with whom I was accidentally in company offered to procure, on an hour's warning, a couple of hundred labourers at fourpence even for temporary employment." *Inglis*, vol. ii. p. 17. The same writer says (vol. i. p. 263), that at Tralee "it often happens that the labourers, after working in the canal from five in the morning until eleven in the forenoon, are discharged for the day with the pittance of twopence." Compare, in *Cloncurry's Recollections*, Dublin, 1849, p. 310, a letter from Dr. Doyle written in 1829, describing Ireland as "a country where the market is always overstocked with labour, and in which a man's labour is not worth, at an average, more than threepence a day."

[* It is difficult to attach to this phrase any meaning which can be reconciled with the facts ; and as no explanation is offered in the footnote, some slip of the pen is to be surmised.—Ed.]

[51] It is singular that so acute a thinker as Mr. Kay should, in his otherwise just remarks on the Irish, entirely overlook the effect produced on their wages by the increase of population. *Kay's Social Condition of the People*, vol. i. pp. 8, 9, 92, 223, 306–324. This is the more observable, because the disadvantages of cheap food have been noticed not only by several common writers, but by the highest of all authorities on population, Mr. Malthus : see the sixth edition of his *Essay on Population*, vol. i. p. 469, vol. ii. pp. 123, 124, 383, 384. If these things were oftener considered, we should not hear so much

things remaining equal, the food of a people determines the increase of their numbers, and the increase of their numbers determines the rate of their wages. We shall moreover find that when the wages are invariably low,[52] the distribution of wealth being thus very unequal, the distribution of political power and social influence will also be very unequal ; in other words, it will appear that the normal and average relation between the upper and lower classes will, in its origin, depend upon those peculiarities of nature, the operations of which I have endeavoured to indicate.[53] After putting all these things together, we shall, I trust, be able to discern, with a clearness hitherto unknown, the intimate connexion between the physical and moral world ; the laws by which that connexion is governed ; and the reasons why so many ancient civilizations reached a certain stage of development, and then fell away, unable to resist the pressure of nature, or make head against those external obstacles by which their progress was effectually retarded.

If, in the first place, we turn to Asia, we shall see an admirable illustration of what may be called the collision between internal and external phenomena. Owing to circumstances already stated, Asiatic civilization has always been confined to that rich tract where alone wealth could be easily obtained.* This

about the idleness and levity of the Celtic race ; the simple fact being, that the Irish are unwilling to work, not because they are Celts, but because their work is badly paid. When they go abroad, they get good wages, and therefore they become as industrious as any other people. Compare *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. vii. p. 24, with *Thornton on Over-Population*, p. 425 ; a very valuable work. Even in 1799, it was observed that the Irish as soon as they left their own country became industrious and energetic. See *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxxiv. p. 222. So too, in North America, " they are most willing to work hard." *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, 1849, vol. i. p. 187.

[52] By low wages, I mean low reward of labour, which is of course independent both of the cost of labour and of the money-rate of wages. [The meaning is that low-paid labour may be so inefficient as to be " dear " to the employer ; while in some countries or periods a low money-wage may have high purchasing power, or *vice versâ*.—Ed.]

[53] In a recent work of considerable ingenuity (*Doubleday's True Law of Population*, 1847, pp. 25–29, 69, 78, 123, 124, etc.) it is noticed that countries are more populous when the ordinary food is vegetable than when it is animal ; and an attempt is made to explain this on the ground that a poor diet is more favourable to fecundity than a rich one. But though the fact of the greater increase of population is indisputable, there are several reasons for being dissatisfied with Mr. Doubleday's explanation.

1st. That the power of propagation is heightened by poor living, is a proposition which has never been established physiologically ; while the observations of travellers and of governments are not sufficiently numerous to establish it statistically.

2d. Vegetable diet is as generous for a hot country as animal diet is for a cold country ; and since we know that, notwithstanding the difference of food and climate, the temperature of the body varies little between the equator and the poles (compare *Liebig's Animal Chemistry*, p. 19 ; *Holland's Medical Notes*, p. 473 ; *Pouillet, Élémens de Physique*, vol. i. part i. p. 414 ; *Burdach's Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ix. p. 663), we have no reason to believe that there is any other normal variation, but should rather suppose that, in regard to all essential functions, vegetable diet and external heat are equivalent to animal diet and external cold.

3d. Even conceding, for the sake of argument, that vegetable food increases the procreative power, this would only affect the number of births, and not the density of population ; for a greater number of births may be, and often are, remedied by a greater mortality ; a point in regard to which Godwin, in trying to refute Malthus, falls into serious error. *Godwin on Population*, p. 317.

Since writing the above, I have found that these views of Mr. Doubleday's were in a great measure anticipated by Fourier. See *Rey, Science Sociale*, vol. i. p. 185.

[*The " ease " must have varied greatly in the areas of the actual known civilizations. In China, where civilization is of very old standing, immense industry is spent in agriculture ; and this seems to have been the case also in ancient Mesopotamia, where canalization was indispensable.—Ed.]

immense zone comprises some of the most fertile parts of the globe ; and of all its provinces, Hindostan is certainly the one which for the longest period has possessed the greatest civilization.[54] And as the materials for forming an opinion respecting India are more ample than those respecting any other part of Asia,[55] I purpose to select it as an example, and use it to illustrate those laws which, though generalized from political economy, chemistry, and physiology, may be verified by that more extensive survey, the means of which history alone can supply.

In India, the great heat of the climate brings into play that law already pointed out, by virtue of which the ordinary food is of an oxygenous rather than of a carbonaceous character. This, according to another law, obliges the people to derive their usual diet not from the animal, but from the vegetable world, of which starch is the most important constituent. At the same time the high temperature, incapacitating men for arduous labour, makes necessary a food of which the returns will be abundant, and which will contain much nutriment in a comparatively small space. Here, then, we have some characteristics, which, if the preceding views are correct, ought to be found in the ordinary food of the Indian nations. So they all are. From the earliest period the most general food in India has been rice,[56] which is the most nutritive of all the cerealia ; [57] which contains an enormous proportion of starch ; [58] and which yields to the labourer an average return of at least sixty-fold.[59]

[54] I use the word 'Hindostan' in the popular sense, as extending south to Cape Comorin ; though, properly speaking, it only includes the country north of the Nerbudda. Compare *Mill's History of India*, vol. ii. p. 178 ; *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. p. 11 ; *Meiners über die Länder in Asien*, vol. i. p. 224. The word itself is not found in the old Sanscrit, and is of Persian origin. *Halhed's Preface to the Gentoo Laws*, pp. xx. xxi. ; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 368, 369. [The generalization in the text underestimates the civilizations of ancient China and Mesopotamia, which seem to have reached a high stage long before that of India, and to have remained at it for very long periods. As to Mesopotamia the facts have been unearthed since Buckle wrote ; but to Chinese history he seems to have given no special study.—Ed.]

[55] So that, in addition to works published on their philosophy, religion, and jurisprudence, a learned geographer stated several years ago, that "kein anderes Asiatisches Reich ist in den letzten drey Jahrhunderten von so vielen und so einsichtsvollen Europäern durchreist, und beschrieben worden, als Hindostan." *Meiners Länder in Asien*, vol. i. p. 225. Since the time of Meiners, such evidence has become still more precise and extensive ; and is, I think, too much neglected by M. Rhode in his valuable work on India. "Dem Zwecke dieser Arbeit gemäss, betrachten wir hier nur Werke der Hindus selbst, oder Auszüge aus denselben als Quellen." *Rhode, Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, vol. i. p. 43.

[56] This is evident from the frequent and familiar mention of it in that remarkable relic of antiquity, the Institutes of Menu. See the *Institutes*, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. pp. 87, 132, 156, 200, 215, 366, 400, 403, 434. Thus too, in the enumeration of foods in *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 46, 47, rice is the first mentioned. See further evidence in *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. p. 22, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160 ; *Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 15, 16, 37, 92, 95, vol. ii. part ii. p. 35, part iii. p. 64 ; *Notes on the Mahabharata*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. vii. p. 141 ; *Travels of Ibn Batuta in Fourteenth Century*, p. 164 ; *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. i. p. 499, vol. ii. pp. 44, 48, 436, 569, vol. iii. pp. 11, 148, 205, 206, 207, 266, 364, 530 ; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. pp. 299, 302 ; *Ward on the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 209, vol. iii. p. 105.

[57] "It contains a greater proportion of nutritious matter than any of the cerealia." *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. ii. p. 202.

[58] It contains from 83·8 to 85·07 per cent. of starch. *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1624 ; *Thomson's Chemistry of Organic Bodies*, p. 883.

[59] It is difficult to collect sufficient evidence to strike an average ; but in Egypt, according to Savary, rice "produces eighty bushels for one." *Loudon's Encyclop. of Agriculture*, p. 173. In Tennasserim, the yield is from 80 to 100. *Low's History of Tennasserim*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 29. In South America, 250 fold.

Thus possible is it, by the application of a few physical laws, to anticipate what the national food of a country will be, and therefore to anticipate a long train of ulterior consequences. What in this case is no less remarkable, is that though, in the south of the peninsula, rice is not so much used as formerly, it has been replaced, not by animal food, but by another grain called ragi.[60] The original rice, however, is so suited to the circumstances I have described, that it is still the most general food of nearly all the hottest countries of Asia,[61] from which at different times it has been transplanted to other parts of the world.[62]

In consequence of these peculiarities of climate, and of food, there has arisen in India that unequal distribution of wealth which we must expect to find in countries where the labour-market is always redundant.[63] If we examine the earliest Indian records which have been preserved—records between two and three thousand years old—we find evidence of a state of things similar to that which now exists, and which, we may rely upon it, always has existed ever since the accumulation of capital once fairly began. We find the upper classes enormously rich, and the lower classes miserably poor. We find those by whose labour the wealth is created receiving the smallest possible share of it; the remainder being absorbed by the higher ranks in the form either of rent or of profit. And as wealth is, after intellect, the most permanent source of power, it has naturally happened that a great inequality of wealth has been accom-

according to Spix and Martius (*Travels in Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 79); or from 200 to 300, according to Southey (*History of Brazil*, vol. iii. pp. 658, 806). The lowest estimate given by M. Meyen is forty fold; the highest, which is marsh rice in the Philippine Islands, 400 fold. *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, 1846, p. 301.

[60] *Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 7. Ragi is the Cynosurus Corocanus of Linnæus: and, considering its importance, it has been strangely neglected by botanical writers. The best account I have seen of it is in *Buchanan's Journey through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. i. pp. 100–104, 285, 286, 375, 376, 403, vol. ii. pp. 103, 104, vol. iii. pp. 239, 240, 296, 297. In the large cities, millet is generally used; of which "a quantity sufficient for two meals may be purchased for about a half-penny." *Gibson on Indian Agriculture*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. viii. p. 100.

[61] *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, pp. 56, 59; *Raffles' History of Java*, vol. i. pp. 39, 106, 119, 129, 240; *Percival's Ceylon*, pp. 337, 364; *Transac. of Society of Bombay*, vol. ii. p. 155; *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 510; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 228, 247, vol. ii. pp. 44, 64, 251, 257, 262, 336, 344, vol. iii. pp. 8, 25, 300, 340, vol. iv. pp. 82, 83, 104, vol. v. pp. 241, 246; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. pp. 124, 229, vol. xii. p. 148, vol. xvi. pp. 171, 172; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. p. 86, vol. iii. pp. 124, 295, 300, vol. v. p. 263, vol. viii. pp. 341, 359, vol. xix. pp. 132, 137.

[62] Rice, so far as I have been able to trace it, has travelled westward. Besides the historical evidence, there are philological probabilities in favour of its being indigenous to Asia, and the Sanscrit name for it has been very widely diffused. Compare *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 472, with *Craufurd's History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 358. In the fourteenth century, it was the common food on the Zanguebar coast; and is now universal in Madagascar. *Travels of Ibn Batuta in Fourteenth Century*, p. 56; *Ellis's History of Madagascar*, vol. i. pp. 39, 297–304, vol. ii. p. 292; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. iii. p. 212. From Madagascar its seeds were, according to *M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce*, p. 1105, carried to Carolina late in the seventeenth century. It is now cultivated in Nicaragua (*Squier's Central America*, vol. i. p. 38) and in South America (*Henderson's Hist. of Brazil*, pp. 292, 307, 395, 440, 488), where it is said to grow wild. Compare *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, pp. 291, 297, with *Azara, Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, vol. i. p. 100, vol. ii. p. 80. The ancient Greeks, though acquainted with rice, did not cultivate it; and its cultivation was first introduced into Europe by the Arabs. See *Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 409, 410.

[63] So far as food is concerned, Diodorus Siculus notices the remarkable fertility of India, and the consequent accumulation of wealth. See two interesting passages in *Bibliothec. Hist.* lib. ii. vol. ii. pp. 49, 50, 108, 109. But of the economical laws of distribution, he, like all the ancient writers, was perfectly ignorant.

panied by a corresponding inequality of social and political power. It is not, therefore, surprising that from the earliest period to which our knowledge of India extends, an immense majority of the people, pinched by the most galling poverty, and just living from hand to mouth, should always have remained in a state of stupid debasement, broken by incessant misfortune, crouching before their superiors in abject submission, and only fit either to be slaves themselves or to be led to battle to make slaves of others.[64]

To ascertain the precise value of the average rate of wages in India for any long period, is impossible ; because, although the amount might be expressed in money, still the value of money, that is, its purchasing power, is subject to incalculable fluctuations, arising from changes in the cost of production.[65] But, for our present purpose, there is a method of investigation which will lead to results far more accurate than any statement could be that depended merely on a collection of evidence respecting the wages themselves. The method is simply this : that inasmuch as the wealth of a country can only be divided into wages, rent, profits, and interest, and inasmuch as interest is on an average an exact measure of profits,[66] it follows that if among any people rent and interest are both high, wages must be low.[67] If, therefore, we can ascertain the current interest of money, and the proportion of the produce of the soil which is absorbed by rent, we shall get a perfectly accurate idea of the wages ; because wages are the residue, that is, they are what is left to the labourers after rent, profits, and interest have been paid.

Now it is remarkable, that in India, both interest and rent have always been

[64] An able and very learned apologist for this miserable people says, " The servility so generally ascribed to the Hindu is never more conspicuous than when he is examined as an evidence. But if it be admitted that he acts as a slave, why blame him for not possessing the virtues of a free man ? *The oppression of ages has taught him implicit submission.*" *Vans Kennedy*, in *Transactions of Society of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 144. Compare the observations of Charles Hamilton in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 305.

[65] The impossibility of having a standard of value, is clearly pointed out in *Turgot's Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses*, in *Œuvres*, vol. v. pp. 51, 52. Compare *Ricardo's Works*, pp. 11, 28–30, 46, 166, 253, 270, 401, with *M'Culloch's Principles of Political Economy*, pp. 298, 299, 307.

[66] *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. ix. p. 37 ; where, however, the proposition is stated rather too absolutely, since the risks arising from an insecure state of society must be taken into consideration. But that there is an average ratio between interest and profits is obvious, and is distinctly laid down by the Sanscrit jurists. See *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. i. pp. 72, 81.

[67] Ricardo (*Principles of Political Economy*, chap. vi. in *Works*, p. 65) says, " Whatever increases wages, necessarily reduces profits." And in chap. xv. p. 122, " Whatever raises the wages of labour, lowers the profits of stock." In several other places he makes the same assertion, very much to the discomfort of the ordinary reader, who knows that in the United States, for instance, wages and profits are both high. But the ambiguity is in the language, not in the thought ; and in these and similar passages Ricardo by wages meant cost of labour, in which sense the proposition is quite accurate. If by wages we mean the reward of labour, then there is no relation between wages and profits ; for when rent is low, both of them may be high, as is the case in the United States. That this was the view of Ricardo is evident from the following passage : " Profits, it cannot be too often repeated, depend on wages ; not on nominal but real wages ; not on the number of pounds that may be annually paid to the labourer, but on the number of days' work necessary to obtain those pounds." *Political Economy*, chap. vii., *Ricardo's Works*, p. 82. Compare *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i. p. 509, vol. ii. p. 225. [The passage last quoted from Ricardo confuses the distinction between nominal and real wages with that between high and low " reward " on the one hand and high and low " cost " on the other. The last-quoted clause refers really to reward and not to cost of labour (see note 52, above). His argument, in fact, was not adjusted to the case of the United States.—Ed.]

very high.* In the *Institutes of Menu*, which were drawn up about B.C. 900,[68] the lowest legal interest for money is fixed at fifteen per cent., the highest at sixty per cent.[69] Nor is this to be considered as a mere ancient law now fallen into disuse. So far from that, the *Institutes of Menu* are still the basis of Indian jurisprudence ; [70] and we know on very good authority, that in 1810 the interest paid for the use of money varied from thirty-six to sixty per cent.[71]

Thus much as to one of the elements of our present calculation. As to the other element, namely, the rent, we have information equally precise and trustworthy. In England and Scotland, the rent paid by the cultivator for the use of land is estimated in round numbers, taking one farm with another, at a fourth of the gross produce.[72] In France, the average proportion is about a third ; [73] while in the United States of North America it is well known to be much less, and, indeed, in some parts, to be merely nominal.[74] But in India, the legal rent, that is, the lowest rate recognized by the law and usage of the country, is one-half of the produce ; and even this cruel regulation is not strictly enforced, since in many cases rents are raised so high, that the cultivator not only receives less than half the produce, but receives so little as to have scarcely the means of providing seed to sow the ground for the next harvest.[75]

[68] I take the estimate of Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, pp. 225–228) as midway between Sir William Jones (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 56) and Mr. Wilson (*Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. i. p. xlvii.).

[69] *Institutes of Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 140–142, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. p. 295. The subsequent Sanscrit commentators recognize nearly the same rate of interest, the minimum being fifteen per cent. See *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. i. pp. 29, 36, 43, 98, 99, 237, vol. ii. p. 70.

[70] In *Colebrooke's Digest*, vol. i. p. 454, and vol. iii. p. 229, Menu is called " the highest authority of memorial law," and " the founder of memorial law." The most recent historian of India, Mr. Elphinstone, says (*Hist. of India*, p. 83), " The code of Menu is still the basis of the Hindu jurisprudence ; and the principal features remain unaltered to the present day." This remarkable code is also the basis of the laws of the Burmese, and even of those of the Laos. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 271, vol. iii. pp. 28, 296 332, vol. v. p. 252.

[71] See, in *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. p. 317, the report of a committee of the House of Commons in 1810, in which it is stated that the ryots paid " the heavy interest of three, four, and five per cent. per month." Ward, writing about the same time, mentions as much as seventy-five per cent. being given, and this apparently without the lender incurring any extraordinary risk. *Ward on the Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 190.

[72] Compare the table in *Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture*, p. 778, with *Mavor's note in Tusser's Five Hundred Points of Husbandry*, p. 195, Lond. 1812, and *M'Culloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire*, 1847, vol. i. p. 560.

[73] This is the estimate I have received from persons well acquainted with French agriculture. The rent, of course, varies in each separate instance, according to the natural powers of the soil, according to the extent to which those powers have been improved, and according to the facilities for bringing the produce to market. But, notwithstanding these variations, there must be in every country an average rent, depending upon the operation of general causes.

[74] Owing to the immense supply of land preventing the necessity of cultivating those inferior soils which older countries are glad to use, and are therefore willing to pay a rent for the right of using. In the United States, profits and wages (i.e. the reward of the labourer, not the cost of labour) are both high, which would be impossible if rent were also high. [Strictly, both the " cost " and the " reward " of labour (see note 52, above) might be high alongside of high profits when rent is low, as scarcity of labour raises its cost. But increased efficiency reduces cost, other things being equal.—ED.]

[75] See *Rammohun Roy on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India*, 1832, pp. 59–61, 63, 69, 92, 94. At p. 69, this high authority says of the agricultural peasantry of Bengal : " In an abundant season, when the price of corn is low, the sale of their whole crops is required to meet the demands of the landholder, leaving little or nothing for seed or

[* Compare note 21, above, p. 30.—ED.]

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is manifest. Rent and interest being always very high, and interest varying, as it must do, according to the rate of profits, it is evident that wages must have been very low; for since there was in India a specific amount of wealth to be divided into rent, interest, profits, and wages, it is clear that the first three could only have been increased at the expense of the fourth; which is saying, in other words, that the reward of the labourers was very small in proportion to the reward received by the upper classes. And though this, being an inevitable inference, does not require extraneous support, it may be mentioned that in modern times, for which alone we have direct evidence, wages have in India always been excessively low, and the people have been, and still are, obliged to work for a sum barely sufficient to meet the exigencies of life.[76]

This was the first great consequence induced in India by the cheapness and abundance of the national food.[77] But the evil by no means stopped there. In India, as in every other country, poverty provokes contempt, and wealth produces power. When other things are equal, it must be with classes of men as with individuals, that the richer they are, the greater the influence they will

subsistence to the labourer or his family." In Cashmere, the sovereign received half the produce of the rice-crop, leaving the other half to the cultivator. *Moorcroft's Notices of Cashmere*, in *Journal of Geog. Society*, vol. ii. p. 266.

[76] Heber (*Journey through India*, vol. i. pp. 209, 356, 357, 359) gives some curious instances of the extremely low rate at which the natives are glad to work. As to the ordinary wages in India in the present century, see *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 255, vol. v. p. 171; *Rammohun Roy on the Judicial and Revenue Systems*, pp. 105, 106; *Sykes's Statistics of the Deccan*, in *Reports of the British Association*, vol. vi. p. 321; *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 207; *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. ii. p. 184. On wages in the south of India, the fullest information will be found in Buchanan's valuable work, *Journey through the Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. i. pp. 124, 125, 133, 171, 175, 216, 217, 298, 390, 415, vol. ii. pp. 12, 19, 22, 37, 90, 108, 132, 217, 218, 315, 481, 523, 525, 562, vol. iii. pp. 35, 181, 226, 298, 321, 349, 363, 398, 428, 555. I wish that all travellers were equally minute in recording the wages of labour; a subject of far greater importance than those with which they usually fill their books.

On the other hand, the riches possessed by the upper classes have, owing to this mal-distribution of wealth, been always enormous, and sometimes incredible. See *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 297; *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 119; *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 41; *Ward's Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 178. The autobiography of the Emperor Jehangueir contains such extraordinary statements of his immense wealth, that the editor, Major Price, thinks that some error must have been made by the copyist; but the reader will find in *Grote's History of Greece* (vol. xii. pp. 229, 245) evidence of the treasures which it was possible for Asiatic rulers to collect in that state of society. The working of this unequal distribution is thus stated by Mr. Glyn (*Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 482): "The nations of Europe have very little idea of the actual condition of the inhabitants of Hindustan; they are more wretchedly poor than we have any notion of. Europeans have hitherto been too apt to draw their opinions of the wealth of Hindustan from the gorgeous pomp of a few emperors, sultans, nawabs, and rajahs; whereas a more intimate and accurate view of the real state of society would have shown that these princes and nobles were engrossing all the wealth of the country, whilst the great body of the people were earning but a bare subsistence, groaning under intolerable burdens, and hardly able to supply themselves with the necessaries of life, much less with its luxuries."

[77] Turner, who travelled in 1783 through the north-east of Bengal, says: "Indeed, the extreme poverty and wretchedness of these people will forcibly appear, when we recollect how little is necessary for the subsistence of a peasant in these regions. The value of this can seldom amount to more than one penny per day, even allowing him to make his meal of two pounds of boiled rice, with a due proportion of salt, oil, vegetables, fish and chili." *Turner's Embassy to Tibet*, p. 11. Ibn Batuta, who travelled in Hindostan in the fourteenth century, says: "I never saw a country in which provisions were so cheap." *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. 194.

possess. It was therefore to be expected, that the unequal distribution of wealth should cause an unequal distribution of power ; and as there is no instance on record of any class possessing power without abusing it, we may easily understand how it was that the people of India, condemned to poverty by the physical laws of their climate, should have fallen into a degradation from which they have never been able to escape. A few instances may be given to illustrate, rather than to prove, a principle which the preceding arguments have, I trust, placed beyond the possibility of dispute.

To the great body of the Indian people the name of Sudras is given ; [78] and the native laws respecting them contain some minute and curious provisions. If a member of this despised class presumed to occupy the same seat as his superiors, he was either to be exiled or to suffer a painful and ignominious punishment.[79] If he spoke of them with contempt, his mouth was to be burned ; [80] if he actually insulted them, his tongue was to be slit ; [81] if he molested a Brahmin, he was to be put to death ; [82] if he sat on the same carpet with a Brahmin, he was to be maimed for life ; [83] if, moved by the desire of instruction, he even listened to the reading of the sacred books, burning oil was to be poured into his ears ; [84] if, however, he committed them to memory, he was to be killed ; [85] if he were guilty of a crime, the punishment for it was greater than that inflicted on his superiors ; [86] but if he himself were murdered, the penalty was the same as for killing a dog, a cat, or a crow.[87] Should he marry his daughter to a Brahmin, no retribution that could be exacted in this world was sufficient ; it was therefore announced that the Brahmin must go to hell, for having suffered contamination from a woman immeasurably his inferior.[88]

[78] The Sudras are estimated by Ward (*View of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 281) at "three-fourths of the Hindoos." At all events, they comprise the whole of the working-classes ; the Vaisyas not being husbandmen, as they are often called, but landlords, owners of cattle, and traders. Compare *Institutes of Menu*, chap. ix. sec. 326–333, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. pp. 380, 381, with *Colebrooke's Digest*, vol. i. p. 15, from which it appears that the Vaisyas were always the masters, and that the Sudra was to "rely on agriculture for his subsistence." The division, therefore, between "the industrious and the servile" (*Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 12) is too broadly stated ; and we must, I think, take the definition of M. Rhode : "Die Kaste der Sudras umfasst die ganze arbeitende, oder um Lohn dienende Classe des Volks." *Relig. Bildung der Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 561.

[79] "Either be banished with a mark on his hinder parts, or the king shall cause a gash to be made on his buttock." *Institutes of Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 281, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. p. 315. See also *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 67.

[80] *Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 271, in *Jones's Works*, vol. iii. p. 314.

[81] *Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 270.

[82] "If a Sooder gives much and frequent molestation to a Brahmin, the magistrate shall put him to death." *Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. 262.

[83] *Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. 207. As to the case of striking a Brahmin, see *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*, p. 227, 2d edit. 1832.

[84] "And if a Sooder listens to the Beids of the Shaster, then the oil, heated as before, shall be poured into his ears ; and arzeez and wax shall be melted together, and the orifice of his ears shall be stopped up therewith." *Halhed*, p. 262. Compare the prohibition in *Menu*, chap. iv. sec. 99, chap. x. sec. 109–111, in *Jones's Works*, vol. iii. pp. 174, 398.

[85] *Halhed*, p. 262 : "the magistrate shall put him to death." In Mrichchakati, the judge says to a Sudra, "If you expound the Vedas, will not your tongue be cut out ?" *Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. i. part ii. p. 170.

[86] *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. iv. p. 308. To this the only exception was in the case of theft. *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. pp. 193, 260. A Brahmin could "on no account be capitally punished." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 44.

[87] *Menu*, chap. xi. sec. 132, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. p. 422.

[88] "A Brahmin, if he take a Sudra to his bed as his first wife, sinks to the regions of torment." *Institutes of Menu*, chap. iii. sec. 17, in *Jones*. vol. iii. p. 121. Compare the

Indeed, it was ordered that the mere name of a labourer should be expressive of contempt, so that his proper standing might be immediately known.[89] And lest this should not be enough to maintain the subordination of society, a law was actually made forbidding any labourer to accumulate wealth ;[90] while another clause declared that even though his master should give him freedom, he would in reality still be a slave ; " for," says the lawgiver—" for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested ? "[91]

By whom, indeed, could he be divested ? I ween not where that power was by which so vast a miracle could be worked. For in India, slavery, abject, eternal slavery, was the natural state of the great body of the people ; it was the state to which they were doomed by physical laws utterly impossible to resist. The energy of those laws is, in truth, so invincible, that wherever they have come into play, they have kept the productive classes in perpetual subjection. There is no instance on record of any tropical country, in which wealth having been extensively accumulated, the people have escaped their fate ; no instance in which the heat of the climate has not* caused an abundance of food, and the abundance of food caused an unequal distribution, first of wealth, and then of political and social power. Among nations subjected to these conditions, the people have counted for nothing ; they have had no voice in the management of the state, no control over the wealth their own industry created. Their only business has been to labour ; their only duty to obey. Thus there have been generated among them those habits of tame and servile submission by which, as we know from history, they have always been characterized. For it is an undoubted fact that their annals furnish no instance of their having turned upon their rulers, no war of classes, no popular insurrections, not even one great popular conspiracy. In those rich and fertile countries there have been many changes, but all of them have been from above, not from below. The democratic element has been altogether wanting. There have been, in abundance, wars of kings, and wars of dynasties. There have been revolutions in the government, revolutions in the palace, revolutions on the throne ; but no revolutions among the people,[92] no mitigation of that hard lot which nature, rather than

denial of funeral rites, in *Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law*, vol. iii. p. 328. And on the different hells invented by the Hindu clergy, see *Vishnu Purana*, p. 207 ; *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. ii. pp. 182, 183 ; *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 113. The curious details in *Rhode, die Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, vol. i. pp. 392, 393, rather refer to Buddhism, and should be compared with *Journal Asiatique*, I série. vol. viii. pp. 80, 81, Paris, 1826.

[89] *Menu*, chap. ii. sec. 31, in *Jones*, vol. iii. p. 87 ; also noticed in *Rhode, Relig. Bildung*, vol. ii. p. 561 : " sein Name soll schon Verachtung ausdrücken." So, too, Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, p. 17) : " the proper name of a Sudra is directed to be expressive of contempt." Compare *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 387, Bruxelles, 1840.

[90] *Menu*, chap. x. sec. 129, in *Jones*, vol. iii. p. 401. This law is pointed out by Mill (*History of India*, vol. i. p. 195) as an evidence of the miserable state of the people, which Mr. Wilson (note in p. 194) vainly attempts to evade.

[91] " A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude ; for of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested ? " *Institutes of Menu*, chap. viii. sec. 414, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. p. 333.

[92] An intelligent observer says, " It is also remarkable how little the people of Asiatic countries have to do in the revolutions of their governments. They are never guided by any great and common impulse of feeling, and take no part in events the most interesting and important to their country and their own prosperity." *M'Murdo on the Country of Sindh*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 250. Compare similar remarks in *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iii. p. 114 ; and even in *Alison's History of Europe*, vol. x. pp. 419, 420.

[* There is here a slip of expression. Heat often fails to produce abundant food. The proposition should run that where abundant food is yielded by the primary natural conditions, the results in question always follow.—Ed.]

man, assigned to them. Nor was it until civilization arose in Europe that other physical laws came into operation, and therefore other results were produced. In Europe, for the first time, there was some approach to equality, some tendency to correct that enormous disproportion of wealth and power, which formed the essential weakness of the greatest of the more ancient countries. As a natural consequence, it is in Europe that everything worthy of the name of civilization has originated ; * because there alone have attempts been made to preserve the balance of its relative parts. There alone has society been organized according to a scheme, not indeed sufficiently large, but still wide enough to include all the different classes of which it is composed, and thus, by leaving room for the progress of each, to secure the permanence and advancement of the whole.

The way in which certain other physical peculiarities, confined to Europe, have also accelerated the progress of Man by diminishing his superstition, will be indicated towards the end of this chapter ; but as that will involve an examination of some laws which I have not yet noticed, it seems advisable, in the first place, to complete the inquiry now before us ; and I therefore purpose proving that the line of argument which has been just applied to India, is likewise applicable to Egypt, to Mexico, and to Peru. For by thus including in a single survey, the most conspicuous civilizations of Asia, Africa, and America, we shall be able to see how the preceding principles hold good of different and distant countries ; and we shall be possessed of evidence sufficiently comprehensive to test the accuracy of those great laws which, without such precaution, I might be supposed to have generalized from scanty and imperfect materials.

The reasons why, of all the African nations, the Egyptians alone were civilized, have been already stated, and have been shown to depend on those physical peculiarities which distinguish them from the surrounding countries, and which, facilitating the acquisition of wealth, not only supplied them with material resources that otherwise they could never have obtained, but also secured to their intellectual classes the leisure and the opportunity of extending the boundaries of knowledge. It is, indeed, true that, notwithstanding these advantages, they effected nothing of much moment ; but this was owing to circumstances which will be hereafter explained ; and it must, at all events, be admitted that they raised themselves far above every other people by whom Africa was inhabited.

The civilization of Egypt being, like that of India, caused by the fertility of the soil, and the climate being also very hot,[93] there were in both countries brought into play the same laws ; and there naturally followed the same results. In both countries we find the national food cheap and abundant ; hence the labour-market over-supplied ; hence a very unequal division of wealth and power ; and hence all the consequences which such inequality will inevitably produce. How this system worked in India, I have just attempted to examine ; and although the materials for studying the former condition of Egypt are much less ample, they are still sufficiently numerous to prove the striking analogy between the two civilizations, and the identity of those great principles which regulated the order of their social and political development.

If we inquire into the most important circumstances which concerned the people of ancient Egypt, we shall see that they are exactly the counterpart of those that have been noticed in India. For, in the first place, as regards their

[93] Volney (*Voyage en Egypte*, vol. i. pp. 58–63) has a good chapter on the climate of Egypt.

[* The " approach to equality " seen in the more primitive life of Europe was equally present in the more primitive (in particular the pastoral) life of Asia. It was the acquisition of Asiatic and Egyptian culture that for a time made possible high civilization with comparative equality in European Greece and elsewhere. And this equality in turn was lost. The phrase " everything worthy of the name of civilization " is merely a trope, and is not to be read positively, being inconsistent with the preceding argument. And see Buckle's own account of ancient classic civilization, below, ch. v. at *note* 34.—ED.]

ordinary food, what rice is to the most fertile parts of Asia, that are dates to Africa. The palm-tree is found in every country from the Tigris to the Atlantic ;[94] and it supplies millions of human beings with their daily food in Arabia,[95] and in nearly the whole of Africa north of the equator.[96] In many parts of the great African desert it is indeed unable to bear fruit ; but naturally it is a very hardy plant, and produces dates in such profusion, that towards the north of the Sahara they are eaten not only by man, but also by domestic animals.[97] And in Egypt, where the palm is said to be of spontaneous growth,[98] dates, besides being the chief sustenance of the people, are so plentiful, that from a very early period they have been commonly given to camels, the only beasts of burden generally used in that country.[99]

From these facts it is evident that, taking Egypt as the highest type of African civilization, and India as the highest type of Asiatic civilization, it may be said that dates are to the first civilization what rice is to the second. Now it is observable that all the most important physical peculiarities found in rice are also found in dates. In regard to their chemistry, it is well known that the chief principle of the nutriment they contain is the same in both ; the starch of

[94] It is, however, unknown in South Africa. See the account of the Palmaceæ in *Lindley's Vegetable Kingdom*, 1847, p. 136, and *Meyen's Geog. of Plants*, p. 337.

[95] "Of all eatables used by the Arabs, dates are the most favourite." *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 56. See also for proof of their abundance in the west of Arabia, vol. i. pp. 103, 157, 238, vol. ii. pp. 91, 100, 105, 118, 209, 210, 214, 253, 300, 331. And on the dates of Oman and the east of Arabia, see *Wellsted's Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 188, 189, 236, 276, 290, 349. Compare *Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, pp. 142, 296. Indeed, they are so important, that the Arabs have different names for them, according to the stages of their growth. Djewhari says, "La dénomination *balah* précède le nom *bosr* ; car la datte se nomme d'abord *tala*, en suite *khalal*, puis *balah*, puis *bosr*, puis *rotab*, et enfin *tamr*." *De Sacy's note to Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Egypte* p. 74, and see p. 118. Other notices of the dates of Arabia will be found in *Travels of Ibn Batuta in Fourteenth Century*, p. 66 ; *Journal of Asiatic Soc.* vol. viii. p. 286 ; *Journal of Geograph. Soc.* vol. iv. p. 201, vol. vi. pp. 53, 55, 58, 66, 68, 74, vol. vii. p. 32, vol. ix. pp. 147, 151.

[96] Heeren (*Trade of the African Nations*, vol. i. p. 182) supposes that in Africa, dates are comparatively little known south of 26° north lat. But this learned writer is certainly mistaken ; and a reference to the following passages will show that they are common as far down as the parallel of Lake Tchad, which is nearly the southern limit of our knowledge of Central Africa : *Denham's Central Africa*, p. 295 ; *Clapperton's Journal*, in *Appendix to Denham*, pp. 34, 59 ; *Clapperton's Second Expedition*, p. 159. Further east they are somewhat scarcer, but are found much more to the south than is supposed by Heeren : see *Pallme's Kordofan*, p. 220.

[97] "Dates are not only the principal growth of the Fezzan oases, but the main subsistence of their inhabitants. All live on dates ; men, women, and children, horses, asses, and camels, and sheep, fowls, and dogs." *Richardson's Travels in the Sahara*, vol. ii. p. 323, and see vol. i. p. 343 : as to those parts of the desert where the palm will not bear, see vol. i. pp. 387, 405, vol. ii. pp. 291, 363. Respecting the dates of Western Africa, see *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. xii. p. 204.

[98] "It flourished spontaneously in the valley of the Nile." *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 372. As further illustration of the importance to Africa of this beautiful plant, it may be mentioned that from the high-palm there is prepared a peculiar beverage, which in some parts is in great request. On this, which is called palm-wine, see *M'William's Medical Expedition to the Niger*, pp. 71, 116 ; *Meredith's Gold Coast of Africa*, 1812, pp. 55, 56 ; *Laird and Oldfield's Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 1837, vol. ii. pp. 170, 213 ; *Bowdich, Mission to Ashantee*, pp. 69, 100, 152, 293, 386, 392. But I doubt if this is the same as the palm-wine mentioned in *Balfour's Botany*, 1849, p. 532. Compare *Tuckey's Expedition to the Zaire*, pp. 155, 216, 224, 356.

[99] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 175–178. See also on the abundance of dates, the extracts from an Arabian geographer in *Quatremère, Recherches sur l'Égypte*, pp. 220, 221.

the Indian vegetable being merely turned into the sugar of the Egyptian. In regard to the laws of climate, their affinity is equally obvious; since dates, like rice, belong to hot countries, and flourish most in or near the tropics.[100] In regard to their increase, and the laws of their connexion with the soil, the analogy is also exact; for dates, just the same as rice, require little labour, and yield abundant returns, while they occupy so small a space of land in comparison with the nutriment they afford, that upwards of two hundred palm-trees are sometimes planted on a single acre.[101]

Thus striking are the similarities to which, in different countries, the same physical conditions naturally give rise. At the same time, in Egypt, as in India, the attainment of civilization was preceded by the possession of a highly fertile soil; so that, while the exuberance of the land regulated the speed with which wealth was created, the abundance of the food regulated the proportions into which the wealth was divided. The most fertile part of Egypt is the Said;[102] and it is precisely there that we find the greatest display of skill and knowledge, the splendid remains of Thebes, Carnac, Luxor, Dendera, and Edfou.[103] It is also in the Said, or, as it is often called, the Thebaid, that a food is used which multiplies itself even more rapidly than either dates or rice. This is the dhourra, which until recently was confined to Upper Egypt,[104] and of which the reproductive power is so remarkable, that it yields to the labourer a return of two hundred and forty for one.[105] In Lower Egypt the dhourra was formerly unknown; but, in addition to dates, the people made a sort of bread from the lotos, which sprang spontaneously out of the rich soil of the Nile.[106] This must have

[100] On their relation to the laws of climate, see the remarks respecting the geographical imits of their power of ripening, in *Jussieu's Botany*, edit. Wilson, 1849, p. 734.

[101] "In the valley of the Nile, a feddan (1¾ acre) is sometimes planted with 400 trees." *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 178. At Moorzuk an entire date-palm is only worth about a shilling. *Richardson's Central Africa*, vol. i. p. 111.

[102] On the remarkable fertility of the Said, see *Abd-Allatif, Relation de l'Égypte*, p. 3.

[103] The superiority of the ruins in Southern Egypt over those in the northern part is noticed by Heeren (*African Nations*, vol. ii. p. 69), and must, indeed, be obvious to whoever has studied the monuments. In the Said the Coptic was preserved longer than in Lower Egypt, and is known to philologists by the name of Misr. See *Quatremère, Recherches sur la Langue de l'Égypte*, pp. 20, 41, 42. See also on the Saidic, pp. 134–140, and some good remarks by Dr. Prichard (*Physical Hist.* vol. ii. p. 202); who, however, adopts the paradoxical opinion of Georgi respecting the origin of the language of the Thebaid.

[104] Abd-Allatif (*Relation de l'Égypte*, p. 32) says, that in his time it was only cultivated in the Said. This curious work by Abd-Allatif was written in A.D. 1203. *Relation*, p. 423. Meiners thinks that Herodotus and other ancient writers refer to the dhourra without mentioning it: "diese Durra muss daher im Herodot, wie in andern alten Schriftstellern, vorzüglich verstanden werden, wenn von hundert, zwey hundert, und mehrfältigen Früchten, welche die Erde trage, die Rede ist." *Meiners, Fruchtbarkeit der Länder*, vol. i. p. 139. According to Volney, it is the Holcus Arundinaceus of Linnæus, and appears to be similar to millet; and though that accurate traveller distinguishes between them, I observe that Captain Haines, in a recent memoir, speaks of them as being the same. Compare Haines in *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xv. p. 118, with *Volney, Voyage en Égypte*, vol. i. p. 195.

[105] "The return is in general not less than 240 for one; and the average price is about 3*s.* 9*d.* the ardeb, which is scarcely 3*d.* per bushel." *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, p. 420. In Upper Egypt, "the doura constitutes almost the whole subsistence of the peasantry," p. 419. At p. 96, Hamilton says, "I have frequently counted 3000 grains in one ear of doura, and each stalk has in general four or five ears." For an account of the dhourra bread, see *Volney, Voyage en Égypte*, vol. i. p. 161.

[106] Ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν· ταῦτα ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον. καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ τῇ μήκωνι ἐὸν ἐμφερὲς, πτίσαντες, ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. *Herodot.* ii. 92, vol. i. p. 688.

been a very cheap and accessible food ; while to it there was joined a profusion of other plants and herbs, on which the Egyptians chiefly lived.[107] Indeed so inexhaustible was the supply, that at the time of the Mohammedan invasion there were, in the single city of Alexandria, no less than four thousand persons occupied in selling vegetables to the people.[108]

From this abundance of the national food, there resulted a train of events strictly analogous to those which took place in India. In Africa generally, the growth of population, though on the one hand stimulated by the heat of the climate, was on the other hand checked by the poverty of the soil. But on the banks of the Nile this restraint no longer existed,[109] and therefore the laws already noticed came into uncontrolled operation. By virtue of those laws, the Egyptians were not only satisfied with a cheap food, but they required that food in comparatively small quantities ; thus by a double process increasing the limit to which their numbers could extend. At the same time, the lower orders were able to rear their offspring with the greater ease, because, owing to the high rate of temperature, another considerable source of expense was avoided ; the heat being such that, even for adults, the necessary clothes were few and slight, while the children of the working-classes went entirely naked ; affording a striking contrast to those colder countries where, to preserve ordinary health, a supply of warmer and more costly covering is essential. Diodorus Siculus, who travelled in Egypt nineteen centuries ago, says that to bring up a child to manhood did not cost more than twenty drachmas, scarcely thirteen shillings English money ; a circumstance which he justly notices as a cause of the populousness of the country.[110]

To compress into a single sentence the preceding remarks, it may be said that in Egypt the people multiplied rapidly, because while the soil increased their supplies, the climate lessened their wants. The result was, that Egypt was not only far more thickly peopled than any other country in Africa, but probably more so than any in the ancient world. Our information upon this point is indeed somewhat scanty, but it is derived from sources of unquestioned credibility. Herodotus, who the more he is understood, the more accurate he is

[107] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 370–372, 400, vol. iv. p. 59. Abd-Allatif gives a curious account of the different vegetables grown in Egypt early in the thirteenth century. *Relation*, pp. 10–30, and the notes of De Sacy, pp. 37–134. On the *κύαμος* of Herodotus there are some botanical remarks worth reading in the *Correspondence of Sir J. E. Smith*, vol. ii. pp. 224–232 ; but I doubt the assertion, p. 227, that Herodotus "knew nothing of any other kind of *κύαμος* in Eygpt than that of the 'inary bean."

tha.. "When Alexandria was taken by Amer, the lieutenant of the Caliph Omer, no less *Ancient* .. persons were engaged in selling vegetables in that city." *Wilkinson's tion de l'Abtians*, vol. ii. p. 372, and see vol. i. p. 277, vol. iv. p. 60. Niebuhr (*Descrip-* "le fromen.ie, p. 136) says, that the neighbourhood of Alexandria is so fertile, that *l'Ecole d'Alexa*end le centuple." See also, on its rich vegetation, *Matter, Histoire de*

[109] The encour.e, vol. i. p. 52.

the inundation of ment given to the increase of population by the fertility arising from Malthus ; *Essay on* Nile, is observed by many writers, but by none so judiciously as which have been gros.ulation, vol. i. pp. 161–163. This great work, the principles of important subject of p. misrepresented, is still the best which has been written on the often errs in his illustrat'ation ; though the author, from a want of sufficient reading, branches of physical kn ; while he unfortunately had no acquaintance with those inquiries. edge which are intimately connected with economical

[110] Τρέφουσι δὲ τὰ παιδία

ἀνυποδέτων δὲ τῶν πλείστων τά τινος εὐχερείας ἀδαπάνου, καὶ παντελῶς ἀπίστου. . . . πᾶσαν δαπάνην οἱ γονεῖς, ἄχρις' γυμνῶν τρεφομένων διὰ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν τόπων, τὴν εἴκοσι. δι' ἃς αἰτίας μάλιστα τὴν· εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ τὸ τέκνον, οὐ πλείω ποιοῦσι δραχμῶν πλείστας ἔχειν μεγάλων ἔργωΐγυπτον συμβα νει πολυανθρωπίᾳ διαφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο p. 238. ατασκευάς. *Bibliothec. Hist. book* i. chap. lxxx. vol. i.

found to be,[111] states that in the reign of Amasis there were said to have been twenty thousand inhabited cities.[112] This may, perhaps, be considered an exaggeration; but what is very observable is, that Diodorus Siculus, who travelled in Egypt four centuries after Herodotus, and whose jealousy of the reputation of his great predecessor made him anxious to discredit his statements,[113] does nevertheless, on this important point, confirm them. For he not only remarks that Egypt was at that time as densely inhabited as any existing country, but he adds, on the authority of records which were then extant, that it was formerly the most populous in the world, having contained, he says, upwards of eighteen thousand cities.[114]

These were the only two ancient writers who, from personal knowledge, were well acquainted with the state of Egypt;[115] and their testimony is the more valuable because it was evidently drawn from different sources; the information of Herodotus being chiefly collected at Memphis, that of Diodorus at Thebes.[116] And whatever discrepancies there may be between these two accounts, they

[111] Frederick Schlegel (*Philos. of Hist.* p. 247, London, 1846) truly says, "The deeper and more comprehensive the researches of the moderns have been on ancient history, the more have their regard and esteem for Herodotus increased." His minute information respecting Egypt and Asia Minor is now admitted by all competent geographers; and I may add, that a recent and very able traveller has given some curious proofs of his knowledge even of the western parts of Siberia. See Erman's valuable work, *Travels in Siberia*, vol. i. pp. 211, 297–301. [This praise must be much modified in view of the recent discoveries of Egyptology and Assyriology. Herodotus knew very little of Egyptian history; and his fidelity seems to have been even less than his knowledge. See Sayce's *Ancient Empires of the East*, 1884, pref. pp. xiv.–xxii. "Modern research," says Mr. Sayce, "obliges us to endorse the judgment passed upon Herodotus almost as soon as his history was published: it is not only untrustworthy but unveracious"; and see below, chap. vi. *note* 41.—Ed.]

[112] Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ Βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι. καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἁπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. *Herodot.* book ii. chap. clxxvii. vol. i. pp. 881, 288.

[113] Diodorus, who, though an honest and painstaking man, was in every respect inferior to Herodotus, says, impertinently enough, ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ἡρόδοτος καί τινες τῶν τὰς Αἰγυπτίων πράξεις συνταξαμένων ἐσχεδιάκασιν, ἐκουσίως προκρίναντες τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ παραδοξολογεῖν, καὶ μύθους πλάττειν ψυχαγωγίας ἕνεκα, παρήσομεν. *Biblioth. Hist.* book i. chap. lxix. vol. i. p. 207. In other places he alludes to Herodotus in the same tone, without actually mentioning him.

[114] Πολυανθρωπία δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν πολὺ προέσχε πάντων τῶν γνωριζομένων τόπων κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ἔσχε κώμας ἀξιολόγους, καὶ πόλεις πλείους τῶν μυρίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὁρᾶν ἐστι κατακεχωρισμένον. *Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hist.* book i. chap. xxxi. vol. i. p. 89.

[115] Notwithstanding the positive assertions of M. Matter (*Hist. de l'École d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. p. 285; compare *Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 48), there is no good evidence for the supposed travels in Egypt of the earlier Greeks, and it is even questionable if Plato ever visited that country. ("Whether he was ever in Egypt is doubtful." *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 60.) The Romans took little interest in the subject (*Bunsen*, vol. i. pp. 152–158); and, says M. Bunsen, p. 152, "with Diodorus all systematic inquiry into the history of Egypt ceases, not only on the part of the Greeks, but of the ancients in general." Mr. Leake, in an essay on the Quorra, arrives at the conclusion, that after the time of Ptolemy, the ancients made no additions to their knowledge of African geography. *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. ii. p. 9.

[116] See on this some good remarks in *Heeren's African Nations*, vol. ii. pp. 202–207; and as to the difference between the traditions of Thebes and Memphis, see *Matter, Histoire de l'École d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 7. The power and importance of the two cities fluctuated, both being at different periods the capital. *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55, 244, 445, 446; *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. iii. pp. 27, 100; *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 9, 19, 24, 34, 167, 185.

are both agreed respecting the rapid increase of the people, and the servile condition into which they had fallen. Indeed, the mere appearance of those huge and costly buildings, which are still standing, is a proof of the state of the nation that erected them. To raise structures so stupendous,[117] and yet so useless,[118] there must have been tyranny on the part of the rulers, and slavery on the part of the people. No wealth, however great, no expenditure, however lavish, could meet the expense which would have been incurred, if they had been the work of free men, who received for their labour a fair and honest reward.[119] But in Egypt, as in India, such considerations were disregarded, because everything tended to favour the upper ranks of society, and depress the lower. Between the two there was an immense and impassable gap.[120] If a member of the industrious classes changed his usual employment, or was known to pay attention to political matters, he was severely punished;[121] and under no circumstances was the possession of land allowed to an agricultural labourer, to a mechanic, or indeed to any one except the king, the clergy, and the army.[122] The people at large were little better than beasts of burden; and all that was expected from them was an unremitting and unrequited labour. If they neglected their work, they were flogged; and the same punishment was frequently inflicted upon domestic servants, and even upon women.[123] These and similar regulations were well conceived; they were admirably suited to that vast social system, which, because it was based on despotism, could only be upheld by cruelty. Hence it was that, the industry of the whole nation being at the absolute command of a small part of it, there arose the possibility of rearing those vast edifices, which inconsiderate observers admire as a proof of civilization,[124] but which, in reality, are evidence of a state of things altogether depraved and unhealthy; a state in which the skill and the arts of an imperfect refinement injured those whom they ought to have benefited; so that the very resources which the people had created were turned against the people themselves.

That in such a society as this, much regard should be paid to human suffering, it would indeed be idle to expect.[125] Still, we are startled by the reckless

[117] Sir John Herschel (*Disc. on Natural Philosophy*, p. 60) calculates that the great pyramid weighs twelve thousand seven hundred and sixty million pounds. Compare *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, p. 459, where the still larger estimate of six million tons is given. But according to Perring, the present quantity of masonry is 6,316,000 tons, or 82,110,000 cubic feet. See *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 155, London, 1854, and *Vyse on the Pyramids*, 1840, vol. ii. p. 113.

[118] Many fanciful hypotheses have been put forward as to the purpose for which the pyramids were built; but it is now admitted that they were neither more nor less than tombs for the Egyptian kings! See *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. xvii. 88, 105, 372, 389; and *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 21.

[119] For an estimate of the expense at which one of the pyramids could be built in our time by European workmen, see *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. ii. p. 268. On account, however, of the number of disturbing causes, such calculations have little value.

[120] Those who complain that in Europe this interval is still too great, may derive a species of satisfaction from studying the old extra-European civilizations.

[121] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 9. "Nor was any one permitted to meddle with political affairs, or to hold any civil office in the state." . . . . "If any artizan meddled with political affairs, or engaged in any other employment than the one to which he had been brought up, a severe punishment was instantly inflicted upon him." Compare *Diod. Sic. Bibliothec. Hist.* book i. chap. lxxiv. vol. i. p. 223.

[122] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 263, vol. ii. p. 2; *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 24.

[123] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 41, 42, vol. iii. p. 69, vol. iv. p. 131 Compare Ammianus Marcellinus, in *Hamilton's Ægyptiaca*, p. 309.

[124] *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. i. p. 61, vol. ii. p. 92.

[125] "Ein König ahmte den andern nach, oder suchte ihn zu übertreffen; indess das gutmüthige Volk seine Lebenstage am Baue dieser Monumente verzehren musste

prodigality with which, in Egypt, the upper classes squandered away the labour and the lives of the people. In this respect, as the monuments yet remaining abundantly prove, they stand alone and without a rival. We may form some idea of the almost incredible waste, when we hear that two thousand men were occupied for three years in carrying a single stone from Elephantine to Sais ;[126] that the Canal of the Red Sea alone cost the lives of a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians ;[127] and that to build one of the pyramids required the labour of three hundred and sixty thousand men for twenty years.[128]

If, passing from the history of Asia and Africa, we now turn to the New World, we shall meet with fresh proof of the accuracy of the preceding views. The only parts of America which before the arrival of the Europeans were in some degree civilized, were Mexico and Peru ;[129] to which may probably be added that long and narrow tract which stretches from the south of Mexico to the Isthmus of Panama. In this latter country, which is now known as Central America, the inhabitants, aided by the fertility of the soil,[130] seem to have worked out for themselves a certain amount of knowledge ; since the ruins still extant prove the possession of a mechanical and architectural skill too considerable to be acquired by any nation entirely barbarous.[131] Beyond this, nothing is known

So entstanden wahrscheinlich die Pyramiden und Obelisken Ægyptens. Nur in den ältesten Zeiten wurden sie gebauet : denn die spätere Zeit und jede Nation, die ein nützliches Gewerbe treiben lernte, bauete keine Pyramiden mehr. Weit gefehlt also, dass Pyramiden ein Kennzeichen von der Glückseligkeit und Aufklärung des alten Ægyptens seyn sollten, sind sie ein unwidersprechliches Denkmal von dem Aberglauben und der Gedankenlosigkeit sowohl der Armen, die da baueten, als der Ehrgeizigen, die den Bau befahlen." *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iii. pp. 103, 104 : see also p. 293, and some admirable remarks in *Volney's Voyage en Egypte*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241. Even M. Bunsen, notwithstanding his admiration, says of one of the pyramids, "The misery of the people, already grievously oppressed, was aggravated by the construction of this gigantic building. . . . . The bones of the oppressors of the people who for two whole generations harassed hundreds of thousands from day to day," etc. *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 176, a learned and enthusiastic work.

[126] Καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δέ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες. *Herodot.* book ii. chap. clxxv. vol. i. p. 879. On the enormous weight of the stones which the Egyptians sometimes carried, see *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 379 ; and as to the machines employed, and the use of inclined roads for the transit, see *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. i. p. 197, vol. iii. pp. 14, 38.

[127] *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 70 : but this learned writer is unwilling to believe a statement so adverse to his favourite Egyptians. It is likely enough that there is some exaggeration ; still no one can dispute the fact of an enormous and unprincipled waste of human life.

[128] Τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἓξ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν, ὡς φασι, ταῖς τῶν ἔργων λειτουργίαις προσήδρευσαν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν κατασκεύασμα τέλος ἔσχε μόγις ἐτῶν εἴκοσι διελθόντων. *Diod. Sic. Bibliothec. Hist.* book i. chap. lxiii. vol. i. p. 188.

[129] "When compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states." *History of America*, book vii. in *Robertson's Works*, p. 904. See, to the same effect, *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. v. p. 355.

[130] Compare *Squier's Central America*, vol. i. pp. 34, 244, 358, 421, vol. ii. p. 307, with *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. iii. p. 59, vol. viii. pp. 319, 323.

[131] Mr. Squier (*Central America*, vol. ii. p. 68), who explored Nicaragua, says of the statues, "The material, in every case, is a black basalt, of great hardness, which, with the best of modern tools, can only be cut with difficulty." Mr. Stephens (*Central America*, vol. ii. p. 355) found at Palenque "elegant specimens of art and models for study." See also vol. iii. pp. 276, 389, 406, vol. iv. p. 293. Of the paintings at Chichen he says (vol. iv. p. 311), "They exhibit a freedom of touch which could only be the result of discipline and training under masters." At Copan (vol. i. p. 151), "it would be impossible, with the best instruments of modern times, to cut stones more perfectly." And at Uxmal (vol. ii. p. 431), "Throughout, the laying and polishing of the stones are as perfect as under the rules of the best modern masonry." Our knowledge of Central America is almost entirely derived from these two writers ; and although the work of

of their history ; but the accounts we have of such buildings as Copan, Palenque, and Uxmal, make it highly probable that Central America was the ancient seat of a civilization, in all essential points similar to those of India and Egypt ; that is to say, similar to them in respect to the unequal distribution of wealth and power, and the thraldom in which the great body of the people consequently remained.[132]

But although the evidence from which we might estimate the former condition of Central America is almost entirely lost,[133] we are more fortunate in regard to the histories of Mexico and Peru. There are still existing considerable and authentic materials, from which we may form an opinion on the ancient state of those two countries, and on the nature and extent of their civilization. Before, however, entering upon this subject, it will be convenient to point out what those physical laws were which determined the localities of American civilization ; or, in other words, why it was that in these countries alone society should have been organized into a fixed and settled system, while the rest of the New World was peopled by wild and ignorant barbarians. Such an inquiry will be found highly interesting, as affording further proof of the extraordinary, and indeed irresistible, force with which the powers of Nature have controlled the fortunes of man.

The first circumstance by which we must be struck, is that in America, as in Asia and Africa, all the original civilizations were seated in hot countries ; the whole of Peru proper being within the southern tropic, the whole of Central America and Mexico within the northern tropic. How the heat of the climate operated on the social and political arrangements of India and Egypt, I have attempted to examine ; and it has, I trust, been proved that the result was brought about by diminishing the wants and requirements of the people, and thus producing a very unequal distribution of wealth and power. But, besides this, there is another way in which the average temperature of a country affects its civilization, and the discussion of which I have reserved for the present moment, because it may be more clearly illustrated in America than elsewhere. Indeed, in the New World, the scale on which Nature works, being much larger than in the Old, and her forces being more overpowering, it is evident that her operations on mankind may be studied with greater advantage than in countries where she is weaker, and where, therefore, the consequences of her movements are less conspicuous.

If the reader will bear in mind the immense influence which an abundant national food has been shown to exercise, he will easily understand how, owing to the pressure of physical phenomena, the civilization of America was,

Mr. Stephens is much the more minute, Mr. Squier says (vol. ii. p. 306), what I believe is quite true, that until the appearance of his own book in 1853, the monuments in Nicaragua were entirely unknown. Short descriptions of the remains in Guatemala and Yucatan will be found in *Larenaudière's Mexique et Gualemala*, pp. 308–327, and in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. iii. pp. 60–63.

132 See the remarks on Yucatan in *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. v. p. 348 : "A great and industrious, though perhaps, as the writer above cited (Gallatin) observes, an enslaved population. Splendid temples and palaces attest the power of the priests and nobles, while as usual no trace remains of the huts in which dwelt the mass of the nation."

133 Dr. M'Culloh (*Researches concerning the Aboriginal History of America*, pp. 272–340) has collected from the Spanish writers some meagre statements respecting the early condition of Central America ; but of its social state and history properly so called nothing is known ; nor is it even certain to what family of nations the inhabitants belonged, though a recent author can find "la civilization guatemalienne ou misteco-zapotèque et mayaquiche vivante pour nous encore dans les ruines de Mitla et de Palenque." *Mexique et Guatemala, par Larenaudière*, p. 8, Paris, 1843. Dr. Prichard, too, refers the ruins in Central America to "the Mayan race" : see *Prichard on Ethnology*, in *Report of British Association for* 1847, p. 252. But the evidence for these and similar statements is very unsatisfactory.

of necessity, confined to those parts where alone it was found by the discoverers of the New World. For, setting aside the chemical and geognostic varieties of soil, it may be said that the two causes which regulate the fertility of every country are heat and moisture.[134] Where these are abundant, the land will be exuberant; where they are deficient, it will be sterile. This rule is, of course, in its application subject to exceptions, arising from physical conditions which are independent of it; but if other things are equal, the rule is invariable. And the vast additions which, since the construction of isothermal lines, have been made to our knowledge of geographical botany, enable us to lay this down as a law of nature, proved not only by arguments drawn from vegetable physiology, but also by a careful study of the proportions in which plants are actually distributed in different countries.[135]

A general survey of the continent of America will illustrate the connexion between this law and the subject now before us. In the first place, as regards moisture, all the great rivers in the New World are on the eastern coast, none of them on the western. The causes of this remarkable fact are unknown;[136] but it is certain that neither in North, nor in South America, does one considerable river empty itself into the Pacific; while on the opposite side there are numerous rivers, some of enormous magnitude, all of great importance,

[134] Respecting the connexion between the vegetable productions of a country and its geognostic peculiarities, little is yet known; but the reader may compare *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, p. 64, with *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, 1846, pp. 70, 71. The chemical laws of soil are much better understood, and have a direct practical bearing on the use of manures. See *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 1310–1314; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 691, vol. ii. pp. 1867–1869; *Balfour's Botany*, pp. 116–122; *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. ii. pp. 315, 328, vol. iii. p. 463, vol. iv. pp. 438, 442, 446.

[135] As to the influence of heat and moisture on the geographical distribution of plants, see *Henslow's Botany*, pp. 295–300, and *Balfour's Botany*, pp. 560–563. Meyen (*Geog. of Plants*, p. 263) says, "I therefore, after allowing for local circumstances, bring the vegetation of islands also under that law of nature, according to which the number of species constantly increases with increasing heat and corresponding humidity." On the effect of temperature alone, compare a note in *Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. pp. 64, 65, with *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, pp. 339, 340. In the latter work, it is supposed that heat is the most important of all single agents; and though this is probably true, still the influence of humidity is immense. I may mention, as an instance of this, that it has been recently ascertained that the oxygen used by seeds during germination, is not always taken from the air, but is obtained by decomposing water. See the curious experiments of Edwards and Colin in *Lindley's Botany*, vol. ii. pp. 261, 262, London, 1848; and on the direct nourishment which water supplies to vegetables, see Burdach's great work, *Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ix. pp. 254, 398.

[136] There is a difference between the watersheds of the eastern and western ranges, which explains this in part, but not entirely; and even if the explanation were more satisfactory than it is, it is too proximate to the phenomenon to have much scientific value, and must itself be referred to higher geological considerations. [It is difficult to know what is here meant. The watersheds are perfectly sufficient to explain the phenomena (see below, *note* 148). The Rocky Mountains divide North America so that the area to the east of them is more than twice that to the west; and in Central and South America there runs a great mountain range near the west coast from Mexico to Patagonia. Yet even thus the statement in the text is inaccurate. In North America the western rivers Yukon, Fraser, Sacramento, and Colorado, are certainly "considerable," being much longer than several of the eastern rivers named by Buckle, while the Yukon is a mile and a quarter wide at 600 miles above the sea. The Colorado (840 miles long) falls, it is true, into the Gulf of California, but that is a gulf of the Pacific; while the Mississippi, which drains into the Gulf of Mexico, is not strictly an eastern river. The total Pacific drainage basin, in the United States, is 700,000 square miles; the total Atlantic basin, including that of the St. Lawrence (U.S. portion) is 450,000 square miles. By far the greatest drainage-basin is that of the Gulf of Mexico, 1,700,000 square miles; and for this the watershed begins just east of the Rocky Mountains.
—Ed.]

as the Negro, the La Plata, the San Francisco, the Amazon, the Orinoco, the Mississippi, the Alabama, the Saint John, the Potomac, the Susquehannah, the Delaware, the Hudson, and the Saint Lawrence. By this vast water-system the soil is towards the east constantly irrigated : [137] but towards the west there is in North America only one river of value, the Oregon ; [138] while in South America, from the Isthmus of Panamá to the Straits of Magellan, there is no great river at all.

But as to the other main cause of fertility, namely heat, we find in North America a state of things precisely the reverse. There we find that while the irrigation is on the east, the heat is on the west.[139] This difference of temperature between the two coasts is probably connected with some great meteorological law ; for in the whole of the northern hemisphere, the eastern part of continents and of islands is colder than the western.[140] Whether, however, this is owing to some large and comprehensive cause, or whether each instance has a cause peculiar to itself, is an alternative, in the present state of knowledge, impossible to decide ; but the fact is unquestionable, and its influence upon the early history of America is extremely curious. In consequence of it, the two great conditions of fertility have not been united in any part of the continent north of Mexico. The countries on the one side have wanted heat ; those on the other side have wanted irrigation.* The accumulation of wealth being thus impeded, the progress of society was stopped ; and until, in the sixteenth century, the knowledge of Europe was brought to bear upon America, there is no instance of any people north of the twentieth parallel reaching even that imperfect civilization to which the inhabitants of India and of Egypt easily

[137] Of this irrigation some idea may be formed from an estimate that the Amazon drains an area of 2,500,000 square miles ; that its mouth is ninety-six miles wide ; and that it is navigable 2,200 miles from its mouth. *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. i. p. 423. Indeed, it is said in an Essay on the Hydrography of South America (*Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. p. 250), that "with the exception of one short portage of three miles, water flows, and is for the most part navigable, between Buenos Ayres, in 35° south latitude, to the mouth of the Orinoco, in nearly 9° north." See also on this river-system, vol. v. p. 93, vol. x. p. 267. In regard to North America, Mr. Rogers (*Geology of North America*, p. 8, *Brit. Assoc. for* 1834) says, "The area drained by the Mississippi and all its tributaries is computed at 1,099,000 square miles." Compare *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. ii. p. 164.

[138] The Oregon, or Columbia as it is sometimes called, forms a remarkable botanical line, which is the boundary of the Californian flora. See *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, p. 113.

[139] For proof that the mean temperature of the western coast of North America is higher than that of the eastern coast, see *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ix. p. 380, vol. xi. pp. 168, 216 ; *Humboldt, la Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 42, 336 ; *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. ii. pp. 214, 218, 219, 259, 260. This is well illustrated by the botanical fact, that on the west coast the coniferæ grow as high as 68° or 70° north latitude ; while on the east their northern limit is 60°. See an Essay on the Morphology of the Coniferæ, in *Reports on Botany by the Ray Society*, p. 8, which should be compared with *Forry on the Climate of the United States and its Endemic Influences*, New York, 1842, p. 89.

[140] "Writers on climate have remarked that the eastern coasts of continents in the northern hemisphere have a lower mean temperature than the western coasts." *Richardson on North-American Zoology*, p. 129, *Brit. Assoc. for* 1836 : see also *Report for* 1841, *Sections*, p. 28 ; *Davis's China*, vol. iii. pp. 140, 141 ; *Journ. of Geograph. Society*, vol. xxii. p. 176.

[* Both of these statements are excessive. Sufficient heat and moisture to admit of fertility existed in the eastern parts of North America between the 30th and 40th parallels ; but other conditions—such as great forest growth relatively to population, leading to a prolongation of the state of tribal war,—prevented there the due social development in the pre-Christian period. The same state of things, broadly speaking, prevailed in parts of the middle and western territories.—Ed.]

attained.[141] On the other hand, south of the twentieth parallel, the continent suddenly changes its form, and, rapidly contracting, becomes a small strip of land, until it reaches the Isthmus of Panama. This narrow tract was the centre of Mexican civilization; and a comparison of the preceding arguments will easily show why such was the case; for the peculiar configuration of the land secured a very large amount of coast, and thus gave to the southern part of North America the character of an island. Hence there arose one of the characteristics of an insular climate, namely, an increase of moisture, caused by the watery vapour which springs from the sea.[142] While, therefore, the position of Mexico near the equator gave it heat, the shape of the land gave it humidity; and this being the only part of North America in which these two conditions were united, it was likewise the only part which was at all civilized. There can be no doubt that if the sandy plains of California and southern Columbia, instead of being scorched into sterility, had been irrigated by the rivers of the east, or if the rivers of the east had been accompanied by the heat of the west, the result of either combination would have been that exuberance of soil by which, as the history of the world decisively proves, every early civilization was preceded. But inasmuch as, of the two elements of fertility, one was deficient in every part of America north of the twentieth parallel, it followed that, until that line was passed, civilization could gain no resting-place; and there never has been found, and we may confidently assert never will be found, any evidence that even a single ancient nation, in the whole of that enormous continent, was able to make much progress in the arts of life, or organize itself into a fixed and permanent society.

Thus far as to the physical agents which controlled the early destinies of North America. But in reference to South America, a different train of cir-

[141] The little that is known of the early state of the North-American tribes has been brought together by Dr. M'Culloh in his learned work, *Researches concerning America*, pp. 119–146. He says, p. 121, that they "lived together without laws and civil regulations." In that part of the world, the population has probably never been fixed; and we now know that the inhabitants of the north-east of Asia have at different times passed over to the north-west of America, as in the case of the Tschuktschi, who are found in both continents. Indeed, Dobell was so struck by the similarity between the North-American tribes and some he met with nearly as far west as Tomsk, that he believed their origin to be the same. See *Dobell's Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia*, 1830, vol. ii. p. 112. And on this question of intercourse between the two continents, compare *Crantz's History of Greenland*, vol. i. pp. 259, 260, with *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. i. pp. 362, 363, and *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iv. pp. 458–463, vol. v. pp. 371, 378. [For later discussion see *Winsor's History of the United States*, vol. i. 118. As regards the redskins the view of M'Culloh must be rejected—being indeed false for any human tribe. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most of the redskins were agriculturists and fruit-growers as well as hunters, being thus at a higher level of civilization than the Teutons of the time of Cæsar. For an admirably complete view of what is known as to their way of life, see the following works of Mr. Lucien Carr: *The Social and Political Position of Women among the Huron-Iroquois Tribes* (Salem, 1884); *The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley*, in the Smithsonian Report for 1891 (Washington, 1893); *Dress and Ornaments of certain American Indians* (Worcester, 1897). The historic fact is that their civilization was virtually destroyed by the French and English colonists.—Ed.]

[142] From general physical considerations, we should suppose a relation between amount of rain and extent of coast; and in Europe, where alone we have extensive meteorological records, the connexion has been proved statistically. "If the quantity of rain that falls in different parts of Europe is measured, it is found to be less, other things being equal, as we recede from the sea-shore." *Kaemtz's Meteorology*, 1845, p. 139. Compare pp. 91, 94. Hence, no doubt, the greater rarity of rain as we advance north from Mexico. "Au nord du 20°, surtout depuis les 22° au 30° de latitude, les pluies, qui ne durent que pendant les mois de juin, de juillet, d'août et de septembre, sont peu fréquentes dans l'intérieur du pays." *Humboldt, la Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. p. 46.

cumstances came into play; for the law by virtue of which the eastern coasts are colder than the western, is not only inapplicable to the southern hemisphere, but is replaced by another law precisely the reverse. North of the equator the east is colder than the west; south of the equator, the east is hotter than the west.[143] If now, we connect this fact with what has been noticed respecting the vast river-system which distinguishes the east of America from the west, it becomes evident that in South America there exists that co-operation of heat and humidity in which North America is deficient. The result is, that the soil in the eastern part of South America is remarkable for its exuberance, not only within the tropic, but considerably beyond it; the south of Brazil, and even part of Uruguay, possessing a fertility not to be found in any country of North America situated under a corresponding latitude.

On a hasty view of the preceding generalizations, it might be expected that the eastern side of South America, being thus richly endowed by nature,[144] would have been the seat of those civilizations, which, in other parts of the world, similar causes produced. But if we look a little further, we shall find that what has just been pointed out, by no means exhausts even the physical bearings of this subject, and that we must take into consideration a third great agent, which has sufficed to neutralize the natural results of the other two, and to retain in barbarism the inhabitants of what otherwise would have been the most flourishing of all the countries of the New World.

The agent to which I allude is the trade-wind; a striking phenomenon, by which, as we shall hereafter see, all the civilizations anterior to those of Europe * were greatly and injuriously influenced. This wind covers no less than 56° of latitude; 28° north of the equator, and 28° south of it.[145] In this large tract, which comprises some of the most fertile countries in the world, the trade-wind blows, during the whole year, either from the north-east or from the south-east.[146] The causes of this regularity are now well understood, and are known to depend partly on the displacement of air at the equator, and partly on the motion of the earth; for the cold air from the poles is constantly flowing towards the equator, and thus producing northerly winds in the northern hemisphere, and southerly winds in the southern. These winds are, however, deflected from their natural course by the movement of the earth, as it revolves on its axis from west to east. And as the rotation of the earth is, of course, more rapid

[143] "The difference between the climates of the east and west coasts of continents and islands, has also been observed in the southern hemisphere; but here the west coasts are colder than the east, while in the northern hemisphere the east coasts are the colder." *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, 1846, p. 24.

[144] Mr. Darwin, who has written one of the most valuable works ever published on South America, was struck by this superiority of the eastern coast; and he mentions that "fruits which ripen well and are very abundant, such as the grape and fig, in latitude 41° on the east coast, succeed very poorly in a lower latitude on the opposite side of the continent." *Darwin's Journal of Researches*, Lond. 1840, p. 268. Compare *Meyen's Geog. of Plants*, pp. 25, 188. So that the proposition of Daniell (*Meteorological Essays*, p. 104, sec. xiv.) is expressed too generally, and should be confined to continents north of the equator.

[145] The trade-winds sometimes reach the thirtieth parallel. See *Daniell's Meteorological Essays*, p. 469. Dr. Traill (*Physical Geography*, Edin. 1838, p. 200) says, "They extend to about 30° on each side of the equator": but I believe they are rarely found so high; though Robertson is certainly wrong in supposing that they are peculiar to the tropics; *History of America*, book iv. in *Robertson's Works*, p. 781.

[146] "In the northern hemisphere the trade-wind blows from the north-east, and in the southern from the south-east." *Meyen's Geog. of Plants*, p. 42. Compare *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. i. p. 112, vol. ii. p. 494; and on the "tropical east-wind" of the Gulf of Mexico, see *Forry's Climate of the United States*, p. 206. Dr. Forry says that it has given to the growth of the trees "an inclination from the sea."

[* That is, all the South American civilizations anterior to those imported from Europe. But in reality they too have been affected.—Ed.]

at the equator than elsewhere, it happens that in the neighbourhood of the equator the speed is so great as to outstrip the movements of the atmosphere from the poles, and forcing them into another direction, gives rise to those easterly currents which are called trade-winds.[147] What, however, we are now rather concerned with, is not so much an explanation of the trade-winds, as an account of the way in which this great physical phenomenon is connected with the history of South America.

The trade-wind, blowing on the eastern coast of South America, and proceeding from the east, crosses the Atlantic ocean, and therefore reaches the land surcharged with the vapours accumulated in its passage. These vapours, on touching the shore, are, at periodical intervals, condensed into rain; and as their progress westward is checked by that gigantic chain of the Andes, which they are unable to pass,[148] they pour the whole of their moisture on Brazil, which, in consequence, is often deluged by the most destructive torrents.[149] This abundant supply, being aided by that vast river-system peculiar to the eastern part of America, and being also accompanied by heat, has stimulated the soil into an activity unequalled in any other part of the world.[150] Brazil, which is nearly as large as the whole of Europe, is covered with a vegetation of incredible profusion. Indeed, so rank and luxuriant is the growth, that Nature seems to riot in the very wantonness of power. A great part of this immense country is filled with dense and tangled forests, whose noble trees, blossoming in unrivalled beauty, and exquisite with a thousand hues, throw out their produce in endless prodigality. On their summit are perched birds of gorgeous plumage, which nestle in their dark and lofty recesses. Below, their base and trunks are crowded with brushwood, creeping plants, innumerable parasites, all swarming with life. There, too, are myriads of insects of

[147] Respecting the causes of the trade-winds, see *Somerville's Connexion of the Physical Sciences*, pp. 136, 137; *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 518; *Daniell's Meteorological Essays*, pp. 44, 102, 476–481; *Kaemtz's Meteorology*, pp. 37–39; *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 254–256. The discovery of the true theory is often ascribed to Mr. Daniell: but Hadley was the real discoverer. *Note in Prout*, p. 257. The monsoons, which popular writers frequently confuse with the trade-winds, are said to be caused by the predominance of land, and by the difference between its temperature and that of the sea: see *Kaemtz*, pp. 42–45. On what may be called the conversion of the trades into monsoons, according to the laws very recently promulgated by M. Dove, see *Report of British Association for* 1847 (*Transac. of Sections*, p. 30), and *Report for* 1848, p. 94. The monsoons are noticed in *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 485; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii. part i. p. 261; *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. vii. pp. 13, 55; *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. p. 90, vol. iv. pp. 8–9, 148, 149, 169, vol. xi. p. 162, vol. xv. pp. 146–149, vol. xvi. p. 185, vol. xviii. pp. 67, 68, vol. xxiii. p. 112; *Low's Sarawak*, p. 30.

[148] *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, pp. 201, 714, 715: see also *Somerville's Physical Geography*, vol. ii. p. 71. And on this confining power of the Cordillera of the Andes, see *Azara, Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, vol. i. p. 33. According to Dr. Tschudi, the eastern chain is properly the Andes, and the western the Cordillera; but this distinction is rarely made. *Tschudi's Travels in Peru*, p. 290.

[149] On the rain of Brazil, see *Daniell's Meteorological Essays*, p. 335; *Darwin's Journal*, pp. 11, 33; *Spix and Martius's Travels in Brazil*, vol. ii. p, 113; *Gardner's Travels in Brazil*, pp. 53, 99, 114, 175, 233, 394.

[150] Dr. Gardner, who looked at these things with the eye of a botanist, says that near Rio de Janeiro the heat and moisture are sufficient to compensate even the poorest soil; so that "rocks, on which scarcely a trace of earth is to be observed, are covered with vellozias, tillandsias, melastomaceæ, cacti, orchideæ, and ferns, and all in the vigour of life." *Gardner's Travels in Brazil*, p. 9. See also on this combination, *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. ii. pp. 297, 298, a curious description of the rainy season: "For eight or nine hours a day, during some weeks, I never had a dry shirt on me; and the clothes I divested myself of at night, I put on quite wet in the morning. When it did not rain, which was very rare, there shone out in some places a burning sun; and we went smoking along, the wet exhaling by the heat, as if we were dissolving into vapour."

every variety; reptiles of strange and singular form; serpents and lizards, spotted with deadly beauty: all of which find means of existence in this vast workshop and repository of Nature. And that nothing may be wanting to this land of marvels, the forests are skirted by enormous meadows, which, reeking with heat and moisture, supply nourishment to countless herds of wild cattle, that browse and fatten on their herbage; while the adjoining plains, rich in another form of life, are the chosen abode of the subtlest and most ferocious animals, which prey on each other, but which it might almost seem no human power can hope to extirpate.[151]

Such is the flow and abundance of life by which Brazil is marked above all the other countries of the earth.[152] But amid this pomp and splendour of nature, no place is left for Man. He is reduced to insignificance by the majesty with which he is surrounded. The forces that oppose him are so formidable, that he has never been able to make head against them, never able to rally against their accumulated pressure. The whole of Brazil, notwithstanding its immense apparent advantages, has always remained entirely uncivilized; its inhabitants wandering savages, incompetent to resist those obstacles which the very bounty of Nature had put in their way. For the natives, like every people in the infancy of society, are averse to enterprise; and being unacquainted with the arts by which physical impediments are removed, they have never attempted to grapple with the difficulties that stopped their social progress. Indeed, those difficulties are so serious, that during more than three hundred years the resources of European knowledge have been vainly employed in endeavouring to get rid of them. Along the coast of Brazil, there has been introduced from Europe a certain amount of that civilization, which the natives by their own efforts could never have reached. But such civilization, in itself very imperfect, has never penetrated the recesses of the country; and in the interior there is still found a state of things similar to that which has always existed. The people, ignorant, and therefore brutal, practising no restraint, and recognizing no law, continue to live on in their old and inveterate barbarism.[153] In their country, the physical causes are so active, and do their work on a scale of such unrivalled magnitude, that it has hitherto been found impossible to escape from the effects of their united action. The progress of agriculture is stopped by impassable

[151] On the natural history of Brazil, I have compared a few notices in *Swainson's Geography of Animals*, pp. 75–87, with *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. i. p. 460, vol. ii. pp. 28, 65, 66, 89, vol. iv. pp. 51, 75, 258, 320, 394, 485, 561, vol. v. pp. 40, 195, 272, 334, 553; *Azara, Amérique Méridionale*, vol. i. pp. 244–388, and the greater part of vols. iii. and iv.; *Winckler, Geschichte der Botanik*, pp. 378, 576–578; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 27, vol. iii. pp. 315, 823; *Gardner's Brazil*, pp. 18, 32–34, 41–44, 131, 330; *Spix and Martius's Brazil*, vol. i. pp. 207–209, 238–248, vol. ii. pp. 131, 160–163. And as to the forests, which are among the wonders of the world, *Somerville's Physical Geog.* vol. ii. pp. 204–206; *Prichard's Physical History*, vol. v. p. 497; *Darwin's Journal*, pp. 11, 24; *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. i. p. 145, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30, 253.

[152] This extraordinary richness has excited the astonishment of all who have seen it. Mr. Walsh, who has travelled in some very fertile countries, mentions "the exceeding fecundity of nature which characterizes Brazil." *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 19. And a very eminent naturalist, Mr. Darwin, says (*Journal*, p. 29), "In England, any person fond of natural history enjoys in his walks a great advantage, by always having something to attract his attention; but in these fertile climates, teeming with life, the attractions are so numerous that he is scarcely able to walk at all."

[153] Azara (*Amérique Méridionale*, vol. ii. pp. 1–168) gives a curious, but occasionally a disgusting account of the savage natives in that part of Brazil south of 16°, to which his observations were limited. And as to the inhabitants of other parts, see *Henderson's History of Brazil*, pp. 28, 29, 107, 173, 248, 315, 473; *M'Culloh's Researches concerning America*, p. 77: and the more recent account of Dr. Martius, in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. ii. pp. 191–199. Even in 1817, it was rare to see a native in Rio de Janeiro (*Spix and Martius's Travels in Brazil*, vol. i. p. 142); and Dr. Gardner (*Travels in Brazil*, pp. 61, 62) says, that "more than one nation of Indians in Brazil" have returned to that savage life from which they had apparently been reclaimed.

forests, and the harvests are destroyed by innumerable insects.[154] The mountains are too high to scale, the rivers are too wide to bridge; everything is contrived to keep back the human mind, and repress its rising ambition. It is thus that the energies of Nature have hampered the spirit of Man. Nowhere else is there so painful a contrast between the grandeur of the external world and the littleness of the internal. And the mind, cowed by this unequal struggle, has not only been unable to advance, but without foreign aid it would undoubtedly have receded. For even at present, with all the improvements constantly introduced from Europe, there are no signs of real progress; while notwithstanding the frequency of colonial settlements, less than one-fiftieth of the land is cultivated.[155] The habits of the people are as barbarous as ever: and as to their numbers, it is well worthy of remark, that Brazil, the country where, of all others, physical resources are most powerful, where both vegetables and animals are most abundant, where the soil is watered by the noblest rivers, and the coast studded by the finest harbours,—this immense territory, which is more than twelve times the size of France, contains a population not exceeding six millions of people.[156]

These considerations sufficiently explain why it is, that in the whole of Brazil there are no monuments even of the most imperfect civilization; no evidence that the people had, at any period, raised themselves above the state in which they were found when their country was first discovered. But immediately opposite to Brazil there is another country, which, though situated in the same continent, and lying under the same latitude, is subjected to different physical conditions, and therefore was the scene of different social results. This is the celebrated kingdom of Peru, which included the whole of the southern tropic, and which, from the circumstances just stated, was naturally the only part of South America where anything approaching to civilization could be attained. In Brazil, the heat of the climate was accompanied by a twofold irrigation, arising first from the immense river-system incidental to the eastern coast; and secondly, from the abundant moisture deposited by the trade-winds. From this combination there resulted that unequalled fertility, which, so far as Man was concerned, defeated its own ends, stopping his progress by an exuberance, which, had it been less excessive, it would have aided. For, as we have clearly seen, when the productive powers of Nature are carried beyond a certain point, the imperfect knowledge of uncivilized men is unable to cope with them, or in any way turn them to their own advantage. If, however, those powers, being very active, are nevertheless confined within manageable limits, there arises a state of things similar to that noticed in Asia and Africa, where the profusion of Nature, instead of hindering social progress, favoured it, by encouraging

[154] Sir C. Lyell (*Principles of Geology*, p. 682) notices "the incredible number of insects which lay waste the crops in Brazil"; and Mr. Swainson, who had travelled in that country, says, "The red ants of Brazil are so destructive, and at the same time so prolific, that they frequently dispute possession of the ground with the husbandman, defy all his skill to extirpate their colonies, and fairly compel him to leave his fields uncultivated." *Swainson on the Geography and Classification of Animals*, p. 87. See more about these insects in *Darwin's Journal*, pp. 37–43; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. i. pp. 144, 256, 333–335, 343, vol. ii. pp. 365, 642, vol. iii. p. 876; *Spix and Martius's Travels in Brazil*, vol. i. p. 259, vol. ii. p. 117; *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. iv. p. 320.

[155] The cultivated land is estimated at from 1½ to 2 per cent. See *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.*, 1849, vol. i. p. 430.

[156] During the present century, the population of Brazil has been differently stated at different times; the highest computation being 7,000,000, and the lowest 4,000,000. Comp. *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 855; *Gardner's Brazil*, p. 12; *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.*, 1849, vol. i. pp. 430, 434. Mr. Walsh describes Brazil as "abounding in lands of the most exuberant fertility, but nearly destitute of inhabitants." *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. i. p. 248. This was in 1828 and 1829, since which the European population has increased; but, on the whole, 6,000,000 seems to be a fair estimate of what can only be known approximately. In *Alison's History*, vol. x. p. 229, the number given is 5,000,000; but the area also is rather understated. [Population in 1891, 17,000,000. —Ed.]

that accumulation of wealth, without some share of which progress is impossible.

In estimating, therefore, the physical conditions by which civilization was originally determined, we have to look, not merely at the exuberance, but also at what may be called the manageability of Nature; that is, we have to consider the ease with which the resources may be used, as well as the number of the resources themselves. Applying this to Mexico and Peru, we find that they were the countries of America where this combination most happily occurred. For though their resources were much less numerous than those of Brazil, they were far more easy to control; while at the same time the heat of the climate brought into play those other laws by which, as I have attempted to show, all the early civilizations were greatly influenced. It is a very remarkable fact, which, I believe, has never been observed, that even in reference to latitude, the present limit of Peru to the south corresponds with the ancient limit of Mexico to the north; while, by a striking, but to me perfectly natural coincidence, both these boundaries are reached before the tropical line is passed; the boundary of Mexico being 21° N. lat., that of Peru 21½° S. lat.[157]

Such is the wonderful regularity which history, when comprehensively studied, presents to our view. And if we compare Mexico and Peru with those countries of the Old World which have been already noticed, we shall find, as in all the civilizations anterior to those of Europe, that their social phenomena were subordinate to their physical laws. In the first place, the characteristics of their national food were precisely those met with in the most flourishing parts of Asia and Africa. For although few of the nutritious vegetables belonging to the Old World were found in the New, their place was supplied by others exactly analogous to rice and dates; that is to say, marked by the same abundance, by the same facility of growth, and by the same exuberant returns; therefore, followed by the same social results. In Mexico and Peru, one of the most important articles of food has always been maize, which, we have every reason to believe, was peculiar to the American continent.[158] This, like rice and dates, is eminently the product of a hot climate; and although it is said to grow at an elevation of upwards of 7,000 feet,[159] it is rarely seen beyond the fortieth parallel,[160] and its exuberance rapidly diminishes with the diminution of temperature. Thus, for example, in New California its average yield is seventy

[157] Vidica being the most southerly point of the present Peruvian coast; though the conquests of Peru, incorporated with the empire, extended far into Chili, and within a few degrees of Patagonia. In regard to Mexico, the northern limit of the empire was 21° on the Altantic coast, and 19° on the Pacific. *Prescott's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 2.

[158] A question has been raised as to the Asiatic origin of maize: *Reynier, Économie des Arabes*, pp. 94, 95. But later and more careful researches seem to have ascertained beyond much doubt that it was unknown before America was discovered. Compare *Meyen's Geography of Plants*, pp. 44, 303, 304; *Walckenaer's note in Azara, Amérique Méridionale*, vol. i. p. 149; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences Naturelles*, vol. ii. p. 354; *Cuvier, Éloges Historiques*, vol. ii. p. 178; *Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture*, p. 829; *M'Culloch's Dict. of Commerce*, 1849, p. 831. The casual notices of maize by Ixtlilxochitl, the native Mexican historian, shows its general use as an article of food before the arrival of the Spaniards: see *Ixtlilxochitl, Histoire des Chichimèques*, vol. i. pp. 53, 64, 240, vol. ii. p. 19.

[159] "Maize, indeed, grows to the height of 7,200 feet above the level of the sea, but only predominates between 3,000 and 6,000 of elevation." *Lindley's Vegetable Kingdom*, 1847, p. 112. This refers to the tropical parts of South America; but the Zea Mais is said to have been raised on the slopes of the Pyrenees "at an elevation of 3,000 to 4,000 feet." See *Austen on the Forty Days' Maize*, in *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1849, *Trans. of Sec.* p. 68.

[160] M. Meyen (*Geog. of Plants*, p. 302) and Mr. Balfour (*Botany*, p. 567) suppose that in America 40° is about its limit; and this is the case in regard to its extensive cultivation; but it is grown certainly as high as 52°, perhaps as high as 54°, north latitude: see *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, 1851, vol. ii. pp. 49, 234.

or eighty fold ;[161] but in Mexico proper the same grain yields three or four hundred fold, and, under very favourable circumstances, even eight hundred fold.[162]

A people who derived their sustenance from a plant of such extraordinary fecundity, had little need to exercise their industrious energies ; while at the same time they had every opportunity of increasing their numbers, and thus producing a train of social and political consequences similar to those which I have noticed in India and in Egypt. Besides this, there were, in addition to maize, other kinds of food to which the same remarks are applicable. The potato, which in Ireland has brought about such injurious effects by stimulating the growth of population, is said to be indigenous to Peru ; and although this is denied by a very high authority,[163] there is, at all events, no doubt that it was found there in great abundance when the country was first discovered by the Europeans.[164] In Mexico, potatoes were unknown till the arrival of the Spaniards ; but both Mexicans and Peruvians lived to a great extent on the produce of the banana ; a vegetable whose reproductive powers are so extraordinary, that nothing but the precise and unimpeachable testimony of which we are possessed could make them at all credible. This remarkable plant is, in America, intimately connected with the physical laws of climate ; since it is an article of primary importance for the subsistence of man whenever the temperature passes a certain point.[165] Of its nutritive powers, it is enough to say, that an acre sown with it will support more than fifty persons ; whereas the same amount of land sown with wheat in Europe will only support two persons.[166] As to the exuberance of its growth, it is calculated that, other circumstances remaining the same, its produce is forty-four times greater than that of potatoes, and a hundred and thirty-three times greater than that of wheat.[167]

[161] " Sous la zone tempérée, entre les 33 et 38 degrés de latitude, par exemple dans la Nouvelle Californie, le maïs ne produit, en général, année commune, que 70 à 80 grains pour un." *Humboldt, la Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 375.

[162] " La fécondité du Tlaolli, ou maïs mexicain, est au-delà de tout ce que l'on peut imaginer en Europe. La plante, favorisée par de fortes chaleurs et par beaucoup d'humidité, acquiert une hauteur de deux à trois mètres. Dans les belles plaines qui s'étendent depuis San Juan del Rio à Queretaro, par exemple dans les terres de la grande métairie de l'Esperanza, une fanègue de maïs en produit quelquefois huit cents. Des terrains fertiles en donnent, année commune, trois à quatre cents." *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 374. Nearly the same estimate is given by Mr. Ward : see *Ward's Mexico*, vol. i. p. 32, vol. ii. p. 230. In Central America (Guatemala), maize returns three hundred for one. *Mexique et Guatemala par Larenaudière*, p. 257.

[163] " La pomme de terre n'est pas indigène au Pérou." *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 400. On the other hand, Cuvier (*Histoire des Sciences Naturelles*, part ii. p. 185) peremptorily says, " Il est impossible de douter qu'elle ne soit originaire du Pérou " : see also his *Eloges Historiques*, vol. ii. p. 171. Compare *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 92 : " Von einem gewissen Çarate unter den Gewächsen Peru's mit dem Namen papas aufgeführt."

[164] And has been used ever since for food. On the Peruvian potato, compare *Tschudi's Travels in Peru*, pp. 178, 368, 386 · *Ulloa's Voyage to South America*, vol. i. pp. 287, 288. In Southern Peru, at the height of 13,000 or 14,000 feet, a curious process takes place, the starch of the potato being frozen into saccharine. See a valuable paper by Mr. Bollaert in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. xxi. p. 119.

[165] Humboldt (*Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 359) says, " Partout où la chaleur moyenne de l'année excède vingt-quatre degrés centigrades, le fruit du bananier est un objet de culture du plus grand intérêt pour la subsistance de l'homme." Compare *Bullock's Mexico*, p. 281.

[166] *M'Culloch's Geograph. Dict.*, 1849, vol. ii. p. 315.

[167] " Je doute qu'il existe une autre plante sur le globe, qui, sur un petit espace de terrain, puisse produire une masse de substance nourrissante aussi considérable." . . . " Le produit des bananes est par conséquent à celui du froment comme 133 : 1—à celui des pommes de terre comme 44 : 1." *Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 362, 363.

It will now be easily understood why it was that, in all important respects, the civilizations of Mexico and Peru were strictly analogous to those of India and Egypt. In these four countries, as well as in a few others in Southern Asia and Central America, there existed an amount of knowledge, despicable indeed if tried by an European standard, but most remarkable if contrasted with the gross ignorance which prevailed among the adjoining and cotemporary nations. But in all of them there was the same inability to diffuse even that scanty civilization which they really possessed; there was the same utter absence of anything approaching to the democratic spirit; there was the same despotic power on the part of the upper classes, and the same contemptible subservience on the part of the lower. For, as we have clearly seen, all these civilizations were affected by certain physical causes, which, though favourable to the accumulation of wealth, were unfavourable to a just subdivision of it. And as the knowledge of men was still in its infancy,[168] it was found impossible to struggle against these physical agents, or prevent them from producing those effects on the social organization which I have attempted to trace. Both in Mexico and in Peru, the arts, and particularly those branches of them which minister to the luxury of the wealthy classes, were cultivated with great success. The houses of the higher ranks were filled with ornaments and utensils of admirable workmanship; their chambers were hung with splendid tapestries; their dresses and their personal decorations betrayed an almost incredible expense; their jewels of exquisite and varied form; their rich and flowing robes embroidered with the rarest feathers, collected from the most distant parts of the empire: all supplying evidence of the possession of unlimited wealth, and of the ostentatious prodigality with which that wealth was wasted.[169] Immediately below this class came the people; and what their condition was, may be easily imagined. In Peru the whole of the taxes were paid by them; the nobles and the clergy being altogether exempt.[170] But as in such a state of society it was impossible for the people to accumulate property, they were obliged to defray the expenses of government by their personal labour, which was placed under the entire command of the state.[171] At the same time, the rulers of the country

See also *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 333, edit. 1845; *Prescott's Peru*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132; *Prescott's Mexico*, vol. i. p. 114. Earlier notices, but very imperfect ones, of this remarkable vegetable may be found in *Ulloa's South America*, vol. i. p. 74; and in *Boyle's Works*, vol. iii. p. 590.

[168] The only science with which they had much acquaintance was astronomy, which the Mexicans appear to have cultivated with considerable success. Compare the remark of La Place, in *Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. p. 92, with *Prichard's Physical History*, vol. v. pp. 323, 329; *M'Culloh's Researches*, pp. 201–225; *Larenaudière's Mexique*, pp. 51, 52; *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. iv. p. 456; *Journ. of Geog. Society*, vol. vii. p. 3. However, their astronomy, as might be expected, was accompanied by astrology: see *Ixtlilxochitl, Histoire des Chichimèques*, vol. i. p. 168, vol. ii. pp. 94, 111.

[169] The works of art produced by the Mexicans and Peruvians are underrated by Robertson; who, however, admits that he had never seen them. *History of America*, book vii., in *Robertson's Works*, pp. 909, 920. But during the present century considerable attention has been paid to this subject: and in addition to the evidence of skill and costly extravagance collected by Mr. Prescott (*History of Peru*, vol. i. pp. 28, 142; *History of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 27, 28, 122, 256, 270, 307, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116), I may refer to the testimony of M. Humboldt, the only traveller in the New World who has possessed a competent amount of physical as well as historical knowledge. *Humboldt, Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 483, and elsewhere. Compare Mr. Pentland's observation on the tombs in the neighbourhood of Titicaca (*Journ. of Geog. Soc.*, vol. x. p. 554) with *M'Culloh's Researches*, pp. 364–366; *Mexique par Larenaudière*, pp. 41, 42, 66; *Ulloa's South America*, vol. i. pp. 465, 466.

[170] "The members of the royal house, the great nobles, even the public functionaries, and the numerous body of the priesthood, were all exempt from taxation. The whole duty of defraying the expenses of the government belonged to the people." *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. p. 56.

[171] Ondegardo emphatically says, "Solo el trabajo de las personas era el tributo que

were well aware that, with a system like this, feelings of personal independence were incompatible; they therefore contrived laws by which, even in the most minute matters, freedom of action was controlled. The people were so shackled that they could neither change their residence, nor alter their clothes, without permission from the governing powers. To each man the law prescribed the trade he was to follow, the dress he was to wear, the wife he was to marry, and the amusements he was to enjoy.[172] Among the Mexicans the course of affairs was similar; the same physical conditions being followed by the same social results. In the most essential particular for which history can be studied, namely, the state of the people, Mexico and Peru are the counterpart of each other. For though there were many minor points of difference,[173] both were agreed in this, that there were only two classes—the upper class being tyrants, and the lower class being slaves. This was the state in which Mexico was found when it was discovered by the Europeans,[174] and towards which it must have been tending from the earliest period. And so insupportable had all this become, that we know, from the most decisive evidence, that the general disaffection it produced among the people was one of the causes which, by facilitating the progress of the Spanish invaders, hastened the downfall of the Mexican empire.[175]

The further this examination is carried, the more striking becomes the similarity between those civilizations which flourished anterior to what may be called the European epoch of the human mind. The division of a nation into castes would be impossible in the great European countries; but it existed from a remote antiquity in Egypt, in India, and apparently in Persia.[176] The very same institution was rigidly enforced in Peru;[177] and what proves how con-

se dava, porque ellos no poseian otra cosa." *Prescott's Peru*, vol. i. p. 57. Compare *M'Culloh's Researches*, p. 359. In Mexico, the state of things was just the same: "Le petit peuple, qui ne possédait point de biens-fonds, et qui ne faisait point de commerce, payait sa part des taxes en travaux de différents genres; c'était par lui qui les terres de la couronne étaient cultivées, les ouvrages publics exécutés, et les diverses maisons appartenantes à l'empereur construites ou entretenues." *Larenaudière's Mexique*, p. 39.

[172] Mr. Prescott notices this with surprise, though, under the circumstances, it was in truth perfectly natural. He says (*Hist. of Peru*, vol. i. p. 159), "Under this extraordinary polity, a people, advanced in many of the social refinements, well skilled in manufactures and agriculture, were unacquainted, as we have seen, with money. They had nothing that deserved to be called property. They could follow no craft, could engage in no labour, no amusement, but such as was specially provided by law. They could not change their residence or their dress without a licence from the government. They could not even exercise the freedom which is conceded to the most abject in other countries—that of selecting their own wives."

[173] The Mexicans being, as Prichard says (*Physical History*, vol. v. p. 467), of a more cruel disposition than the Peruvians; but our information is too limited to enable us to determine whether this was mainly owing to physical causes or to social ones. Herder preferred the Peruvian civilization: "der gebildetste Staat dieses Welttheils, Peru." *Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. i. p. 33.

[174] See in *Humboldt's Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. p. 101, a striking summary of the state of the Mexican people at the time of the Spanish conquest: see also *History of America*, book vii., in *Robertson's Works*, p. 907.

[175] *Prescott's History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 34. Compare a similar remark on the invasion of Egypt in *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 414.

[176] That there were castes in Persia is stated by Firdousi; and his assertion, putting aside its general probability, ought to outweigh the silence of the Greek historians, who, for the most part, knew little of any country except their own. According to Malcolm, the existence of caste in the time of Jemsheed, is confirmed by "some Mahometan authors"; but he does not say who they were. *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. i. pp. 505, 506. Several attempts have been made, but very unsuccessfully, to ascertain the period in which castes were first instituted. Compare *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 251: *Heeren's African Nations*, vol. ii. p. 121; *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 410; *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*, p. 269.

[177] *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. pp. 143, 156.

sonant it was to that stage of society, is that in Mexico, where castes were not established by law, it was nevertheless a recognized custom that the son should follow the occupation of his father.[178] This was the political symptom of that stationary and conservative spirit, which, as we shall hereafter see, has marked every country in which the upper classes have monopolized power. The religious symptom of the same spirit was displayed in that inordinate reverence for antiquity, and in that hatred of change, which the greatest of all the writers on America has well pointed out as an analogy between the natives of Mexico and those of Hindostan.[179] To this may be added, that those who have studied the history of the ancient Egyptians, have observed among that people a similar tendency. Wilkinson, who is well known to have paid great attention to their monuments, says that they were more unwilling than any other nation to alter their religious worship;[180] and Herodotus, who travelled in their country two thousand three hundred years ago, assures us that, while they preserved old customs, they never acquired new ones.[181] In another point of view, the similarity between these distant countries is equally interesting, since it evidently arises from the causes already noticed as common to both. In Mexico and Peru, the lower classes being at the disposal of the upper, there followed that frivolous waste of labour which we have observed in Egypt, and evidence of which may also be seen in the remains of those temples and palaces that are still found in several parts of Asia. Both Mexicans and Peruvians erected immense buildings, which were as useless as those of Egypt, and which no country could produce, unless the labour of the people were ill-paid and ill-directed.[182] The cost of these monuments of vanity is unknown; but it must have been enormous; since

[178] *Prescott's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 124.

[179] "Les Américains, comme les habitans de l'Indoustan, et comme tous les peuples qui ont gémi longtemps sous le despotisme civil et religieux, tiennent avec une opiniâtreté extraordinaire à leurs habitudes, à leurs mœurs, à leurs opinions. . . . Au Mexique, comme dans l'Indoustan, il n'étoit pas permis aux fidèles de changer la moindre chose aux figures des idoles. Tout ce qui appartenoit au rite des Aztèques et des Hindous étoit assujéti à des lois immuables." *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 95, 97. Turgot (*Œuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 226, 313, 314) has some admirable remarks on this fixity of opinion natural to certain states of society. See also *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iii. pp. 34, 35; and for other illustrations of this unpliancy of thought, and adherence to old customs, which many writers suppose to be an eastern peculiarity, but which is far more widely spread, and is, as Humboldt clearly saw, the result of an unequal distribution of power, compare *Turner's Embassy to Tibet*, p. 41; *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 15, 164, vol. ii. p. 236; *Mill's History of India*, vol. ii. p. 214; *Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 48; *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. ii. p. 109; *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 64; *Journal of Asiat. Society*, vol. viii. p. 116.

[180] "How scrupulous the Egyptians were, above all people, in permitting the introduction of new customs in matters relating to the gods." *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 262. Compare p. 275. Thus, too, M. Bunsen notices "the tenacity with which the Egyptians adhered to old manners and customs." *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 64. See also some remarks on the difference between this spirit and the love of novelty among the Greeks, in *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iv. pp. 625, 626.

[181] *Herod.* book ii. chap. 79: πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι. ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτέωνται· and see the note in *Baehr*, vol. i. p. 660: "*νόμους* priores interpretes explicarunt *cantilenas, hymnos*; Schweighæuserus rectius intellexit *instituta ac mores*." In the same way, in Timæus, Plato represents an Egyptian priest saying to Solon, Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδές ἐστε, γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐκ ἔστιν. And when Solon asked what he meant, Νέοι ἐστέ, was the reply, τὰς ψυχὰς πάντες· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς ἔχετε δι' ἀρχαίαν ἀκοὴν παλαιὰν δόξαν οὐδὲ μάθημα χρόνῳ πολιὸν οὐδέν. Chap. v. in *Platonis Opera*, vol. vii. p. 242, edit. Bekker, Lond. 1826.

[182] The Mexicans appear to have been even more wantonly prodigal than the Peruvians. See, respecting their immense pyramids, one of which, Cholula, had a base "twice as broad as the largest Egyptian pyramid," *M'Culloh's Researches*, pp. 252, 256; *Bullock's Mexico*, pp. 111–115, 414; *Humboldt's Nouvelle Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241.

the Americans, being ignorant of the use of iron,[183] were unable to employ a resource by which, in the construction of large works, labour is greatly abridged. Some particulars, however, have been preserved, from which an idea may be formed on this subject. To take, for instance, the palaces of their kings: we find that in Peru, the erection of the royal residence occupied, during fifty years, 20,000 men;[184] while that of Mexico cost the labour of no less than 200,000: striking facts, which, if all other testimonies had perished, would enable us to appreciate the condition of countries in which, for such insignificant purposes, such vast power was expended.[185]

The preceding evidence, collected from sources of unquestioned credibility, proves the force of those great physical laws, which, in the most flourishing countries out of Europe, encouraged the accumulation of wealth, but prevented its dispersion; and thus secured to the upper classes a monopoly of one of the most important elements of social and political power. The result was, that in all those civilizations the great body of the people derived no benefit from the national improvements; hence, the basis of the progress being very narrow, the progress itself was very insecure.[186] When, therefore, unfavourable circumstances arose from without, it was but natural that the whole system should fall to the ground. In such countries, society, being divided against itself, was unable to stand. And there can be no doubt that long before the crises of their actual destruction, these one-sided and irregular civilizations had begun to decay; so that their own degeneracy aided the progress of foreign invaders, and secured the overthrow of those ancient kingdoms, which, under a sounder system, might have been easily saved.

Thus far as to the way in which the great civilizations exterior to Europe have been affected by the peculiarities of their food, climate, and soil. It now remains for me to examine the effect of those other physical agents to which I have given the collective name of Aspects of Nature, and which will be found suggestive of some very wide and comprehensive inquiries into the influence exercised by the external world in predisposing men to certain habits of thought, and thus giving a particular tone to religion, arts, literature, and, in a word, to all the principal manifestations of the human mind. To ascertain how this is brought about, forms a necessary supplement to the investigations just concluded. For, as we have seen that climate, food, and soil mainly concern the accumulation and distribution of wealth, so also shall we see that the Aspects of Nature concern the accumulation and distribution of thought. In the first case, we have to do with the material interests of Man; in the other case, with his intellectual interests. The former I have analyzed as far as I am able, and

[183] *Prescott's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 117, vol. iii. p. 341; and *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. p. 145. See also *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, Paris, 1801, vol. iv. p. 372.

[184] *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. p. 18.

[185] Mr. Prescott (*History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 153) says, "We are not informed of the time occupied in building this palace; but 200,000 workmen, it is said, were employed on it. However this may be, it is certain that the Tezcucan monarchs, like those of Asia and ancient Egypt, had the control of immense masses of men, and would sometimes turn the whole population of a conquered city, including the women, into the public works. The most gigantic monuments of architecture which the world has witnessed would never have been reared by the hands of freemen." The Mexican historian, Ixtlilxochitl, gives a curious account of one of the royal palaces. See his *Histoire des Chichimèques*, translated by Ternaux-Compans, Paris, 1840, vol. i. pp. 257–262, chap. xxxvii.

[186] This may be illustrated by a good remark of M. Matter, to the effect that when the Egyptians had once lost their race of kings, it was found impossible for the nation to reconstruct itself. *Matter, Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 68; a striking passage. In Persia, again, when the feeling of loyalty decayed, so also did the feeling of national power. *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 130. The history of the most civilized parts of Europe presents a picture exactly the reverse of this.

perhaps as far as the existing state of knowledge will allow.[187] But the other, namely, the relation between the Aspects of Nature and the mind of Man, involves speculations of such magnitude, and requires such a mass of materials drawn from every quarter, that I feel very apprehensive as to the result; and I need hardly say that I make no pretensions to anything approaching an exhaustive analysis, nor can I hope to do more than generalize a few of the laws of that complicated, but as yet unexplored, process by which the external world has affected the human mind, has warped its natural movements, and too often checked its natural progress.

The Aspects of Nature, when considered from this point of view, are divisible into two classes: the first class being those which are most likely to excite the imagination; and the other class being those which address themselves to the understanding commonly so called, that is, to the mere logical operations of the intellect. For although it is true that, in a complete and well-balanced mind, the imagination and the understanding each play their respective parts, and are auxiliary to each other, it is also true that, in a majority of instances, the understanding is too weak to curb the imagination and restrain its dangerous licence. The tendency of advancing civilization is to remedy this disproportion, and invest the reasoning powers with that authority which, in an early stage of society, the imagination exclusively possesses. Whether or not there is ground for fearing that the reaction will eventually proceed too far, and that the reasoning faculties will in their turn tyrannize over the imaginative ones, is a question of the deepest interest; but, in the present condition of our knowledge, it is probably an insoluble one. At all events, it is certain that nothing like such a state has yet been seen; since, even in this age, when the imagination is more under control than in any preceding one, it has far too much power; as might be easily proved, not only from the superstitions which in every country still prevail among the vulgar, but also from that poetic reverence for antiquity, which, though it has been long diminishing, still hampers the independence, blinds the judgment, and circumscribes the originality of the educated classes.

Now, so far as natural phenomena are concerned, it is evident that whatever inspires feelings of terror, or of great wonder, and whatever excites in the mind an idea of the vague and uncontrollable, has a special tendency to inflame the imagination, and bring under its dominion the slower and more deliberate operations of the understanding. In such cases, Man, contrasting himself with the force and majesty of Nature, becomes painfully conscious of his own insignificance. A sense of inferiority steals over him. From every quarter innumerable obstacles hem him in, and limit his individual will. His mind, appalled by the indefined and indefinable, hardly cares to scrutinize the details of which such imposing grandeur consists.[188] On the other hand, where the works of Nature are small and feeble, Man regains confidence: he seems more able to rely on his own power; he can, as it were, pass through, and exercise authority in every direction. And as the phenomena are more accessible, it becomes easier for him to experiment on them, or to observe them with minute-

[187] I mean, in regard to the physical and economical generalizations. As to the literature of the subject, I am conscious of many deficiencies, particularly in respect to the Mexican and Peruvian histories.

[188] The sensation of fear, even when there is no danger, becomes strong enough to destroy the pleasure that would otherwise be felt. See, for instance, a description of the great mountain boundary of Hindostan, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 469: "It is necessary for a person to place himself in our situation before he can form a just conception of the scene. The depth of the valley below, the progressive elevation of the intermediate hills, and the majestic splendour of the cloud-capt Himalaya, formed so grand a picture, that the mind was impressed with a sensation of dread rather than of pleasure." Comp. vol. xiv. p. 116, Calcutta, 1822. In the Tyrol, it has been observed that the grandeur of the mountain-scenery imbues the minds of the natives with fear, and has caused the invention of many superstitious legends. *Alison's Europe*, vol. ix. pp. 79, 80.

ness; an inquisitive and analytic spirit is encouraged, and he is tempted to generalize the appearances of Nature, and refer them to the laws by which they are governed.

Looking in this way at the human mind as affected by the Aspects of Nature, it is surely a remarkable fact, that all the great early civilizations were situated within and immediately adjoining the tropics, where those aspects are most sublime, most terrible, and where Nature is, in every respect, most dangerous to Man. Indeed generally, in Asia, Africa, and America, the external world is more formidable than in Europe. This holds good not only of the fixed and permanent phenomena, such as mountains, and other great natural barriers, but also of occasional phenomena, such as earthquakes, tempests, hurricanes, pestilences; all of which are in those regions very frequent, and very disastrous. These constant and serious dangers produce effects analogous to those caused by the sublimity of Nature, in so far, that in both cases there is a tendency to increase the activity of the imagination. For the peculiar province of the imagination being to deal with the unknown, every event which is unexplained as well as important is a direct stimulus to our imaginative faculties. In the tropics, events of this kind are more numerous than elsewhere; it therefore follows that in the tropics the imagination is most likely to triumph. A few illustrations of the working of this principle will place it in a clearer light, and will prepare the reader for the arguments based upon it.

Of those physical events which increase the insecurity of Man, earthquakes are certainly among the most striking, in regard to the loss of life which they cause, as also in regard to their sudden and unexpected occurrence. There is reason to believe that they are always preceded by atmospheric changes which strike immediately at the nervous system, and thus have a direct physical tendency to impair the intellectual powers.[189] However this may be, there can be no doubt as to the effect they produce in encouraging particular associations and habits of thought. The terror which they inspire excites the imagination even to a painful extent, and, overbalancing the judgment, predisposes men to superstitious fancies. And what is highly curious is that repetition, so far from blunting such feelings, strengthens them. In Peru, where earthquakes appear to be more common than in any other country,[190] every succeeding visitation increases the general dismay; so that, in some cases, the fear becomes almost insupportable.[191] The mind is thus constantly thrown into a timid and anxious

[189] "Une augmentation d'électricité s'y manifeste aussi presque toujours, et ils sont généralement annoncés par le mugissement des bestiaux, par l'inquiétude des animaux domestiques, et dans les hommes par cette sorte de malaise qui, en Europe, précède les orages dans les personnes nerveuses." *Cuvier, Prog. des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 265. See also on this "Vorgefühl," the observation of Von Hoff, in Mr. Mallet's valuable essay on earthquakes (*Brit. Assoc. for* 1850, p. 68); and the "foreboding" in *Tschudi's Peru*, p. 165; and a letter in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 504. The probable connexion between earthquakes and electricity is noticed in *Bakewell's Geology*, p. 434.

[190] "Peru is more subject, perhaps, than any other country to the tremendous visitation of earthquakes." *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. ii. p. 499. Dr. Tschudi (*Travels in Peru*, p. 162) says of Lima, "At an average forty-five shocks may be counted on in the year." See also on the Peruvian earthquakes, pp. 43, 75, 87, 90.

[191] A curious instance of association of ideas conquering the deadening effect of habit. Dr. Tschudi (*Peru*, p. 170), describing the panic, says, "No familiarity with the phenomenon can blunt this feeling." Beale (*South-Sea Whaling Voyage*, Lond. 1839, p. 205) writes, "It is said at Peru, that the oftener the natives of the place feel those vibrations of the earth, instead of becoming habituated to them, as persons do who are constantly exposed to other dangers, they become more filled with dismay every time the shock is repeated, so that aged people often find the terror a slight shock will produce almost insupportable." Compare *Darwin's Journal*, pp. 422, 423. So, too, in regard to Mexican earthquakes, Mr. Ward observes that "the natives are both more sensible than strangers of the smaller shocks, and more alarmed by them." *Ward's Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 55. On the physiological effects of the fear caused by earthquakes, see the remarkable state-

state; and men witnessing the most serious dangers, which they can neither avoid nor understand, become impressed with a conviction of their own inability and of the poverty of their own resources.[192] In exactly the same proportion, the imagination is aroused, and a belief in supernatural interference actively encouraged. Human power failing, superhuman power is called in; the mysterious and the invisible are believed to be present; and there grow up among the people those feelings of awe, and of helplessness, on which all superstition is based, and without which no superstition can exist.[193]

Further illustration of this may be found even in Europe, where such phenomena are, comparatively speaking, extremely rare. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are more frequent and more destructive in Italy, and in the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, than in any other of the great countries; and it is precisely there that superstition is most rife, and the superstitious classes most powerful. Those were the countries where the clergy first established their authority, where the worst corruptions of Christianity took place, and where superstition has during the longest period retained the firmest hold. To this may be added another circumstance, indicative of the connexion between these physical phenomena and the predominance of the imagination. Speaking generally, the fine arts are addressed more to the imagination; the sciences to the intellect.[194] Now it is remarkable that all the greatest painters, and nearly all the greatest sculptors, modern Europe has possessed, have been produced by the Italian and Spanish peninsulas. In regard to science, Italy has no doubt had several men of conspicuous ability; but their numbers are out of all proportion small compared with her artists and poets. As to Spain and Portugal, the literature of those two countries is eminently poetic, and from their schools have proceeded some of the greatest painters the world has ever seen.* On the other hand, the purely reasoning faculties have been neglected,

ment by Osiander in *Burdach's Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. ii. pp. 223, 224. That the fear should be not deadened by familiarity, but increased by it, would hardly be expected by speculative reasoners unacquainted with the evidence; and we find, in fact, that the Pyrrhonists asserted that *οἱ γοῦν σεισμοὶ παρ' οἷς συνεχῶς ἀποτελοῦνται, οὐ θαυμάζονται· οὐδ' ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ὁρᾶται. Diog. Laert. de Vitis Philos.* lib. ix. segm. 87, vol. i. p. 591.

[192] Mr. Stephens, who gives a striking description of an earthquake in Central America, emphatically says, "I never felt myself so feeble a thing before." *Stephens's Central America*, vol. i. p. 383. See also the account of the effects produced on the mind by an earthquake, in *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 98, and the note at p. 105.

[193] The effect of earthquakes in encouraging superstition is noticed in Lyell's admirable work, *Principles of Geology*, p. 492. Compare a myth on the origin of earthquakes in *Beausobre, Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 243.

[194] The greatest men in science, and in fact all very great men, have no doubt been remarkable for the powers of their imagination. But in art the imagination plays a far more conspicuous part than in science; and this is what I mean to express by the

[* While the facts as to earthquakes in Italy and Spain are here quite accurately stated, the inference from that datum is drawn too far. Portugal has not, as alleged, produced some of the greatest painters of the world, and the art developments in Italy and Spain are not mere sequelæ of the imaginativeness produced by earthquakes. As had been stated in the previous paragraph: "In Peru earthquakes appear to be more common than in any other country"; but there has not there arisen an imaginative literature or a great art. Buckle overlooked the principle of economic evocation, which alone finally accounts for the development of sculpture in ancient Greece, and of art in Renaissance Italy. The main factor was the economic demand of the church for pictures; and in Spain this was followed up, as regards the greatest artist of all, by royal support to Velasquez. The fact that a great art school rose in the Low Countries, in a commonplace environment and alongside of an *un*imaginative literature, proves that it is the economic and not the "physical" factor that determines an artistic evolution. Modern French art, finally, has greatly distanced Italian, science and art in this case flourishing together.—Ed.]

and the whole Peninsula, from the earliest period to the present time, does not supply to the history of the natural sciences a single name of the highest merit; not one man whose works form an epoch in the progress of European knowledge.[195]

The manner in which the Aspects of Nature, when they are very threatening, stimulate the imagination,[196] and by encouraging superstition, discourage knowledge, may be made still more apparent by one or two additional facts. Among an ignorant people, there is a direct tendency to ascribe all serious dangers to supernatural intervention; and a strong religious sentiment being thus aroused,[197] it constantly happens, not only that the danger is submitted to, but that it is actually worshipped. This is the case with some of the Hindus in the forests of Malabar; [198] and many similar instances will occur to whoever has studied the condition of barbarous tribes.[199] Indeed, so far is this carried, that in some countries the inhabitants, from feelings of reverential fear, refuse to destroy wild beasts and noxious reptiles; the mischief these animals inflict being the cause of the impunity they enjoy.[200]

proposition in the text. Sir David Brewster, indeed, thinks that Newton was deficient in imagination: "the weakness of his imaginative powers." *Brewster's Life of Newton*, 1855, vol. ii. p. 133. It is impossible to discuss so large a question in a note; but to my apprehension, no poet, except Dante and Shakespeare, ever had an imagination more soaring and more audacious than that possessed by Sir Isaac Newton.

[195] The remarks made by Mr. Ticknor on the absence of science in Spain, might be extended even further than he has done. See *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. pp. 222, 223. He says, p. 237, that in 1771, the University of Salamanca being urged to teach the physical sciences, replied, "Newton teaches nothing that would make a good logician or metaphysician, and Gassendi and Descartes do not agree so well with revealed truth as Aristotle does."

[196] In *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. pp. 35, 36, there is a good instance of an earthquake giving rise to a theological fiction. See also vol. i. pp. 154–157; and compare *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 17,

[197] See, for example, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. pp 56, 57, vol. vii. p. 94; and the effect produced by a volcano, in *Journal of Geograph. Society*, vol. v. p. 388. See also vol. xx. p. 8, and a partial recognition of the principle by Sextus Empiricus, in *Tennemann's Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 292. Compare the use the clergy made of a volcanic eruption in Iceland (*Wheaton's History of the Northmen*, p. 42); and see further *Raffles' History of Java*, vol. i. pp. 29, 274, and *Tschudi's Peru*, pp. 64, 167, 171.

[198] The Hindus in the Iruari forests, says Mr. Edye, "worship and respect everything from which they apprehend danger." *Edye on the Coast of Malabar*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 337.

[199] Dr. Prichard (*Physical History*, vol. iv. p. 501) says, "The tiger is worshipped by the Hajin tribe in the vicinity of the Garrows or Garudus." Compare *Transactions of Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 66. Among the Garrows themselves, this feeling is so strong that "the tiger's nose strung round a woman's neck is considered as a great preservative in childbirth." *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 321. The Seiks have a curious superstition respecting wounds inflicted by tigers (*Burnes' Bokhara*, 1834, vol. iii. p. 140); and the Malasir believe that these animals are sent as a punishment for irreligion. *Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore*, vol. ii. p. 385.

[200] The inhabitants of Sumatra are, for superstitious reasons, most unwilling to destroy tigers, though they commit frightful ravages. *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, pp. 149, 254. The Russian account of the Kamtschatkans says, "Besides the above-mentioned gods, they pay a religious regard to several animals from which they apprehend danger." *Grieve's History of Kamtschatka*, p. 205. Bruce mentions that in Abyssinia, hyænas are considered "enchanters"; and the inhabitants "will not touch the skin of a hyæna till it has been prayed over and exorcised by a priest." *Murray's Life of Bruce*, p. 472. Allied to this, is the respect paid to bears (*Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. p. 492, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43); also the extensively-diffused worship of the serpent, whose wily movements are well calculated to inspire fear, and therefore rouse the religious feelings. The danger apprehended from noxious reptiles is connected with the Dews of the Zendavesta. See *Matter's Histoire du Gnosticisme*. vol. i. p. 380, Paris, 1828.

It is in this way that the old tropical civilizations had to struggle with innumerable difficulties unknown to the temperate zone, where European civilization has long flourished. The devastations of animals hostile to man, the ravages of hurricanes, tempests, earthquakes,[201] and similar perils, constantly pressed upon them, and affected the tone of their national character. For the mere loss of life was the smallest part of the inconvenience. The real mischief was, that there were engendered in the mind associations which made the imagination predominate over the understanding; which infused into the people a spirit of reverence instead of a spirit of inquiry; and which encouraged a disposition to neglect the investigation of natural causes, and ascribe events to the operation of supernatural ones.

Everything we know of those countries proves how active this tendency must have been. With extremely few exceptions, health is more precarious, and disease more common, in tropical climates than in temperate ones. Now, it has been often observed, and indeed is very obvious, that the fear of death makes men more prone to seek supernatural aid than they would otherwise be. So complete is our ignorance respecting another life, that it is no wonder if even the stoutest heart should quail at the sudden approach of that dark and untried future. On this subject the reason is perfectly silent; the imagination, therefore, is uncontrolled. The operation of natural causes being brought to an end, supernatural causes are supposed to begin. Hence it is, that whatever increases in any country the amount of dangerous disease, has an immediate tendency to strengthen superstition, and aggrandize the imagination at the expense of the understanding. This principle is so universal, that, in every part of the world, the vulgar ascribe to the intervention of the Deity those diseases which are peculiarly fatal, and especially those which have a sudden and mysterious appearance. In Europe it used to be believed that every pestilence was a manifestation of the divine anger;[202] and this opinion, though it has long been dying away, is by no means extinct even in the most civilized countries.[203]

[201] To give one instance of the extent to which these operate, it may be mentioned that in 1815 an earthquake and volcanic eruption broke forth in Sumbawa, which shook the ground "through an area of 1,000 miles in circumference," and the detonations of which were heard at a distance of 970 geographical miles. *Somerville's Connexion of the Physical Sciences*, p. 283; *Hitchcock's Religion of Geology*, p. 190; *Low's Sarawak*, p. 10; *Bakewell's Geology*, p. 438.

[202] In the sixteenth century, "Les différentes sectes s'accordèrent néanmoins à regarder les maladies graves et dangereuses comme un effet immédiat de la puissance divine: idée que Fernel contribua encore à répandre davantage. On trouve dans Paré plusieurs passages de la Bible, cités pour prouver que la colère de Dieu est la seule cause de la peste, qu'elle suffit pour provoquer ce fléau, et que sans elle les causes éloignées ne sauraient agir." *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 112. The same learned writer says of the Middle Ages (vol. ii. p. 372), "D'après l'esprit généralement répandu dans ces siècles de barbarie, on croyait la lèpre envoyée d'une manière immédiate par Dieu." See also pp. 145, 346, 431. Bishop Heber says that the Hindus deprive lepers of caste and of the right of possessing property, because they are objects of "Heaven's wrath." *Heber's Journey through India*, vol. ii. p. 330. On the Jewish opinion, see *Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle*, vol. iv. p. 402, Amsterdam, 1702. And as to the early Christians, see *Maury, Légendes Pieuses*, p. 68, Paris, 1843: though M. Maury ascribes to "les idées orientales reçues par le christianisme," what is due to the operation of a much wider principle. [Medieval Europe treated lepers exactly as do the Hindus, driving them out of the community and depriving them of their property. Cp. Monteil, *Hist. des Français des divers états*, 3e édit, tom. j. ép. vi. and refs.; Denton, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 1888, pp. 206–8; Cochran-Patrick, *Mediæval Scotland*, 1892, pp. 18, 68, 116.—Ed.]

[203] Under the influence of the inductive philosophy, the theological theory of disease was seriously weakened before the middle of the seventeenth century; and by the middle, or at all events the latter half, of the eighteenth century, it had lost all its partizans among scientific men. At present it still lingers on among the vulgar; and traces of it may be found in the writings of the clergy, and in the works of other persons

Superstition of this kind will of course be strongest, either where medical knowledge is most backward, or where disease is most abundant. In countries where both these conditions are fulfilled, the superstition is supreme; and even where only one of the conditions exists, the tendency is so irresistible, that, I believe, there are no barbarous people who do not ascribe to their good or evil deities, not only extraordinary diseases, but even many of the ordinary ones to which they are liable.[204]

little acquainted with physical knowledge. When the cholera broke out in England, attempts were made to revive the old notion; but the spirit of the age was too strong for such efforts to succeed: and it may be safely predicted that men will never return to their former opinions, unless they first return to their former ignorance. As a specimen of the ideas which the cholera tended to excite, and of their antagonism to all scientific investigation, I may refer to a letter written in 1832 by Mrs. Grant, a woman of some accomplishments, and not devoid of influence (*Correspondence of Mrs. Grant*, London, 1844, vol. iii. pp. 216, 217), where she states that "it appears to me great presumption to indulge so much as people do in speculation and conjecture about a disease so evidently a peculiar infliction, and different from all other modes of suffering hitherto known." This desire to limit human speculation is precisely the feeling which long retained Europe in darkness; since it effectually prevented those free inquiries to which we are indebted for all the real knowledge we possess. The doubts of Boyle upon this subject supply a curious instance of the transitionary state through which the mind was passing in the seventeenth century, and by which the way was prepared for the great liberating movement of the next age. Boyle, after stating both sides of the question, namely the theological and the scientific, adds, "and it is the less likely that these sweeping and contagious maladies should be always sent for the punishment of impious men, because I remember to have read in good authors, that as some plagues destroyed both men and beasts, so some other did peculiarly destroy brute animals of very little consideration or use to men, as cats, etc."

"Upon these and the like reasons, I have sometimes suspected that in the controversy about the origin of the plague, namely whether it be natural or supernatural, neither of the contending parties is altogether in the right; since it is very possible that some pestilences may not break forth without an extraordinary, though perhaps not immediate, interposition of Almighty God, provoked by the sins of men; and yet other plagues may be produced by a tragical concourse of merely natural causes." *Discourse on the Air*, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 288, 289. "*Neither of the contending parties is altogether in the right!*"—an instructive passage towards understanding the compromising spirit of the seventeenth century; standing midway, as it did, between the credulity of the sixteenth, and the scepticism of the eighteenth.

[204] To the historian of the human mind, the whole question is so full of interest, that I shall refer in this note to all the evidence I have been able to collect: and whoever will compare the following passages may satisfy himself that there is in every part of the world an intimate relation between ignorance respecting the nature and proper treatment of a disease, and the belief that such disease is caused by supernatural power, and is to be cured by it. *Burton's Sindh*, p. 146, London, 1851; *Ellis's Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. p. 395, vol. iii. pp. 36, 41, vol. iv. pp. 293, 334, 375; *Cullen's Works*, Edinb. 1827, vol. ii. pp. 414, 434; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. pp. 274, 482; *Cabanis, Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, p. 277; *Volney, Voyage en Syrie*, vol. i. p. 426; *Turner's Embassy to Tibet*, p. 104; *Syme's Embassy to Ava*, vol. ii. p. 211; *Ellis's Tour through Hawaii*, pp. 282, 283, 332, 333; *Renouard, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 398; *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. pp. 261, 262; *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 485 (compare p. 251, and vol. vi. p. 213); *Grieve's History of Kamtschatka*, p. 217; *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. x. p. 10; *Buchanan's North-American Indians*, pp. 256, 257; *Halkett's North-American Indians*, pp. 36, 37, 388, 393, 394; *Catlin's North-American Indians*, vol. i. pp. 35–41; *Briggs on the Aboriginal Tribes of India*, in *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1850, p. 172; *Transactions of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. ii. p. 30; *Percival's Ceylon*, p. 201; *Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore*, vol. ii. pp. 27, 152, 286, 528, vol. iii. pp. 23, 188, 253 (so, too, M. Geoffrey Saint Hilaire, *Anomalies de l'Organization*, vol. iii. p. 380, says that when we were quite ignorant of the cause of monstrous births, the phenomenon was ascribed to the Deity,—"de là aussi l'inter-

Here, then, we have another specimen of the unfavourable influence which, in the old civilizations, external phenomena exercised over the human mind. For those parts of Asia where the highest refinement was reached, are, from various physical causes, much more unhealthy than the most civilized parts of Europe.[205] This fact alone must have produced a considerable effect on the national character,[206] and the more so, as it was aided by those other circumstances which I have pointed out, all tending in the same direction. To this may be added, that the great plagues by which Europe has at different periods been scourged, have for the most part proceeded from the East, which is their natural birthplace, and where they are most fatal. Indeed, of those cruel diseases now existing in Europe, scarcely one is indigenous; and the worst of them were imported from tropical countries in and after the first century of the Christian era.[207]

Summing up these facts, it may be stated, that in the civilizations exterior to Europe, all nature conspired to increase the authority of the imaginative faculties, and weaken the authority of the reasoning ones. With the materials now existing, it would be possible to follow this vast law to its remotest consequences, and show how in Europe it is opposed by another law diametrically opposite, and by virtue of which the tendency of natural phenomena is, on the whole, to limit the imagination, and embolden the understanding: * thus inspiring Man with confidence in his own resources, and facilitating the increase

vention supposée de la divinité"; and for an exact verification of this, compare *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ii. p. 247, with *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xvi. p. 113); *Ellis's History of Madagascar*, vol. i. pp. 224, 225; *Prichard's Physical History*, vol. i. p. 207, vol. v. p. 492; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 230, vol. iv. p. 158; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 29, 156, vol. iv. pp. 56, 58, 74, vol. xvi. pp. 215, 280; *Neander's History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 119; *Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 328; *Low's Sarawak*, pp. 174, 261; *Cook's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 229; *Mariner's Tonga Islands*, vol. i. pp. 194, 350–360, 374, 438, vol. ii. pp. 172, 230; *Huc's Travels in Tartary and Thibet*, vol. i. pp. 74–77; *Richardson's Travels in the Sahara*, vol. i. p. 27; *M'Culloh's Researches*, p. 105; *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. i. p. 41, vol. iv. p. 260, vol. xiv. p. 37. And in regard to Europe, compare *Spence, Origin of the Laws of Europe*, p. 322; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 443; *Phillips on Scrofula*, p. 255; *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. i. pp. 265, 266, which may be illustrated by the "sacred" disease of Cambyses, no doubt epilepsy: see *Herodot.* lib. iii. chap. xxxiv. vol. ii. p. 63.

[205] Heat, moisture, and consequent rapid decomposition of vegetable matter, are certainly among the causes of this; and to them may perhaps be added the electrical state of the atmosphere in the tropics. Compare *Holland's Medical Notes*, p. 477; *M'William's Medical Expedition to the Niger*, pp. 157, 185; *Simon's Pathology*, p. 269; *Forry's Climate and its Endemic Influences*, p. 158. M. Lepelletier says, rather vaguely (*Physiologie Médicale*, vol. iv. p. 527), that the temperate zones are "favorables à l'exercice complet et régulier des phénomènes vitaux."

[206] And must have strengthened the power of the clergy: for, as Charlevoix says with great frankness, "pestilences are the harvests of the ministers of God." *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 254.

[207] For evidence of the extra-European origin of European diseases, some of which, such as the small-pox, have passed from epidemics into endemics, compare *Encyclop. of the Medical Sciences*, 4to, 1847, p. 728; *Transactions of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. pp. 54, 55; *Michaelis on the Laws of Moses*, vol. iii. p. 313; *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 195; *Wallace's Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind*, pp. 81, 82; *Huetiana*, Amst. 1723, pp. 132–135; *Sanders on the Small-Pox*, Edinb. 1813, pp. 3–4; *Wilks's Hist. of the South of India*, vol. iii. pp. 16–21; *Clot-Bey de la Peste*, Paris, 1840, p. 227.

[* On this view the long prevalence of primitive credulity and superstition in Europe, even in the Christian era (indicated by Buckle below, chaps. vi. viii. and xiii.), is inexplicable. The explanation of the phenomena must include recognition of the part played by Asiatic and Egyptian culture in promoting the Mediterranean civilization, and by the latter in the culture-history of northern Europe. See below, p. 87, *note*. —Ed.]

of his knowledge, by encouraging that bold, inquisitive, and scientific spirit, which is constantly advancing, and on which all future progress must depend.

It is not to be supposed that I can trace in detail the way in which, owing to these peculiarities, the civilization of Europe has diverged from all others that preceded it. To do this would require a learning and a reach of thought to which hardly any single man ought to pretend; since it is one thing to have a perception of a large and general truth, and it is another thing to follow out that truth in all its ramifications, and prove it by such evidence as will satisfy ordinary readers. Those, indeed, who are accustomed to speculations of this character, and are able to discern in the history of man something more than a mere relation of events, will at once understand that in these complicated subjects, the wider any generalization is, the greater will be the chance of apparent exceptions; and that when the theory covers a very large space, the exceptions may be innumerable, and yet the theory remain perfectly accurate. The two fundamental propositions which I hope to have demonstrated, are, 1st, That there are certain natural phenomena which act on the human mind by exciting the imagination; and 2ndly, That those phenomena are much more numerous out of Europe than in it. If these two propositions are admitted, it inevitably follows, that in those countries where the imagination has received the stimulus, some specific effects must have been produced; unless, indeed, the effects have been neutralized by other causes. Whether or not there have been antagonistic causes, is immaterial to the truth of the theory, which is based on the two propositions just stated. In a scientific point of view, therefore, the generalization is complete; and it would perhaps be prudent to leave it as it now stands, rather than attempt to confirm it by further illustrations, since all particular facts are liable to be erroneously stated, and are sure to be contradicted by those who dislike the conclusions they corroborate. But in order to familiarize the reader with the principles I have put forward, it does seem advisable that a few instances should be given of their actual working: and I will therefore briefly notice the effects they have produced in the three great divisions of Literature, Religion, and Art. In each of these departments, I will endeavour to indicate how the leading features have been affected by the Aspects of Nature; and with a view of simplifying the inquiry, I will take the two most conspicuous instances on each side, and compare the manifestations of the intellect of Greece with those of the intellect of India: these being the two countries respecting which the materials are most ample, and in which the physical contrasts are most striking.

If, then, we look at the ancient literature of India, even during its best period, we shall find the most remarkable evidence of the uncontrolled ascendency of the imagination. In the first place, we have the striking fact that scarcely any attention has been paid to prose composition; all the best writers having devoted themselves to poetry, as being most congenial to the national habits of thought. Their works on grammar, on law, on history, on medicine, on mathematics, on geography, and on metaphysics, are nearly all poems, and are put together according to a regular system of versification.[208] The consequence is

"[208] So verwandelt das geistige Leben des Hindu sich in wahre Poesie, und das bezeichnende Merkmal seiner ganzen Bildung ist: Herrschaft der Einbildungskraft über den Verstand; im geraden Gegensatz mit der Bildung des Europäers, deren allgemeiner Charakter in der Herrschaft des Verstandes über die Einbildungskraft besteht. Es wird dadurch begreiflich, dass die Literatur der Hindus nur eine poetische ist; das sie überreich an Dichterwerken, aber arm am wissenschaftlichen Schriften sind; dass ihre heiligen Schriften, ihre Gesetze und Sagen poetisch, und grösstentheils in Versen geschrieben sind; ja dass Lehrbücher der Grammatik, der Heilkunde, der Mathematik und Erdbeschreibung in Versen verfasst sind." *Rhode, Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 626. Thus, too, we are told respecting one of their most celebrated metaphysical systems, that "the best text of the Sanchya is a short treatise in verse." *Colebrooke on the Philosophy of the Hindus*, in *Transactions of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 23. And in another place the same high authority says (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. p. 439), "The metrical treatises on law and other sciences are almost entirely composed in this

that while prose writing is utterly despised, the art of poetry has been cultivated so assiduously, that the Sanscrit can boast of metres more numerous and more complicated than have ever been possessed by any of the European languages.[209]

This peculiarity in the form of Indian literature is accompanied by a corresponding peculiarity in its spirit. For it is no exaggeration to say, that in that literature everything is calculated to set the reason of man at open defiance. An imagination, luxuriant even to disease, runs riot on every occasion. This is particularly seen in those productions which are most eminently national, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharat, and the Puranas in general. But we also find it even in their geographical and chronological systems, which of all others might be supposed least liable to imaginative flights. A few examples of the statements put forward in the most authoritative books will supply the means of instituting a comparison with the totally opposite condition of the European intellect, and will give the reader some idea of the extent to which credulity can proceed, even among a civilized people.[210]

Of all the various ways in which the imagination has distorted truth, there is none that has worked so much harm as an exaggerated respect for past ages. This reverence for antiquity is repugnant to every maxim of reason, and is merely the indulgence of a poetic sentiment in favour of the remote and unknown. It is, therefore, natural that, in periods when the intellect was, comparatively speaking, inert, this sentiment should have been far stronger than it now is; and there can be little doubt that it will continue to grow weaker, and that in the same proportion the feeling of progress will gain ground; so that veneration for the past will be succeeded by hope for the future. But formerly the veneration was supreme, and innumerable traces of it may be found in the literature and popular creed of every country. It is this, for instance, which inspired the poets with their notion of a golden age, in which the world was filled with peace, in which evil passions were stilled, and crimes were unknown. It is this, again, which gave to theologians their idea of the primitive virtue and simplicity of man, and of his subsequent fall from that high estate. And it is this same principle which diffused a belief that in the olden times men were not only more virtuous and happy, but also physically superior in the structure of their bodies;

easy verse." M. Klaproth, in an analysis of a Sanscrit history of Cashmere, says, "Comme presque toutes les compositions hindoues, il est écrit en vers." *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. vii. p. 8, Paris, 1825. See also, in vol. vi. pp. 175, 176, the remarks of M. Burnouf: "Les philosophes indiens, comme s'ils ne pouvaient échapper aux influences poétiques de leur climat, traitent les questions de la métaphysique le plus abstraite par similitudes et métaphores." Compare vol. vi. p. 4, "le génie indien si poétique et si religieux"; and see *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. p. 27. [It should be remembered that down till the fifth century B.C. all literature in Greece took the verse form. Diogenes Laërtius, i. 3, § 8 (ii.), states that Anaxagoras was the first man who wrote a book in prose. And in England, "until the end of the fourteenth century we practically had no prose literature worthy of the name" (*The Age of Shakespeare*, by T. Seccombe and J. W. Allen, 1903, i. 211). And see below, chap. vi. *note* 14. —ED.]

[209] Mr. Yates says of the Hindus, that no other people have ever "presented an equal variety of poetic compositions. The various metres of Greece and Rome have filled Europe with astonishment; but what are these, compared with the extensive range of Sanscrit metres under its three classes of poetical writing?" *Yates on Sanscrit Alliteration*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx. p. 159, Calcutta, 1836. See also on the Sanscrit metres, p. 321, and an Essay by Colebrooke, vol. x. pp. 389–474. On the metrical system of the Vedas, see Mr. Wilson's note in the *Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. ii. p. 135.

[210] In Europe, as we shall see in the sixth chapter of this volume, the credulity was at one time extraordinary; but the age was then barbarous, and barbarism is always credulous. On the other hand, the examples gathered from Indian literature will be taken from the works of a lettered people, written in a language extremely rich, and so highly polished, that some competent judges have declared it equal, if not superior, to the Greek.

and that by this means they attained to a larger stature, and lived to a greater age, than is possible for us, their feeble and degenerate descendants.

Opinions of this kind being adopted by the imagination in spite of the understanding, it follows that the strength of such opinions becomes, in any country, one of the standards by which we may estimate the predominance of the imaginative faculties. Applying this test to the literature of India, we shall find a striking confirmation of the conclusions already drawn. The marvellous feats of antiquity with which the Sanscrit books abound, are so long and so complicated, that it would occupy too much space to give even an outline of them; but there is one class of these singular fictions which is well worth attention, and admits of being briefly stated. I allude to the extraordinary age which man was supposed to have attained in former times. A belief in the longevity of the human race at an early period of the world, was the natural product of those feelings which ascribed to the ancients an universal superiority over the moderns; and this we see exemplified in some of the Christian, and in many of the Hebrew writings. But the statements in these works are tame and insignificant when compared with what is preserved in the literature of India. On this, as on every subject, the imagination of the Hindus distanced all competition. Thus, among an immense number of similar facts, we find it recorded that in ancient times the duration of the life of common men was 80,000 years,[211] and that holy men lived to be upwards of 100,000.[212] Some died a little sooner, others a little later; but in the most flourishing period of antiquity, if we take all classes together, 100,000 years was the average.[213] Of one king, whose name was Yudhishthir, it is casually mentioned that he reigned 27,000 years;[214] while another, called Alarka, reigned 66,000.[215] They were cut off in their prime, since there are several instances of the early poets living to be about half-a-million.[216] But the most remarkable case is that of a very shining character in Indian history, who united in his single person the functions of a king and a saint. This eminent man lived in a pure and virtuous age, and his days were indeed long in the land; since, when he was made king, he was two million years old: he then reigned 6,300,000 years; having done which, he resigned his empire, and lingered on for 100,000 years more.[217]

The same boundless reverence for antiquity made the Hindus refer everything important to the most distant periods; and they frequently assign a date

[211] "The limit of life was 80,000 years." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 456, Calcutta, 1828. This was likewise the estimate of the Tibetan divines, according to whom men formerly "parvenaient à l'âge de 80,000 ans." *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. iii. p. 199, Paris, 1823.

[212] "Den Hindu macht dieser Widerspruch nicht verlegen, da er seine Heiligen 100,000 Jahre und länger leben lässt." *Rhode, Relig. Bildung der Hindus*, vol. i. p. 175.

[213] In the *Dabistan*, vol. ii. p. 47, it is stated of the earliest inhabitants of the world that "the duration of human life in this age extended to one hundred thousand common years."

[214] Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 242) says, "When the Puranas speak of the kings of ancient times, they are equally extravagant. According to them, King Yudhishthir reigned seven-and-twenty thousand years."

[215] "For sixty thousand and sixty hundred years no other youthful monarch except Alarka reigned over the earth." *Vishnu Purana*, p. 408.

[216] And sometimes more. In the Essay on Indian Chronology in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. i. p. 325, we hear of "a conversation between Valmic and Vyasa, . . . two bards whose ages were separated by a period of 864,000 years." This passage is also in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 399.

[217] "He was the first king, first anchoret, and first saint; and is therefore entitled Prathama-Raja, Prathama Bhicshacara, Prathama Jina, and Prathama Tirthancara. At the time of his inauguration as king, his age was 2,000,000 years. He reigned 6,300,000 years, and then resigned his empire to his sons: and having employed 100,000 years in passing through the several stages of austerity and sanctity, departed from this world on the summit of a mountain named Ashtapada." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 305.

which is absolutely bewildering.[218] Their great collection of laws, called the *Institutes of Menu*, is certainly less than 3000 years old; but the Indian chronologists, so far from being satisfied with this, ascribe to them an age that the sober European mind finds a difficulty even in conceiving. According to the best native authorities, these Institutes were revealed to man about two thousand million years before the present era.[219]

All this is but a part of that love of the remote, that straining after the infinite, and that indifference to the present, which characterizes every branch of the Indian intellect. Not only in literature, but also in religion and in art, this tendency is supreme. To subjugate the understanding, and exalt the imagination, is the universal principle. In the dogmas of their theology, in the character of their gods, and even in the forms of their temples, we see how the sublime and threatening aspects of the external world have filled the mind of the people with those images of the grand and the terrible, which they strive to reproduce in a visible form, and to which they owe the leading peculiarities of their national culture.

Our view of this vast process may be made clearer by comparing it with the opposite condition of Greece. In Greece, we see a country altogether the reverse of India. The works of Nature, which in India are of startling magnitude, are in Greece far smaller, feebler, and in every way less threatening to man. In the great centre of Asiatic civilization, the energies of the human race are confined, and as it were intimidated, by the surrounding phenomena. Besides the dangers incidental to tropical climates, there are those noble mountains, which seem to touch the sky, and from whose sides are discharged mighty rivers, which no art can divert from their course, and which no bridge has ever been able to span. There too are impassable forests, whole countries lined with interminable jungle, and beyond them, again, dreary and boundless deserts; all teaching Man his own feebleness, and his inability to cope with natural forces. Without, and on either side, there are great seas, ravaged by tempests farm ore destructive than any known in Europe, and of such sudden violence, that it is impossible to guard against their effects. And as if in those regions everything combined to cramp the activity of Man, the whole line of coast, from the mouth of the Ganges to the extreme south of the peninsula, does not contain a single safe and capacious harbour, not one port that affords a refuge, which is perhaps more necessary there than in any other part of the world.[220]

But in Greece, the aspects of Nature are so entirely different, that the very conditions of existence are changed. Greece, like India, forms a peninsula; but while in the Asiatic country everything is great and terrible, in the European country everything is small and feeble.* The whole of Greece occupies a space

[218] "Speculationen über Zahlen sind dem Inder so geläufig, dass selbst die Sprache einen Ausdruck hat für eine Unität mit 63 Nullen, nämlich Asanke, eben weil die Berechnung der Weltperioden diese enorme Grössen nothwendig machte, denn jene einfachen 12,000 Jahre schienen einem Volke, welches so gerne die höchstmögliche Potenz auf seine Gottheit übertragen mögte, viel zu geringe zu seyn." *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 298.

[219] *Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 136, "a period exceeding 4,320,000 multiplied by six times seventy-one." [Elphinstone himself dated the *Institutes* some centuries too early. See Cowell's notes on his History, 7th ed. pp. 12, 249.—Ed.]

[220] Symes (*Embassy to Ava*, vol. iii. p. 278) says: "From the mouth of the Ganges to Cape Comorin, the whole range of our continental territory, there is not a single harbour capable of affording shelter to a vessel of 500 tons burden." Indeed, according to Percival, there is, with the exception of Bombay, no harbour, "either on the Coromandel or Malabar coasts, in which ships can moor in safety at all seasons of the year." *Percival's Account of Ceylon*, pp. 2, 15, 66.

[* This is not true of the mountains; and the argument overlooks the phenomena of the sea.—Ed.]

somewhat less than the kingdom of Portugal,[221] that is, about a fortieth part of what is now called Hindostan.[222] Situated in the most accessible part of a narrow sea, it had easy contact on the east with Asia Minor, on the west with Italy, on the south with Egypt. Dangers of all kinds were far less numerous than in the tropical civilizations. The climate was more healthy ;[223] earthquakes were less frequent ; hurricanes were less disastrous ; wild beasts and noxious animals less abundant. In regard to the other great features, the same law prevails. The highest mountains in Greece are less than one-third of the Himalaya, so that nowhere do they reach the limit of perpetual snow.[224] As to rivers, not only is there nothing approaching those imposing volumes which are poured down from the mountains of Asia, but Nature is so singularly sluggish, that neither in Northern nor in Southern Greece do we find anything beyond a few streams, which are easily forded, and which, indeed, in the summer season, are frequently dried up.[225]

These striking differences in the material phenomena of the two countries gave rise to corresponding differences in their mental associations. For as all ideas must arise partly from what are called spontaneous operations in the mind, and partly from what is suggested to the mind by the external world, it was natural that so great an alteration in one of the causes should produce an alteration in the effects. The tendency of the surrounding phenomena was, in India, to inspire fear ; in Greece, to give confidence. In India, Man was intimidated ; in Greece he was encouraged. In India, obstacles of every sort were so numerous, so alarming, and apparently so inexplicable, that the difficulties of life could only be solved by constantly appealing to the direct agency of supernatural causes. Those causes being beyond the province of the understanding, the resources of the imagination were incessantly occupied in studying them ; the imagination itself was overworked, its activity became dangerous, it encroached on the understanding, and the equilibrium of the whole was destroyed. In Greece, opposite circumstances were followed by opposite results. In Greece, Nature was less dangerous, less intrusive, and less mysterious than in India. In Greece, therefore, the human mind was less appalled, and less superstitious ; natural causes began to be studied ; physical science first became possible ; and Man, gradually waking to a sense of his own power, sought to investigate events with a boldness not to be expected in those other countries,

[221] " Altogether its area is somewhat less than that of Portugal." *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 302 ; and the same remark in *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 2, and in *Heeren's Ancient Greece*, 1845, p. 16. M. Heeren says, " But even if we add all the islands, its square contents are a third less than those of Portugal."

[222] The area of Hindostan being, according to Mr. M'Culloch (*Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. i. p. 993), " between 1,200,000 and 1,300,000 square miles."

[223] In the best days of Greece, those alarming epidemics by which the country was subsequently ravaged, were comparatively little known : see *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 134, vol. viii. p. 471. This may be owing to large cosmical causes, or to the simple fact that the different forms of pestilence had not yet been imported from the East by actual contact. On the vague accounts we possess of the earlier plagues see *Clot-Bey de la Peste*, Paris, 1840, pp. 21, 46, 184. The relation even of Thucydides is more satisfactory to scholars than to pathologists.

[224] " Mount Guiona, the highest point in Greece, and near its northern boundary, is 8,239 feet high. . . . No mountain in Greece reaches the limit of perpetual snow." *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. i. p. 924. [They are nevertheless great mountains, and Mount Olympus (not in modern Greece, but part of the ancient) is 9,754 feet high. Both Olympus and Ossa usually keep their winter snows till well into summer (*Duruy, Hist. Grecque*, p. 2). Thirlwall says the heights of Olympus are " scarcely ever entirely free from snow." *Hist. of Greece*, ed. 1835, i. 4.—Ed.] Compare the table of mountains in Baker's Memoir on North Greece, in *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. vii. p. 94, with *Bakewell's Geology*, pp. 621, 622.

[225] " Greece has no navigable river." *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* vol. i. p. 924. " Most of the rivers of Greece are torrents in early spring, and dry before the end of the summer.' *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 286.

where the pressure of Nature troubled his independence, and suggested ideas with which knowledge is incompatible.*

The effect of these habits of thought on the national religion must be very obvious to whoever has compared the popular creed of India with that of Greece. The mythology of India, like that of every tropical country, is based upon terror, and upon terror too of the most extravagant kind. Evidence of the universality of this feeling abounds in the sacred books of the Hindus, in their traditions, and even in the very form and appearance of their gods. And so deeply is all this impressed on the mind, that the most popular deities are invariably those with whom images of fear are most intimately associated. Thus, for example, the worship of Siva is more general than any other; and as to its antiquity, there is reason to believe that it was borrowed by the Brahmins from the original Indians.[226] At all events, it is very ancient, and very popular; and Siva himself forms, with Brahma and Vishnu, the celebrated Hindu Triad. We need not, therefore, be surprised that with this god are connected images of terror, such as nothing but a tropical imagination could conceive. Siva is represented to the Indian mind as a hideous being, encircled by a girdle of snakes, with a human skull in his hand, and wearing a necklace composed of human bones. He has three eyes; the ferocity of his temper is marked by his being clothed in a tiger's skin; he is represented as wandering about like a madman, and over his left shoulder the deadly cobra di capella rears its head. This monstrous creation of an awe-struck fancy has a wife, Doorga, called sometimes Kali, and sometimes by other names.[227] She has a body of dark blue; while the palms of her hands are red, to indicate her insatiate appetite for blood. She has four arms, with one of which she carries the skull of a giant; her tongue protrudes, and hangs lollingly from her mouth; round her waist are the hands of her victims; and her neck is adorned with human heads strung together in a ghastly row.[228]

If we now turn to Greece, we find, even in the infancy of its religion, not the

[226] See Stevenson on *The Anti-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. viii. pp. 331, 332, 336, 338. Mr. Wilson (*Journal*, vol. iii. p. 204) says, "The prevailing form of the Hindu religion in the south of the peninsula was, at the commencement of the Christian era, and some time before it most probably, that of Siva." See also vol. v. p. 85, where it is stated that Siva "is the only Hindu god to whom honour is done at Ellora." Compare *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 521; *Heeren's Asiatic Nations*, 1846, vol. ii. pp. 62, 66. On the philosophical relation between the followers of Siva and those of Vishnu, see *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iv. pp. 334, 335; and the noticeable fact (*Buchanan's Mysore*, vol. ii. p. 410), that even the Naimar caste, whose "proper deity" is Vishnu, "wear on their foreheads the mark of Siva." As to the worship of Siva in the time of Alexander the Great, see *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 36; and for further evidence of its extent, *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. pp. 29, 147, 206, and *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. pp. 50, 294.

[227] So it is generally stated by the Hindu theologians; but according to Rammohun Roy, Siva had two wives. See *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*, p. 90.

[228] On these attributes and representations of Siva and Doorga, see *Rhode, Religiöse Bildung der Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 241; *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, pp. 63, 92; *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. p. 207; *Ward's Religion of the Hindoos*, vol. i. pp. xxxvii. 27, 145; *Transac. of Society of Bombay*, vol. i. pp. 215, 221. Compare the curious account of an image supposed to represent Mahadeo, in *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. i. p. 354, Paris, 1822.

[* The beginnings of Greek science were in Ionia, in the sphere of the older Semitic civilization, wherein had taken place the beginnings of astronomy. Modern Assyriology clearly proves the Babylonian derivation of astronomy and mathematics (Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. § 156); and the Greeks also derived much of their astronomy and mathematics, as well as their medicine, from Egypt (*Id.*; *Kenrick, Ancient Egypt*, 1850, i. 327, 345–6). Burckhardt sums up (*Griechische Culturgeschichte*, iii. 416) that as regards natural science "Aegypter, Babylonier und Assyrier viel früher gesammelt und viel reichere Kenntnisse von Thatsachen besessen haben als die Griechen."—ED.]

faintest trace of anything approaching to this. For in Greece, the causes of fear being less abundant, the expression of terror was less common. The Greeks, therefore, were by no means disposed to incorporate into their religion those feelings of dread natural to the Hindus. The tendency of Asiatic civilization was to widen the distance between men and their deities; the tendency of Greek civilization was to diminish it.* Thus it is, that in Hindostan all the gods had something monstrous about them; as Vishnu with four hands, Brahma with five heads, and the like.[229] But the gods of Greece were always represented in forms entirely human.[230] In that country, no artist would have gained attention, if he had presumed to portray them in any other shape. He might make them stronger than men, he might make them more beautiful; but still they must be men. The analogy between God and Man, which excited the religious feelings of the Greeks, would have been fatal to those of the Hindus.

This difference between the artistic expressions of the two religions was accompanied by an exactly similar difference between their theological traditions. In the Indian books, the imagination is exhausted in relating the feats of the gods; and the more obviously impossible any achievement is, the greater the pleasure with which it was ascribed to them. But the Greek gods had not only human forms, but also human attributes, human pursuits, and human tastes.[231] The men of Asia, to whom every object of Nature was a source of awe, acquired such habits of reverence, that they never dared to assimilate

[229] *Ward on the Religion of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 35; *Transac. of Society of Bombay*, vol. i. p. 223. Compare the gloss in the *Dabistan*, vol. ii. p. 202.

[230] "The Greek gods were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties, and acted as men would do if so circumstanced, but with a dignity and energy suited to their nearer approach to perfection. The Hindu gods, on the other hand, though endued with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, and wild and capricious in their conduct. They are of various colours, red, yellow, and blue; some have twelve heads, and some have four hands. They are often enraged without a cause, and reconciled without a motive." *Elphinstone's History of India*, pp. 96, 97. See also *Erskine on the Temple of Elephanta*, in *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. i. p. 246; and the *Dabistan*, vol. i. p. cxi.

[231] "In the material polytheism of other leading ancient nations, the Egyptians, for example, the incarnation of the Deity was chiefly, or exclusively, confined to animals, monsters, or other fanciful emblems. . . . In Greece, on the other hand, it was an almost necessary result of the spirit and grace with which the deities were embodied in human forms, that they should also be burdened with human interests and passions. Heaven, like earth, had its courts and palaces, its trades and professions, its marriages, intrigues, divorces." *Mure's History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, vol. i. pp. 471, 472. So, too, Tennemann (*Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. iii. p. 419): "Diese Götter haben Menschengestalt. . . . Haben die Götter aber nicht nur menschliche Gestalt, sondern auch einen menschlichen Körper, so sind sie als Menschen auch denselben Unvollkommenheiten, Krankheiten und dem Tode unterworfen; dieses streitet mit dem Begriffe," *i.e.* of Epicurus. Compare *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 596: "The mythical age was peopled with a mingled aggregate of gods, heroes, and men, so confounded together that it was often impossible to distinguish to which class any individual name belonged." See also the complaint of Xenophanes, in *Müller's Hist. of Lit. of Greece*, London, 1856, p. 251. [Mure's account of Egyptian religion is misleading. The Egyptian gods were often represented in human form; and the animal forms in sculpture are not to be confounded with the religious conception. So with the Asiatic deities. They, like those of Greece, are fundamentally and inevitably "anthropomorphic"; their many hands and heads being mere symbolic devices to express supernatural power.—Ed.]

[* On the other hand, Asiatic, like all other religions, evolved mediatorial gods, nearer to men than the Supreme God—*e.g.* Agni, Krishna, Merodach, Mithra. And while the gods of Greek *sculpture*, which was a late development, were wholly human, the Greeks too had their hundred-headed Typhon, their dragon-nymphs, their Minotaur, their Zeus transformed into a bull and into a swan, and their Dionysos in the form of a bull. The Homeric gods, further, were of vast size.—Ed.]

their own actions with the actions of their deities. The men of Europe, encouraged by the safety and inertness of the material world, did not fear to strike a parallel, from which they would have shrunk had they lived amid the dangers of a tropical country. It is thus that the Greek divinities are so different from those of the Hindus, that in comparing them we seem to pass from one creation into another. The Greeks generalized their observations upon the human mind, and then applied them to the gods.[232] The coldness of women was figured in Diana; their beauty and sensuality in Venus; their pride in Juno; their accomplishments in Minerva. To the ordinary avocations of the gods, the same principle was applied. Neptune was a sailor; Vulcan was a smith; Apollo was sometimes a fiddler, sometimes a poet, sometimes a keeper of oxen. As to Cupid, he was a wanton boy, who played with his bow and arrows; Jupiter was an amorous and good-natured king; while Mercury was indifferently represented either as a trustworthy messenger or else as a common and notorious thief.

Precisely the same tendency to approximate human forces towards superhuman ones, is displayed in another peculiarity of the Greek religion. I mean, that in Greece we for the first time meet with hero-worship, that is, the deification of mortals.* According to the principles already laid down, this could not be expected in a tropical civilization, where the Aspects of Nature filled Man with a constant sense of his own incapacity. It is therefore natural that it should form no part of the ancient Indian religion;[233] neither was it known to the Egyptians,[234] nor to the Persians,[235] nor, so far as I am aware, to the Arabians.[236] But in Greece, Man being less humbled, and, as it were, less eclipsed, by the external world, thought more of his own powers, and human nature did not fall into that discredit in which it elsewhere sank. The consequence was, that the deification of mortals was a recognized part of the national religion at a very early period in the history of Greece;[237] and this has been found so natural

[232] The same remark applies to beauty of form, which they first aimed at in the statues of men, and then brought to bear upon the statues of the gods. This is well put in Mr. Grote's important work, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 133, 134, edit. 1847. [The conceptions of the Greek gods cannot have *originated* in the manner alleged in the text. The Homeric pantheon is a literary development from much simpler naturalistic beginnings.—Ed.]

[233] "But the worship of deified heroes is no part of that system." *Colebrooke on the Vedas*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 450.

[234] *Mackay's Religious Development*, vol. ii. p. 53, Lond. 1850. Compare *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 148, 318; and *Matter, Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 2; the "culte des grands hommes," which afterwards arose in Alexandria (*Matter*, vol. i. p. 54), must have been owing to Greek influence.

[235] There are no indications of it in the Zendavesta; and Herodotus says, that the Persians were unlike the Greeks, in so far as they disbelieved in a god having a human form; book i. chap. cxxxi. vol. i. p. 308: οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεούς, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι. [Yet Ahuramazda was so represented in the time of Herodotus.—Ed.]

[236] I am not acquainted with any evidence connecting this worship with the old Arabian religion; and it was certainly most alien to the spirit of Mohammedanism.

[237] *Mure's History of the Literature of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 28, 500, vol. ii. p. 402: very good remarks on a subject handled unsatisfactorily by Coleridge; *Literary Remains*, vol. i. p. 185. Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, vol i. p. 207) admits that "the views and feelings out of which it (the worship of heroes) arose, seem to be clearly discernible in the Homeric poems." Compare *Cudworth's Intellectual System*, vol. ii. pp. 226, 372. In the Cratylus, chap. xxxiii., Socrates is represented as asking, Οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι ἡμίθεοι οἱ ἥρωες; *Platonis Opera*, vol. iv. p. 227, edit. Bekker, Lond. 1826. And in the next century, Alexander obtained for his friend Hephæstion the right of being "worshipped as a hero." *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. xii. p. 339.

[* This is, on the contrary, a common feature in the religion of savage and semi-civilized peoples, though some recent hierologists put the fact in obscurity by a factitious definition of the term "mortal." The Greek demigods, on the other hand, are frequently the reductions of alien gods to quasi-human status.—Ed.].

to Europeans, that the same custom was afterwards renewed with eminent success by the Romish Church. Other circumstances, of a very different character, are gradually eradicating this form of idolatry ; but its existence is worth observing, as one of the innumerable illustrations of the way in which European civilization has diverged from all those that preceded it.[238]

It is thus, that in Greece everything tended to exalt the dignity of Man, while in India everything tended to depress it.[239] To sum up the whole, it may be said that the Greeks had more respect for human powers ; the Hindus for superhuman. The first dealt more with the known and available ; the other with the unknown and mysterious.[240]. And by a parity of reasoning, the imagination, which the Hindus, being oppressed by the pomp and majesty of Nature, never sought to control, lost its supremacy in the little peninsula of ancient Greece. In Greece, for the first time in the history of the world, the imagination was in some degree tempered and confined by the understanding. Not that its strength was impaired, or its vitality diminished. It was broken in and tamed ; its exuberance was checked, its follies were chastised. But that its energy remained, we have ample proof in those productions of the Greek mind which have survived to our own time. The gain, therefore, was complete ; since the inquiring and sceptical faculties of the human understanding were cultivated, without destroying the reverential and poetic instincts of the imagination. Whether or not the balance was accurately adjusted, is another question ; but it is certain that the adjustment was more nearly arrived at in Greece than in any previous civilization.[241] There can, I think, be little doubt that, notwithstanding what was effected, too much authority was left to the imaginative faculties, and that the purely reasoning ones did not receive, and never have received, sufficient attention. Still, this does not affect the great fact, that the Greek literature is the first in which this deficiency was somewhat remedied, and in which there was a deliberate and systematic attempt to test all opinions

[238] The adoration of the dead, and particularly the adoration of martyrs, was one great point of opposition between the orthodox church and the Manichæans (*Beausobre, Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 316, vol. ii. pp. 651, 669) ; and it is easy to understand how abhorrent such a practice must have been to the Persian heretics.

[239] M. Cousin, in his eloquent and ingenious work (*Histoire de la Philosophie*, III. série, vol. i. pp. 183–187), has some judicious observations on what he calls "l'époque de l'infini" of the East, contrasted with that "du fini," which began in Europe. But as to the physical causes of this, he only admits the grandeur of Nature, overlooking those natural elements of mystery and of danger by which religious sentiments were constantly excited.

[240] A learned orientalist says, that no people have made such efforts as the Hindus "to solve, exhaust, comprehend, what is insolvable, inexhaustible, incomprehensible." *Troyer's Preliminary Discourse on the Dabistan*, vol. i. p. cviii.

[241] This is noticed by Tennemann, who, however, has not attempted to ascertain the cause : "Die Einbildungskraft des Griechen war schöpferisch, sie schuf in seinen Innern neue Ideenwelten ; aber er wurde doch nie verleitet, die idealische Welt mit der wirklichen zu verwechseln, weil sie immer mit einem richtigen Verstande und gesunder Beurtheilungskraft verbunden war." *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 8 ; and vol. vi. p. 490, he says, "Bei allen diesen Mängeln und Fehlern sind doch die Griechen die einzige Nation der alten Welt, welche Sinn für Wissenschaft hatte, und zu diesem Behufe forschte. Sie haben doch die Bahn gebrochen, und den Weg zur Wissenschaft geebnet." To the same effect, *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 215. And on this difference between the Eastern and the European mind, see *Matter, Histoire du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. pp. 18, 233, 234. So, too, Kant (*Logik*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. i. p. 350), "Unter allen Völkern haben also die Griechen erst angefangen zu philosophiren. Denn sie haben zuerst versucht, nicht an dem Leitfaden der Bilder die Vernunfterkenntnisse zu cultiviren, sondern *in abstracto* ; statt dass die anderen Völker sich die Begriffe immer nur durch Bilder *in concreto* verständlich zu machen suchten." [The generalizations here cited from Tennemann and Kant as to the non-Hellenic civilizations of antiquity will not bear examination in the light of later knowledge.—Ed.]

by their consonance with human reason, and thus vindicate the right of Man to judge for himself on matters which are of supreme and incalculable importance.

I have selected India and Greece as the two terms of the preceding comparison, because our information respecting those countries is most extensive, and has been most carefully arranged. But everything we know of the other tropical civilizations confirms the views I have advocated respecting the effects produced by the Aspects of Nature. In Central America, extensive excavations have been made; and what has been brought to light proves that the national religion was, like that of India, a system of complete and unmitigated terror.[242] Neither there, nor in Mexico, nor in Peru, nor in Egypt, did the people desire to represent their deities in human forms, or ascribe to them human attributes. Even their temples are huge buildings, often constructed with great skill, but showing an evident wish to impress the mind with fear, and offering a striking contrast to the lighter and smaller structures which the Greeks employed for religious purposes. Thus, even in the style of architecture do we see the same principle at work; the dangers of the tropical civilization being more suggestive of the infinite, while the safety of the European civilization was more suggestive of the finite. To follow out the consequences of this great antagonism, it would be necessary to indicate how the infinite, the imaginative, the synthetic, and the deductive, are all connected; and are opposed, on the other hand, by the finite, the sceptical, the analytic, and the inductive. A complete illustration of this would carry me beyond the plan of this Introduction, and would perhaps exceed the resources of my own knowledge; and I must now leave to the candour of the reader what I am conscious is but an imperfect sketch, but what may, nevertheless, suggest to him materials for future thought, and, if I might indulge the hope, may open to historians a new field, by reminding them that everywhere the hand of Nature is upon us, and that the history of the human mind can only be understood by connecting with it the history and the aspects of the material universe.

[The following note proceeds upon a superseded definition of the functions of the liver. The view now accepted is that the liver has three functions: (1) the glycogenic (metabolism of carbohydrates); (2) the production of urea and uric acid (metabolism of nitrogenous material); (3) the formation of bile, which, instead of being, as Buckle stated, the "principal business" of the organ, "must very largely be regarded as a subsidiary one, bile containing the waste products of the liver, the results of its other activities." (Kirke-Haliburton, *Handbook of Physiology*, ed. 1900, p. 487.)—Ed.]

Note 36 to p. 35.

As these views have a social and economical importance quite independent of their physiological value, I will endeavour, in this note, to fortify them still further, by showing that the connexion between carbonized food and the respiratory functions may be illustrated by a wider survey of the animal kingdom.

The gland most universal among the different classes of animals is the liver;[a] and its principal business is to relieve the system of its superfluous carbon, which it accomplishes by secreting bile, a highly carbonized fluid.[b] Now, the connexion between this process

[242] Thus, of one of the idols at Copan, "The intention of the sculptor seems to have been to excite terror." *Stephens's Central America*, vol. i. p. 152; at p. 159, "The form of sculpture most generally used was a death's head." At Mayapan (vol. iii. p. 133), "representations of human figures, or animals with hideous features and expressions, in producing which the skill of the artist seems to have been expended"; and again, p. 412, "unnatural and grotesque faces."

[a] "The most constant gland in the animal kingdom is the liver." *Grant's Comp. Anat.* p. 576. See also *Beclard, Anat. Gén.* p. 18, and *Burdach, Traité de Physiol.* vol. ix. p. 580. Burdach says, "Il existe dans presque tout le règne animal"; and the latest researches have detected the rudiments of a liver even in the Entozoa and Rotifera. *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, 1855, p. 183, and *Owen's Invertebrata*, 1855, p. 104.

[b] Until the analysis made by Demarçay in 1837, hardly anything was known of the composition of bile; but this accomplished chemist ascertained that its essential constituent is choleate of soda, and that the choleic acid contains nearly sixty-three per cent. of carbon. Compare *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, pp. 59, 60, 412, 602, with *Simon's Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 17–21.

and the respiratory functions is highly curious. For if we take a general view of animal life, we shall find that the liver and lungs are nearly always compensatory ; that is to say, when one organ is small and inert, the other is large and active. Thus, reptiles have feeble lungs, but a considerable liver ;[e] and thus too in fishes, which have no lungs, in the ordinary sense of the word, the size of the liver is often enormous.[d] On the other hand, insects have a very large and complicated system of air-tubes ; but their liver is minute, and its functions are habitually sluggish.[e] If, instead of comparing the different classes of animals, we compare the different stages through which the same animal passes, we shall find further confirmation of this wide and striking principle. For the law holds good even before birth ; since in the unborn infant the lungs have scarcely any activity, but there is an immense liver, which is full of energy, and pours out bile in profusion.[f] And so invariable is this relation, that in man, the liver is the first organ which is formed ; it is preponderant during the whole period of fœtal life ; but it rapidly diminishes, when, after birth, the lungs come into play, and a new scheme of compensation is established in the system.[g]

These facts, interesting to the philosophic physiologist, are of great moment in reference to the doctrines advocated in this chapter. Inasmuch as the liver and lungs are compensatory in the history of their organization, it is highly probable that they are also compensatory in the functions they perform ; and that what is left undone by one, will have to be accomplished by the other. The liver, therefore, fulfilling the duty, as chemistry teaches us, of decarbonizing the system by secreting a carbonized fluid, we should expect, even in the absence of any further evidence, that the lungs would be likewise decarbonizing ; in other words, we should expect that if, from any cause, we are surcharged with carbon, our lungs must assist in remedying the evil. This brings us, by another road, to the conclusion that highly carbonized food has a tendency to tax the lungs ; so that the connexion between a carbonized diet and the respiratory functions, instead of being, as some assert, a crude hypothesis, is an eminently scientific theory, and is corroborated not only by chemistry, but by the general scheme of the animal kingdom, and even by the observation of embryological phenomena. The views of Liebig, and of his followers, are indeed supported by so many analogies, and harmonize so well with other parts of our knowledge, that nothing but a perverse hatred of generalization, or an incapacity for dealing with large speculative truths, can explain the hostility directed against conclusions which have been gradually forcing themselves upon us since Lavoisier, seventy years ago, attempted to explain the respiratory functions by subjecting them to the laws of chemical combination.

[e] " The size of the liver and the quantity of the bile are not proportionate to the quantity of the food and frequency of eating ; but inversely to the size and perfection of the lungs. . . . The liver is proportionately larger in reptiles, which have lungs with large cells incapable of rapidly decarbonizing the blood." *Good's Study of Medicine*, 1829, vol. i. pp. 32, 33. See *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. ii. p. 2, on " la petitesse des vaisseaux pulmonaires " of reptiles.

[d] *Carus's Comparative Anatomy*, vol. ii. p. 230 ; *Grant's Comp. Anat.* pp. 385, 596 ; *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, p. 646.

[e] Indeed it has been supposed by M. Gaëde that the " vaisseaux biliares " of some insects were not " sécréteurs ; " but this opinion appears to be erroneous. See Latreille, in *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. iv. pp. 297, 298.

[f] " La prédominance du foie avant la naissance " is noticed by Bichat (*Anatomie Générale*, vol. ii. p. 272), and by many other physiologists ; but Dr. Elliotson appears to have been one of the first to understand a fact, the explanation of which we might vainly seek for in the earlier writers. " The hypothesis, that one great use of the liver was, like that of the lungs, to remove carbon from the system, with this difference, that the alteration of the capacity of the air caused a reception of caloric into the blood, in the case of the lungs, while the hepatic excretion takes place without introduction of caloric, was, I recollect, a great favourite with me when a student. . . . The Heidelberg professors have adduced many arguments to the same effect. In the fœtus, for whose temperature the mother's heat must be sufficient, the lungs perform no function ; but the liver is of great size, and bile is secreted abundantly, so that the meconium accumulates considerably during the latter months of pregnancy." *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, 1840, p. 102. In *Lepelletier's Physiologie Médicale*, vol. i. p. 466, vol. ii. pp. 14, 546, 550, all this is sadly confused.

[g] " The liver is the first-formed organ in the embryo. It is developed from the alimentary canal, and at about the third week fills the whole abdomen, and is one-half the weight of the entire embryo. . . . At birth it is of very large size, and occupies the whole upper part of the abdomen. . . The liver diminishes rapidly after birth, probably from obliteration of the umbilical vein." *Wilson's Human Anatomy*, 1851, p. 638. Compare *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. iv. p. 447, where it is said of the liver in childhood, " Cet organe croît avec lenteur, surtout comparativement aux poumons ; le rapport de ceux-ci au foie étant à peu près de 1 : 3 avant la respiration, il était de 1 . 1·86 après l'établissement de cette dernière fonction." See also p. 91, and vol. iii. p. 483 ; and on the predominance of the liver in fœtal life, see the remarks of Serres (*Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. ii. p. 11), whose generalization is perhaps a little premature.

In this, and previous notes (see in particular notes 30, 31, 35), I have considered the connexion between food, respiration, and animal heat, at a length which will appear tedious to readers uninterested in physiological pursuits; but the investigation has become necessary, on account of the difficulties raised by experimenters, who, not having studied the subject comprehensively, object to certain parts of it. To mention what, from the ability and reputation of the author, is a conspicuous instance of this, Sir Benjamin Brodie has recently published a volume (*Physiological Researches*, 1851) containing some ingeniously contrived experiments on dogs and rabbits, to prove that heat is generated rather by the nervous system than by the respiratory organs. [Buckle himself has said above that it is generated by neither of these, but by combustion. Ed.] Without following this eminent surgeon into all his details, I may be permitted to observe, 1st, That as a mere matter of history, no great physiological truth has ever yet been discovered, nor has any great physiological fallacy been destroyed, by such limited experiments on a single class of animals; and this is partly because in physiology a crucial instance is impracticable, owing to the fact that we deal with resisting and living bodies, and partly because every experiment produces an abnormal condition, and thus lets in fresh causes, the operation of which is incalculable; unless, as often happens in the inorganic world, we can control the whole phenomenon. 2d, That the other department of the organic world, namely, the vegetable kingdom, has, so far as we are aware, no nervous system, but nevertheless possesses heat; and we moreover know that the heat is a product of oxygen and carbon (see note 32 to chapter ii.). 3d, That the evidence of travellers respecting the different sorts of food, and the different quantities of food, used in hot countries and in cold ones, is explicable by the respiratory and chemical theories of the origin of animal heat, but is inexplicable by the theory of the nervous origin of heat.

CHAPTER III

Examination of the Method employed by Metaphysicians for discovering Mental Laws

The evidence that I have collected seems to establish two leading facts, which, unless they can be impugned, are the necessary basis of universal history. The first fact is, that in the civilizations out of Europe, the powers of Nature have been far greater than in those in Europe. The second fact is, that those powers have worked immense mischief; and that while one division of them has caused an unequal distribution of wealth, another division of them has caused an unequal distribution of thought, by concentrating attention upon subjects which inflame the imagination. So far as the experience of the past can guide us, we may say that in all the extra-European civilizations these obstacles were insuperable; certainly no nation has ever yet overcome them. But, Europe being constructed upon a smaller plan than the other quarters of the world—being also in a colder region, having a less exuberant soil, a less imposing aspect, and displaying in all her physical phenomena much greater feebleness—it was easier for Man to discard the superstitions which Nature suggested to his imagination; * and it was also easier for him to effect, not indeed a just division of wealth, but something nearer to it, than was practicable in the older countries.

Hence it is that, looking at the history of the world as a whole, the tendency has been, in Europe, to subordinate nature to man; out of Europe, to subordinate man to nature. To this there are, in barbarous countries, several exceptions; but in civilized countries the rule has been universal. The great division, therefore, between European civilization and non-European civilization, is the basis of the philosophy of history, since it suggests the important consideration that if we would understand, for instance, the history of India, we must make the external world our first study, because it has influenced man more than man has influenced it. If, on the other hand, we would understand the history of a country like France or England, we must make man our principal study, because, Nature being comparatively weak, every step in the great progress has increased the dominion of the human mind over the agencies of the external world. Even in those countries where the power of man has reached the highest point, the pressure of Nature is still immense; but it diminishes in each succeeding generation, because our increasing knowledge enables us not so much to control Nature as to foretell her movements, and thus obviate many of the evils she would otherwise occasion. How successful our efforts have been, is evident from the fact that the average duration of life constantly becomes longer, and the number of inevitable dangers fewer; and what makes this the more remarkable is that the curiosity of men is keener, and their contact with

[* It appears to be here assumed that the discarding was done by Europeans spontaneously, in virtue of their "feebler" environment; but the early Mediterranean civilization grew from Asiatic seed; and the northern civilizations from the Mediterranean But for these transmissions of culture, there is no reason to suppose that northern Europe would have emerged from barbarism.—Ed.]

each other closer, than in any former period ; so that while apparent hazards are multiplied, we find from experience that real hazards are, on the whole, diminished.[1]

If, therefore, we take the largest possible view of the history of Europe, and confine ourselves entirely to the primary cause of its superiority over other parts of the world, we must resolve it into the encroachment of the mind of man upon the organic and inorganic forces of Nature. To this all other causes are subordinate.[2] For we have seen that wherever the powers of Nature reached a certain height, the national civilization was irregularly developed, and the advance of the civilization stopped. The first essential was, to limit the interference of these physical phenomena ; and that was most likely to be accomplished where the phenomena were feeblest and least imposing. This was the case with Europe ; it is accordingly in Europe alone that man has really succeeded in taming the energies of nature, bending them to his own will, turning them aside from their ordinary course, and compelling them to minister to his happiness, and subserve the general purposes of human life.*

All around us are the traces of this glorious and successful struggle. Indeed, it seems as if in Europe there was nothing man feared to attempt. The invasions of the sea repelled, and whole provinces, as in the case of Holland, rescued from its grasp ; mountains cut through, and turned into level roads ; soils of the most obstinate sterility becoming exuberant, from the mere advance of chemical knowledge ; while, in regard to electric phenomena, we see the subtlest, the most rapid, and the most mysterious of all forces, made the medium of thought, and obeying even the most capricious behests of the human mind.

In other instances, where the products of the external world have been refractory, man has succeeded in destroying what he could hardly hope to subjugate. The most cruel diseases, such as the plague, properly so called, and the leprosy of the Middle Ages,[3] have entirely disappeared from the civilized parts

[1] This diminution of casualties is undoubtedly one cause, though a slight one, of the increased duration of life ; but the most active cause is a general improvement in the physical condition of man : see *Sir B. Brodie's Lectures on Pathology and Surgery*, p. 212 ; and for proof that civilized men are stronger than uncivilized ones, see *Quetelet sur l'Homme*, vol. ii. pp. 67, 272 ; *Lawrence's Lectures on Man*, pp. 275, 276 ; *Ellis's Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. p. 98 ; *Whately's Lectures on Political Economy*, 8vo, 1831, p. 59 ; *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. xvii. pp. 32, 33 ; *Dufau, Traité de Statistique*, p. 107 ; *Hawkins's Medical Statistics*, p. 232.

[2] The general social consequences of this I shall hereafter consider ; but the mere economical consequences are well expressed by Mr. Mill : "Of the features which characterize this progressive economical movement of civilized nations, that which first excites attention, through its intimate connexion with the phenomena of Production, is the perpetual, and, so far as human foresight can extend, the unlimited, growth of man's power over Nature. Our knowledge of the properties and laws of physical objects shows no sign of approaching its ultimate boundaries ; it is advancing more rapidly, and in a greater number of directions at once, than in any previous age or generation, and affording such frequent glimpses of unexplored fields beyond, as to justify the belief that our acquaintance with Nature is still almost in its infancy." *Mill's Principles of Polit. Economy*, vol. ii. pp. 246–7.

[3] What this horrible disease once was, may be estimated from the fact "qu'au treizième siècle on comptait en France seulement, deux mille léproseries, et que l'Europe entière renfermait environ dix-neuf mille établissemens semblables." *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 374. As to the mortality caused by the plague, see *Clot-Bey de la Peste*, Paris, 1840, pp. 62, 63, 185, 292.

[* These passages disregard not only the great works of irrigation undertaken in ancient times in Mesopotamia and Syria, and thereafter in India, but the success of Peruvians and Chinese in artificial soil-making. Mesopotamian canalization and Indian tank-building were great achievements, although done with "naked human strength," and it was an Asiatic, Xerxes, who caused a canal to be dug through the promontory of Mount Athos for the passage of one fleet.—Ed.]

of Europe ; and it is scarcely possible that they should ever again be seen there. Wild beasts and birds of prey have been extirpated, and are no longer allowed to infest the haunts of civilized men. Those frightful famines by which Europe used to be ravaged several times in every century,[4] have ceased ; and so successfully have we grappled with them, that there is not the slightest fear of their ever returning with anything like their former severity. Indeed, our resources are now so great that we could at worst only suffer from a slight and temporary scarcity ; since, in the present state of knowledge, the evil would be met at the outset by remedies which chemical science could easily suggest.[5]

It is hardly necessary to notice how, in numerous other instances, the progress of European civilization has been marked by the diminished influence of the external world : I mean, of course, those peculiarities of the external world which have an existence independent of the wishes of man, and were not created by him. The most advanced nations do, in their present state, owe comparatively little to those original features of nature which, in every civilization out of Europe, exercised unlimited power. Thus, in Asia and elsewhere, the course of trade, the extent of commerce, and many similar circumstances, were determined by the existence of rivers, by the facility with which they could be navigated, and by the number and goodness of the adjoining harbours. But in Europe the determining cause is not so much these physical peculiarities, as the skill and energy of man. Formerly the richest countries were those in which nature was most bountiful ; now the richest countries are those in which man is most active.* For in our age of the world, if nature is parsimonious, we know how to compensate her deficiencies. If a river is difficult to navigate, or a country difficult to traverse, our engineers can correct the error, and remedy the evil. If we have no rivers, we make canals ; if we have no natural harbours, we make artificial ones. And so marked is this tendency to impair the authority of natural phenomena, that it is seen even in the distribution of the people, since, in the most civilized parts of Europe, the population of the towns is everywhere outstripping that of the country ; and it is evident that the more men congregate in great cities, the more they will become accustomed to draw their materials of thought from the business of human life, and the less attention they will pay to those peculiarities of nature which are the fertile source of superstition, and by which, in every civilization out of Europe, the progress of man was arrested.

From these facts it may be fairly inferred that the advance of European civilization is characterized by a diminishing influence of physical laws, and an increasing influence of mental laws. The complete proof of this generalization can be collected only from history ; and therefore I must reserve a large share of the evidence on which it is founded, for the future volumes of this work.

[4] For a curious list of famines, see an essay by Mr. Farr, in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. ix. pp. 159–163. He says that in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the average was, in England, one famine every fourteen years.

[5] In the opinion of one of the highest living authorities, famine is, even in the present state of chemistry, "next to impossible." *Herschel's Discourse on Natural Philosophy*, p. 65. Cuvier (*Recueil des Eloges*, vol. i. p. 10) says that we have succeeded "à rendre toute famine impossible." See also *Godwin on Population*, p. 500 ; and for a purely economical argument to prove the impossibility of famine, see *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. ii. p. 258 ; and compare a note in *Ricardo's Works*, p. 191. The Irish famine may seem an exception : but it could have been easily baffled except for the poverty of the people, which frustrated our efforts to reduce it to a dearth.

[* This activity again, however, has been above defined as a result of the evocative or propulsive power of Nature. To call the energy of man, then, the "determining cause," is strictly an inconsistency. And where man's activity is specifically stimulated by the possession of coal and iron, "Nature" again must be recognized as the determining condition ; even if we ignore the fact that European *culture* derives from Asiatic. Three thousand years ago, northern Europeans did *not* "know how" to compensate the "deficiencies" of Nature.—Ed.]

But that the proposition is fundamentally true, must be admitted by whoever, in addition to the arguments just adduced, will concede two premisses, neither of which seems susceptible of much dispute. The first premiss is, that we are in possession of no evidence that the powers of nature have ever been permanently increased; and that we have no reason to expect that any such increase can take place. The other premiss is, that we have abundant evidence that the resources of the human mind have become more powerful, more numerous, and more able to grapple with the difficulties of the external world; because every fresh accession to our knowledge supplies fresh means with which we can either control the operations of nature, or, failing in that, can foresee the consequences, and thus avoid what it is impossible to prevent; in both instances, diminishing the pressure exercised on us by external agents.

If these premisses are admitted, we are led to a conclusion which is of great value for the purpose of this Introduction. For if the measure of civilization is the triumph of the mind over external agents, it becomes clear that of the two classes of laws which regulate the progress of mankind, the mental class is more important than the physical.* This, indeed, is assumed by one school of thinkers as a matter of course, though I am not aware that its demonstration has been hitherto attempted by anything even approaching an exhaustive analysis. The question, however, as to the originality of my arguments, is one of very trifling moment; but what we have to notice is that in the present stage of our inquiry the problem with which we started has become simplified, and a discovery of the laws of European history is resolved, in the first instance, into a discovery of the laws of the human mind. These mental laws, when ascertained, will be the ultimate basis of the history of Europe; the physical laws will be treated as of minor importance, and as merely giving rise to disturbances, the force and the frequency of which have, during several centuries, perceptibly diminished.

If we now inquire into the means of discovering the laws of the human mind, the metaphysicians are ready with an answer; and they refer us to their own labours as supplying a satisfactory solution. It therefore becomes necessary to ascertain the value of their researches, to measure the extent of their resources, and, above all, to test the validity of that method which they always follow, and by which alone, as they assert, great truths can be elicited.

The metaphysical method, though necessarily branching into two divisions, is in its origin always the same, and consists in each observer studying the operations of his own mind.[6] This is the direct opposite of the historical method; the metaphysician studying one mind, the historian studying many minds. Now, the first remark to make on this is that the metaphysical method is one by which no discovery has ever yet been made in any branch of knowledge. Everything we at present know has been ascertained by studying phenomena, from which all casual disturbances having been removed, the law remains as a conspicuous residue.[7] And this can only be done by observations so numerous

[6] "As the metaphysician carries within himself the materials of his reasoning, he is not under a necessity of looking abroad for subjects of speculation or amusement." *Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 462; and the same remark, almost literally repeated, at vol. iii. p. 260. Locke makes what passes in each man's mind the sole source of metaphysics, and the sole test of their truth. *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 18, 76, 79, 121, 146, 152, 287, vol. ii. pp. 141, 243.

[7] The deductive sciences form, of course, an exception to this; but the whole theory of metaphysics is founded on its inductive character, and on the supposition that it consists of generalized observations, and that from them alone the science of mind can

[* There is here a reversion to the formerly noticed fallacy as to "law." Mental "laws" are involved alike in the two evolutions of civilization under notice; and it was as much a matter of such "law" that Asiatic civilizations should have been arrested as that the modern European should still progress. The true statement is that there is always an equation of organism and environment, but that the terms of the equation alter.—Ed.]

as to eliminate the disturbances, or else by experiments so delicate as to isolate the phenomena. One of these conditions is essential to all inductive science; but neither of them does the metaphysician obey. To isolate the phenomenon is for him an impossibility; since no man, into whatever state of reverie he may be thrown, can entirely cut himself off from the influence of external events, which must produce an effect on his mind, even when he is unconscious of their presence. As to the other condition, it is by the metaphysician set at open defiance; for his whole system is based on the supposition that, by studying a single mind, he can get the laws of all minds; so that while he, on the one hand, is unable to isolate his observations from disturbances, he on the other hand refuses to adopt the only remaining precaution,—he refuses so to enlarge his survey as to eliminate the disturbances by which his observations are troubled.[8]

This is the first and fundamental objection to which metaphysicians are exposed, even on the threshold of their science. But if we penetrate a little deeper, we shall meet with another circumstance, which, though less obvious, is equally decisive. After the metaphysician has taken for granted that, by studying one mind, he can discover the laws of all minds, he finds himself involved in a singular difficulty as soon as he begins to apply even this imperfect method. The difficulty to which I allude is one which, not being met with in any other pursuit, seems to have escaped the attention of those who are unacquainted with metaphysical controversies. To understand, therefore, its nature, it is requisite to give a short account of those two great schools, to one of which all metaphysicians must necessarily belong.

In investigating the nature of the human mind, according to the metaphysical scheme, there are two methods of proceeding, which are equally obvious, and which yet lead to entirely different results. According to the first method, the inquirer begins by examining his sensations. According to the other method, he begins by examining his ideas. These two methods always have led, and always must lead, to conclusions diametrically opposed to each other. Nor are the reasons of this difficult to understand. In metaphysics, the mind is the instrument, as well as the material on which the instrument is employed. The means by which the science must be worked out being thus the same as the object upon which it works, there arises a difficulty of a very peculiar kind. This difficulty is, the impossibility of taking a comprehensive view of the whole of the mental phenomena; because, however extensive such a view may be, it must exclude the state of the mind by which, or in which, the view itself is taken. Hence we may perceive what, I think, is a fundamental difference between physical and metaphysical inquiries. In physics, there are several methods of proceeding, all of which lead to the same results. But in metaphysics it will invariably be found that if two men of equal ability, and equal honesty, employ different methods in the study of the mind, the conclusions which they obtain will also be different. To those who are unversed in these matters, a few illustrations will set this in a clearer light. Metaphysicians who begin by the study of ideas, observe in their own minds an idea of space. Whence, they ask, can this arise? It cannot, they say, owe its origin to the senses, because the senses

be raised. [This statement does not appear to consist with others made by Buckle on the subject of induction and deduction in a later chapter.—Ed.]

[8] These remarks are applicable only to those who follow the purely metaphysical method of investigation. There is, however, a very small number of metaphysicians, among whom M. Cousin is the most eminent in France, in whose works we find larger views, and an attempt to connect historical inquiries with metaphysical ones; thus recognizing the necessity of verifying their original speculations. To this method there can be no objection, provided the metaphysical conclusions are merely regarded as hypotheses which require verification to raise them to theories. But instead of this cautious proceeding, the almost invariable plan is, to treat the hypothesis as if it were a theory already proved, and as if there remained nothing to do but to give historical illustrations of truths established by the psychologist. This confusion between illustration and verification appears to be the universal failing of those who, like Vico and Fichte, speculate upon historical phenomena *à priori*.

supply only what is finite and contingent; whereas the idea of space is infinite and necessary.[9] It is infinite, since we cannot conceive that space has an end; and it is necessary, since we cannot conceive the possibility of its non-existence. Thus far the idealist. But the sensualist, as he is called,[10]—he who begins, not with ideas, but with sensations, arrives at a very different conclusion. He remarks, that we can have no idea of space, until we have first had an idea of objects; and that the ideas of objects can only be the results of the sensations which those objects excite. As to the idea of space being necessary, this, he says, only results from the circumstance that we never can perceive an object which does not bear a certain position to some other object. This forms an indissoluble association between the idea of position and the idea of an object; and as this association is constantly repeated before us, we at length find ourselves unable to conceive an object without position, or, in other words, without space.[11] As to space being infinite, this, he says, is a notion we get by conceiving a continual addition to lines, or to surfaces, or to bulk, which are the three modifications of extension.[12] On innumerable other points, we find the same discrepancy between the two schools. The idealist,[13] for example, asserts that our notions of cause, of time, of personal identity, and of substance, are universal and necessary; that they are simple; and that, not being susceptible of analysis, they must be referred to the original constitution of the mind.[14] On the other hand,

[9] Compare *Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 194, with *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. ii. p. 92. Among the Indian metaphysicians, there was a sect which declared space to be the cause of all things. *Journal of Asiatic Soc.*, vol. vi. pp. 268, 290. See also the *Dabistan*, vol. ii. p. 40; which, however, was contrary to the Vedas. *Rammohun Roy on the Veds*, 1832, pp. 8, 111. In Spain, the doctrine of the infinity of space is heretical. *Doblado's Letters*, p. 96; which should be compared with the objection of Irenæus against the Valentinians, in *Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 275. For the different theories of space, I may, moreover, refer to *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. i. pp. 451, 473, 477, vol. ii. p. 314, vol. iii. pp. 195–204; *Cudworth's Intellectual System*, vol. i. p. 191, vol. iii. pp. 230, 472; *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 23, 62, 81, 120, 139, 147, 256, 334, 347; *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 109, vol. ii. p. 303, vol. iii. pp. 130–137, vol. iv. p. 284, vol. v. pp. 384–387, vol. vi. p. 99, vol. viii. pp. 87, 88, 683, vol. ix. pp. 257, 355, 410, vol. x. p. 79, vol. xi. pp. 195, 385–389.

[10] This is the title conferred by M. Cousin upon nearly all the greatest English metaphysicians, and upon Condillac and all his disciples in France, their system having "le nom mérité de sensualisme." *Cousin, Histoire de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. ii. p. 88. The same name is given to the same school, in *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, p. 52, and in *Renouard's Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 346, vol. ii. p. 368. In *Jobert's New System of Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 334, 8vo, 1849, it is called "sensationalism," which seems a preferable expression.

[11] This is very ably argued by Mr. James Mill in his *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, vol. ii. pp. 32, 93–95, and elsewhere. Compare *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 147, 148, 154, 157, and the ingenious distinction, p. 198, "between the idea of the infinity of space, and the idea of a space infinite." At p. 208, Locke sarcastically says, "But yet, after all this, there being men who persuade themselves that they have clear, positive, comprehensive ideas of infinity, it is fit they enjoy their privilege; and I should be very glad (with some others that I know, who acknowledge they have none such) to be better informed by their communication."

[12] *Mill's Analysis of the Mind*, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97. See also the *Examination of Malebranche*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. viii. pp. 248, 249; and *Müller's Elements of Physiology*, vol. ii. p. 1081, which should be compared with *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. i. p. 354.

[13] I speak of idealists in opposition to sensationalists; though the word idealist is often used by metaphysicians in a very different sense. On the different kinds of idealism, see *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, and *Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Metaphysik*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 223, 389, vol. iii. pp. 204, 210, 306, 307. According to him, the Cartesian idealism is empirical.

[14] Thus, Dugald Stewart (*Philosophical Essays*, Edin. 1810, p. 33) tells us of "the

the sensationalist, so far from recognizing the simplicity of these ideas, considers them to be extremely complex, and looks upon their universality and necessity as merely the result of a frequent and intimate association.[15]

This is the first important difference which is inevitably consequent on the adoption of different methods. The idealist is compelled to assert that necessary truths and contingent truths have a different origin.[16] The sensationalist is bound to affirm that they have the same origin.[17] The further these two great schools advance, the more marked does their divergence become. They are at open war in every department of morals, of philosophy, and of art. The idealists say that all men have essentially the same notion of the good, the true, and the beautiful. The sensationalists affirm that there is no such standard, because ideas depend upon sensations, and because the sensations of men depend upon the changes in their bodies, and upon the external events by which their bodies are affected.

Such is a short specimen of the opposite conclusions to which the ablest metaphysicians have been driven, by the simple circumstance that they have pursued opposite methods of investigation. And this is the more important to observe, because after these two methods have been employed, the resources of metaphysics are evidently exhausted.[18] Both parties agree that mental laws can be discovered only by studying individual minds, and that there is nothing in the mind which is not the result either of reflection or of sensation. The only choice, therefore, they have to make, is between subordinating the results of sensation to the laws of reflection, or else subordinating the results of reflection to the laws of sensation. Every system of metaphysics has been constructed according to one of these schemes; and this must always continue to be the case, because when the two schemes are added together, they include the totality

simple idea of personal identity." And Reid (*Essays on the Powers of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 354) says, "I know of no ideas or notions that have a better claim to be accounted simple and original than those of space and time." In the Sanscrit metaphysics, time is "an independent cause." See the *Vishnu Purana*, pp. 10, 216.

[15] "As Space is a comprehensive word, including all positions, or the whole of synchronous order, so Time is a comprehensive word, including all successions, or the whole of successive order." *Mill's Analysis of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 100; and on the relation of time to memory, vol. i. p. 252. In *Jobert's New System of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 33, it is said that "time is nothing but the succession of events, and we know events by experience only." See also p. 133, and compare respecting time *Condillac, Traité des Sensations*, pp. 104–114, 222, 223, 331–333. To the same effect is *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, book ii. chap. xiv., in *Locke's Works*, vol. i. p. 163; and see his second reply to the Bishop of Worcester, in *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 414–416; and as to the idea of substance, see vol. i. pp. 285–290, 292, 308, vol. iii. pp. 5, 10, 17.

[16] Reid (*Essays on the Powers of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 281) says that necessary truths 'cannot be the conclusions of the senses; for our senses testify only what is, and not what must necessarily be." See also vol. ii. pp. 53, 204, 239, 240, 281. The same distinction is peremptorily asserted in *Whewell's Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, 8vo, 1847, vol. i. pp. 60–73, 140; and see *Dugald Stewart's Philosophical Essays*, pp. 123, 124. Sir W. Hamilton (*Additions to Reid's Works*, p. 754) says, that non-contingent truths "have their converse absolutely incogitable." But this learned writer does not mention how we are to know when anything is "absolutely incogitable." That we cannot cogitate an idea, is certainly no proof of its being incogitable: for it may be cogitated at some later period, when knowledge is more advanced.

[17] This is asserted by all the followers of Locke; and one of the latest productions of that school declares, that "to say that necessary truths cannot be acquired by experience, is to deny the most clear evidence of our senses and reason." *Jobert's New System of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 58.

[18] To avoid misapprehension, I may repeat, that, here and elsewhere, I mean by metaphysics, that vast body of literature which is constructed on the supposition that the laws of the human mind can be generalized *solely* from the facts of individual consciousness. For this scheme, the word 'metaphysics' is rather inconvenient, but it will cause no confusion if this definition of it is kept in view by the reader.

of metaphysical phenomena. Each process is equally plausible ;[19] the supporters of each are equally confident ; and by the very nature of the dispute, it is impossible that any middle term should be found ; nor can there ever be an umpire, because no one can mediate between metaphysical controversies without being a metaphysician, and no one can be a metaphysician without being either a sensationalist or an idealist ; in other words, without belonging to one of those very parties whose claims he professes to judge.[20]

On these grounds, we must, I think, arrive at the conclusion that as metaphysicians are unavoidably, and by the very nature of their inquiry, broken up into two completely antagonistic schools, the relative truth of which there are no means of ascertaining ; as they, moreover, have but few resources, and as they use those resources according to a method by which no other science has ever been developed,—we, looking at these things, ought not to expect that they can supply us with sufficient data for solving those great problems which the history of the human mind presents to our view. And whoever will take the pains fairly to estimate the present condition of mental philosophy, must admit that, notwithstanding the influence it has always exercised over some of the most powerful minds, and through them over society at large, there is nevertheless no other study which has been so zealously prosecuted, so long continued, and yet remains so barren of results. In no other department has there been so much movement, and so little progress. Men of eminent abilities, and of the greatest integrity of purpose, have in every civilized country, for many centuries, been engaged in metaphysical inquiries ; and yet at the present moment their systems, so far from approximating towards truth, are diverging from each other with a velocity which seems to be accelerated by the progress of knowledge. The incessant rivalry of the hostile schools, the violence with which they have been supported, and the exclusive and unphilosophic confidence with which each has advocated its own method,—all these things have thrown the study of the mind into a confusion only to be compared to that in which the study of religion has

[19] What a celebrated historian of philosophy says of Platonism, is equally true of all the great metaphysical systems : " Dass sie ein zusammenhängendes harmonisches Ganzes ausmachen (*i.e.* the leading propositions of it) fällt in die Augen." *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. ii. p. 527. And yet he confesses (vol. iii. p. 52) of it and the opposite system : " und wenn man auf die Beweise siehet, so ist der Empirismus des Aristoteles nicht besser begründet als der Rationalismus des Plato." Kant admits that there can be only one true system, but is confident that he has discovered what all his predecessors have missed. *Die Metaphysik der Sitten*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. v. p. 5, where he raises the question, " ob es wohl mehr als eine Philosophie geben könne." In the *Kritik*, and in the *Prolegomena zu jeder künftigen Metaphysik*, he says that metaphysics have made no progress, and that the study can hardly be said to exist. *Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 49, 50, vol. iii. pp. 166, 246.

[20] We find a curious instance of this, in the attempt made by M. Cousin to found an eclectic school ; for this very able and learned man has been quite unable to avoid the one-sided view which is to every metaphysician an essential preliminary ; and he adopts that fundamental distinction between necessary ideas and contingent ideas, by which the idealist is separated from the sensationalist : " la grande division des idées aujourd'hui établie est la division des idées contingentes et des idées nécessaires." *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. p. 82 : see also vol. ii. p. 92, and the same work, I. série, vol. i. pp. 249, 267, 268, 311, vol. iii. pp. 51–54. M. Cousin constantly contradicts Locke, and then says he has refuted that profound and vigorous thinker ; while he does not even state the arguments of James Mill, who, as a metaphysician, is the greatest of our modern sensationalists, and whose views, whether right or wrong, certainly deserve notice from an eclectic historian of philosophy.

Another eclectic, Sir W. Hamilton, announces (*Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 597) " an undeveloped philosophy, which, I am confident, is founded upon truth. To this confidence I have come, not merely through the convictions of my own consciousness, but by finding in this system a centre and conciliation for the most opposite of philosophical opinions." But at p. 589, he summarily disposes of one of the most important of these philosophical opinions as " the superficial edifice of Locke."

been thrown by the controversies of theologians.[21] The consequence is, that if we except a very few of the laws of association, and perhaps I may add the modern theories of vision and of touch,[22] there is not to be found in the whole compass of metaphysics a single principle of importance, and at the same time of incontestable truth. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to avoid a suspicion that there is some fundamental error in the manner in which these inquiries have been prosecuted. For my own part, I believe that, by mere observation of our own minds, and even by such rude experiments as we are able to make upon them, it will be impossible to raise psychology to a science; and I entertain very little doubt that metaphysics can be successfully studied only by an investigation of history so comprehensive as to enable us to understand the conditions which govern the movements of the human race.[23]

[21] Berkeley, in a moment of candour, inadvertently confesses what is very damaging to the reputation of his own pursuits: "Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that the far greater part, if not all, of those difficulties which have hitherto amused philosophers, and blocked up the way to knowledge, are entirely owing to ourselves. That we have first raised a dust, and then complain we cannot see." *Principles of Human Knowledge*, in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. p. 74. Every metaphysician and theologian should get this sentence by heart: "That we have first raised a dust, and then complain we cannot see."

[22] Some of the laws of association, as stated by Hume and Hartley, are capable of historical verification, which would change the metaphysical hypothesis into a scientific theory. Berkeley's theory of vision, and Brown's theory of touch, have in the same way been verified physiologically: so that we now know what otherwise we could only have suspected.

[23] In regard to one of the difficulties stated in this chapter as impeding metaphysicians, it is only just to quote the remarks of Kant: "Wie aber das Ich, der ich denke, von dem Ich, das sich selbst anschaut, unterschieden (indem ich mir noch andere Anschauungsart wenigstens als möglich vorstellen kann), und doch mit diesem letzteren als dasselbe Subject einerlei sei, wie ich also sagen könne: Ich als Intelligenz und denkend Subject, erkenne mich selbst als gedachtes Object, so fern ich mir noch über das in der Anschauung gegeben bin, nur, gleich anderen Phänomenen, nicht wie ich vor dem Verstande bin, sondern wie ich mir erscheine, hat nicht mehr auch nicht weniger Schwierigkeit bei sich, als wie ich mir selbst überhaupt ein Object und zwar der Anschauung und innerer Wahrnehmungen sein könne." *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. p. 144. I am very willing to let the question rest on this: for to me it appears that the two cases are not only equally difficult, but, in the present state of our knowledge, are equally impossible.

CHAPTER IV

MENTAL LAWS ARE EITHER MORAL OR INTELLECTUAL. COMPARISON OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL LAWS, AND INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECT PRODUCED BY EACH ON THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY

IN the preceding chapter, it has, I trust, been made apparent that, whatever may hereafter be the case, we, looking merely at the present state of our knowledge, must pronounce the metaphysical method to be unequal to the task, often imposed upon it, of discovering the laws which regulate the movements of the human mind. We are therefore driven to the only remaining method, according to which mental phenomena are to be studied, not simply as they appear in the mind of the individual observer, but as they appear in the actions of mankind at large. The essential opposition between these two plans is very obvious: but it may perhaps be well to bring forward further illustration of the resources possessed by each for the investigation of truth; and for this purpose, I will select a subject which, though still imperfectly understood, supplies a beautiful instance of the regularity with which, under the most conflicting circumstances, the great Laws of Nature are able to hold their course.*

The case to which I refer is that of the proportion kept up in the births of the sexes; a proportion which, if it were to be greatly disturbed in any country, even for a single generation, would throw society into the most serious confusion, and would infallibly cause a great increase in the vices of the people.[1] Now, it has always been suspected that, on an average, the male and female births are tolerably equal; but, until very recently, no one could tell whether or not they are precisely equal, or, if unequal, on which side there is an excess.[2] The births being

[1] Thus we find that the Crusades, by diminishing the proportion of men to women in Europe, increased licentiousness. See a curious passage in *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 376. In Yucatan, there is generally a considerable excess of women, and the result is prejudicial to morals. *Stephens's Central America*, vol. iii. pp. 380, 429. On the other hand, respecting the state of society produced by an excess of males, see *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 259; *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. xv. p. 45, vol. xvi. p. 307; *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, p. 579.

[2] On this question, a variety of conflicting statements may be seen in the older writers. Goodman, early in the seventeenth century, supposed that more females were born than males. *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, p. 696. Turgot (*Œuvres*, vol. ii. p. 247) rightly says, "il naît un peu plus d'hommes que de femmes": but the evidence was too incomplete to make this more than a lucky guess; and I find that even Herder, writing in 1785, takes for granted that the proportion was about equal: "ein ziemliches Gleichmass in den Geburten beider Geschlechter" (*Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 149), and was sometimes in favour of girls, "ja, die Nachrichten mehrerer Reisenden machen es wahrscheinlich, dass in manchen dieser Gegenden wirklich mehr Töchter als Söhne geboren werden."

[* Another reversion to the conception of laws as forces.—ED.]

the physical result of physical antecedents, it was clearly seen that the laws of the births must be in those antecedents ; that is to say, that the causes of the proportion of the sexes must reside in the parents themselves.[3] Under these circumstances, the question arose, if it was not possible to elucidate this difficulty by our knowledge of animal physiology ; for it was plausibly said, " Since physiology is a study of the laws of the body,[4] and since all births are products resulting from the body, it follows that if we know the laws of the body, we shall know the laws of the birth." This was the view taken by physiologists of our origin ; [5] and this is precisely the view taken by metaphysicians of our history. Both parties believed that it was possible at once to rise to the cause of the phenomenon, and by studying its laws predict the phenomenon itself. The physiologist said, " By studying individual bodies, and thus ascertaining the laws which regulate the union of the parents, I will discover the proportion of the sexes, because the proportion is merely the result to which the union gives rise." Just in the same way, the metaphysician says, " By studying individual minds, I will ascertain the laws which govern their movements ; and in that way I will predict the movements of mankind, which are obviously compounded of the individual movements."[6] These are the expectations which have been confidently held out, by physiologists respecting the laws of the sexes, and by metaphysicians respecting the laws of history. Towards the fulfilment, however, of these promises the metaphysicians have done absolutely nothing ; nor have the physiologists been more successful, although their views have the support of anatomy, which admits of the employment of direct experiment, a resource unknown to metaphysics. But towards settling the present question, all this availed them nothing ; and physiologists are not yet possessed of a single fact which throws

[3] A question, indeed, has been raised as to the influence exercised by the state of the mind during the period of orgasm. But whatever this influence may be, it can only affect the subsequent birth through and by physical antecedents, which in every case must be regarded as the proximate cause. If, therefore, the influence were proved to exist, we should still have to search for physical laws : though such laws would of course be considered merely as secondary ones, resolvable into some higher generalization.

[4] Some writers treat physiology as a study of the laws of life. But this, looking at the subject as it now stands, is far too bold a step, and several branches of knowledge will have to be raised from their present empirical state, before the phenomena of life can be scientifically investigated. The more rational mode seems to be, to consider physiology and anatomy as correlative : the first forming the dynamical, and the second forming the statical part of the study of organic structure.

[5] " Voulez-vous savoir de quoi dépend le sexe des enfants ? Fernel vous répond, sur la foi des anciens, qu'il dépend des qualités de la semence du père et de la mère." *Renouard, Histoire de la Médecine*, Paris, 1846, vol. ii. p. 106 : see also, at p. 185, the opinion of Hippocrates, adopted by Galen ; and similar views in *Lepelletier, Physiologie Médicale*, vol. iv. p. 332, and *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. pp. 252, 310, vol. ii. p. 115, vol. iv. p. 62. For further information as to the opinions which have been held respecting the origin of sexes, see *Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 417 ; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. pp. 358, 361 ; *Vishnu Purana*, p. 349 ; *Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. iii. p. 126 ; *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. iii. p. 191 : *Denham and Clapperton's Africa*, pp. 323, 324 ; *Maintenon, Lettres Inédites*, vol. ii. p. 62 ; and the view of Hohl (*Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. ii. p. 472), " que les femmes chez lesquelles prédomine le système artériel procréent des garçons, au lieu que celles dont le système veineux a la prédominance mettent au monde des filles." According to Anaxagoras, the question was extremely simple : *καὶ ἄῤῥενα μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν, θήλεα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν. Diog. Laert.* ii. 9, vol. i. p. 85.

[6] " Le métaphysicien se voit comme la source de l'évidence et le confident de la nature : Moi seul, dit-il, je puis généraliser les idées, et découvrir le germe des événements qui se développent journellement dans le monde physique et moral ; et c'est par moi seul que l'homme peut être éclairé." *Helvetius de l'Esprit*, vol. i. p. 86. Compare *Herder, Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. ii. p. 105. Thus too M. Cousin (*Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. p. 131) says, " Le fait de la conscience transporté de l'individu dans l'espèce et dans l'histoire, est la clef de tous les développements de l'humanité."

any light on this problem : Is the number of male births equal to female births, is it greater, or is it less ?

These are questions to which all the resources of physiologists, from Aristotle down to our own time, afford no means of reply.[7] And yet at the present day we, by the employment of what now seems a very natural method, are possessed of a truth which the united abilities of a long series of eminent men failed to discover. By the simple expedient of registering the number of births and their sexes—by extending this registration over several years, in different countries,—we have been able to eliminate all casual disturbances, and ascertain the existence of a law which, expressed in round numbers, is, that for every twenty girls there are born twenty-one boys : and we may confidently say that although the operations of this law are of course liable to constant aberrations, the law itself is so powerful, that we know of no country in which during a single year the male births have not been greater than the female ones.[8]

The importance and the beautiful regularity of this law make us regret that it still remains an empirical truth, not having yet been connected with the physical phenomena by which its operations are caused.[9] But this is immaterial

[7] Considering the very long period during which physiology has been studied, it is remarkable how little the physiologists have contributed towards the great and final object of all science, namely, the power of predicting events. To me it appears that the two principal causes of this are, the backwardness of chemistry, and the still extremely imperfect state of the microscope, which even now is so inaccurate an instrument, that when a high power is employed, little confidence can be placed in it : and the examination, for instance, of the spermatozoa has led to the most contradictory results. In regard to chemistry, MM. Robin and Verdeil, in their recent great work, have ably proved what manifold relations there are between it and the further progress of our knowledge of the animal frame ; though I venture to think that these eminent writers have shown occasionally an undue disposition to limit the application of chemical laws to physiological phenomena. See *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique et Physiologique*, Paris, 1853, vol. i. pp. 20, 34, 167, 337, 338, 437, 661, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137, 508, vol. iii. pp. 135, 144, 183, 281, 283, 351, 547. The increasing tendency of chemistry to bring under its control what are often supposed to be purely organic phenomena, is noticed cautiously in *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 1308, London, 1847 ; and boldly in *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, 1851, pp. 250, 251. The connexion between chemistry and physiology is touched on rather too hastily in *Bouilland, Philosophie Médicale*, pp. 160, 257 ; *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. iii. p. 166 ; *Brodie's Lectures on Pathology*, p. 48 ; *Henle, Traité d'Anatomie*, vol. i. pp. 25, 26 ; *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, p. 88 ; but better in *Holland's Medical Notes*, 1839, p. 270, a thoughtful and suggestive work. On the necessity of chemistry for increasing our knowledge of embryology, compare *Wagner's Physiology*, pp. 131, 132 note, with *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. iv. pp. 59, 168.

[8] It used to be supposed that some of the eastern countries formed an exception to this ; but more precise observations have contradicted the loose statements of the earlier travellers, and in no part of the world, so far as our knowledge extends, are more girls born than boys ; while in every part of the world for which we have statistical returns, there is a slight excess on the side of male births. Compare *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, p. 234 ; *Raffles' History of Java*, vol. i. pp. 81, 82 ; *Sykes on the Statistics of the Deccan*, in *Reports of British Association*, vol. vi. pp. 246, 261, 262 ; *Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, p. 63 ; *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. i. p. 139 ; *M'William, Medical History of Expedition to the Niger*, p. 113 ; *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, p. 795 ; *Thomson's Hist. of Royal Society*, p. 531 ; *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. i. pp. 507, 511, vol. ii. pp. 324, 335 ; *Paris and Fonblanque's Medical Jurisprudence*, vol. i. p. 259 ; *Journal of Statist. Soc.*, vol. iii. pp. 263, 264, vol. xvii. pp. 46, 123 ; *Journal of Geographical Soc.*, vol. xx. p. 17 ; *Fourth Report of British Association*, pp. 687, 689, *Report for* 1842, pp. 144, 145 ; *Transac. of Sections for* 1840, p. 174, *for* 1847, p. 96, *for* 1849, p. 87 ; *Dufau, Traité de Statistique*, pp. 24, 209, 210 ; *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57, 273, 274, 281, vol. v. p. 373 ; *Hawkins's Medical Statistics*, pp. 221, 222.

[9] In *Müller's Physiology*, vol. ii. p. 1657, a work of great authority, it is said, that " the causes which determine the sex of the embryo are unknown, although it appears that the relative age of the parents has some influence over the sex of the offspring." That the

to my present purpose, which is only to notice the method by which the discovery has been made. For this method is obviously analogous to that by which I propose to investigate the operations of the human mind ; while the old and unsuccessful method is analogous to that employed by the metaphysicians. As long as physiologists attempted to ascertain the laws of the proportion of sexes by individual experiments, they effected absolutely nothing towards the end they hoped to achieve. But when men became dissatisfied with these individual experiments, and instead of them began to collect observations less minute, but more comprehensive, then it was that the great law of nature for which during many centuries they had vainly searched, first became unfolded to their view. Precisely in the same way, as long as the human mind is only studied according to the narrow and contracted method of metaphysicians, we have every reason for thinking that the laws which regulate its movements will remain unknown. If, therefore, we wish to effect anything of real moment, it becomes necessary that we should discard those old schemes, the insufficiency of which is demonstrated by experience as well as by reason ; and that we should substitute in their place such a comprehensive survey of facts as will enable us to eliminate those disturbances which, owing to the impossibility of experiment, we shall never be able to isolate.

The desire that I feel to make the preliminary views of this Introduction perfectly clear, is my sole apology for having introduced a digression which, though adding nothing to the strength of the argument, may be found useful as illustrating it, and will at all events enable ordinary readers to appreciate the value of the proposed method. It now remains for us to ascertain the manner in which, by the application of this method, the laws of mental progress may be most easily discovered.

If, in the first place, we ask what this progress is, the answer seems very simple : that it is a twofold progress, Moral and Intellectual ; the first having more immediate relation to our duties, the second to our knowledge. This is a classification which has been frequently laid down, and with which most persons are familiar. And so far as history is a narration of results, there can be no doubt that the division is perfectly accurate. There can be no doubt that a people are not really advancing if, on the one hand, their increasing ability is accompanied by increasing vice, or if on the other hand, while they are becoming more virtuous, they likewise become more ignorant. This double movement, moral and intellectual, is essential to the very idea of civilization, and includes the entire theory of mental progress. To be willing to perform our duty is the moral part ; to know how to perform it is the intellectual part : while the closer these two parts are knit together, the greater the harmony with which they work ; and the more accurately the means are adapted to the end, the more completely will the scheme of our life be accomplished, and the more securely shall we lay a foundation for the further advancement of mankind.

A question, therefore, now arises of great moment : namely, which of these two

relative age of the parents does affect the sex of their children, may, from the immense amount of evidence now collected, be considered almost certain ; but M. Müller, instead of referring to physiological writers, ought to have mentioned that the statisticians, and not the physiologists, were the first to make this discovery. On this curious question, see *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, p. 746 ; *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. ii. pp. 333, 336, 342 ; *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 263, 264. In regard to animals below man, we find from numerous experiments that among sheep and horses the age of the parents " has a very great general influence upon the sex " of the offspring. *Elliotson's Physiology*, pp. 708, 709 ; and see *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences Naturelles*, vol. ii. p. 406. As to the relation between the origin of sex and the laws of arrested development, compare *Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Hist. des Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34, 73, vol. iii. p. 278, with *Lindley's Botany*, vol. ii. p. 81. In *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. p. 302, there is a singular case recorded by Lamotte, which would seem to connect this question with pathological phenomena, though it is uncertain whether the epilepsy was an effect or a cognate symptom.

parts or elements of mental progress is the more important. For the progress itself being the result of their united action, it becomes necessary to ascertain which of them works more powerfully, in order that we may subordinate the inferior element to the laws of the superior one. If the advance of civilization and the general happiness of mankind depend more on their moral feelings than on their intellectual knowledge, we must of course measure the progress of society by those feelings; while if, on the other hand, it depends principally on their knowledge, we must take as our standard the amount and success of their intellectual activity. As soon as we know the relative energy of these two components, we shall treat them according to the usual plan for investigating truth; that is to say, we shall look at the product of their joint action as obeying the laws of the more powerful agent, whose operations are casually disturbed by the inferior laws of the minor agent.

In entering into this inquiry, we are met by a preliminary difficulty, arising from the loose and careless manner in which ordinary language is employed on subjects that require the greatest nicety and precision. For the expression, Moral and Intellectual Progress, is suggestive of a serious fallacy. In the manner in which it is generally used, it conveys an idea that the moral and intellectual faculties of men are, in the advance of civilization, naturally more acute and more trustworthy than they were formerly. But this, though it may possibly be true, has never been proved. It may be that, owing to some physical causes still unknown, the average capacity of the brain is, if we compare long periods of time, becoming gradually greater; and that therefore the mind, which acts through the brain, is, even independently of education, increasing in aptitude and in the general competence of its views.[10] Such, however, is still our ignorance of physical laws, and so completely are we in the dark as to the circumstances which regulate the hereditary transmission of character, temperament,[11] and

[10] That the natural powers of the human brain are improving because they are capable of transmission, is a favourite doctrine with the followers of Gall, and is adopted by M.A. Comte (*Philosophie Positive*, vol. iv. pp. 384, 385); who, however, admits that it has never been sufficiently verified: "sans que toutefois l'expérience ait encore suffisamment prononcé." Dr. Prichard, whose habits of thought were very different, seems, nevertheless, inclined to lean in this direction; for his comparison of skulls led him to the conclusion that the present inhabitants of Britain, "either as the *result of many ages of greater intellectual cultivation*, or from some other cause, have, as I am persuaded, much more capacious brain-cases than their forefathers." *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. i. p. 305. Even if this were certain, it would not prove that the contents of the crania were altered, though it might create a presumption; and the general question must, I think, remain unsettled until the researches begun by Blumenbach, and recently continued by Morton, are carried out upon a scale far more comprehensive than has hitherto been attempted. Compare *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ii. p. 253; where, however, the question is not stated with sufficient caution.

[11] None of the laws of hereditary descent connected with the formation of character have yet been generalized; nor is our knowledge much more advanced respecting the theory of temperaments, which still remains the principal obstacle in the way of the phrenologists. The difficulties attending the study of temperaments, and the obscurity in which this important subject is shrouded, may be estimated by whoever will compare what has been said upon it by the following writers: *Müller's Physiology*, vol. ii pp. 1406–1410; *Elliotson's Human Physiology*, pp. 1059–1062; *Blainville, Physiologie Générale et Comparée*, vol. i. pp. 168, 264, 265, vol. ii. pp. 43, 130, 214, 328, 329, vol. iii. pp. 54, 74, 118, 148, 149, 284, 285; *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, pp. 16, 17, 112, 113; *Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. pp. 186, 190; *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. pp. 204, 205, vol. iii. p. 276; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 326; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 380, vol. ii. p. 408, vol. iii. p. 21, vol. v. p. 325, vol. vi. p. 492; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. pp. 39, 226, 429, 594, vol. ii. p. 29; *Lepelletier, Physiol. Médicale*, vol. i. pp. 139, 281, vol. iii. pp. 372–429, vol. iv. pp. 93, 123, 133, 143, 148, 177; *Henle, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. p. 474, vol. ii. pp. 288, 289, 316; *Bichat, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. p. 207, vol. ii. p. 444, vol. iii. pp. 310.

other personal peculiarities, that we must consider this alleged progress as a very doubtful point ; and in the present state of our knowledge we cannot safely assume that there has been any permanent improvement in the moral or intellectual faculties of man ; nor have we any decisive ground for saying that these faculties are likely to be greater in an infant born in the most civilized part of Europe, than in one born in the wildest region of a barbarous country.[12]

Whatever, therefore, the moral and intellectual progress of men may be, it

507, vol. iv. pp. 281, 399, 400, 504 ; *Bichat sur la Vie*, pp. 80, 81, 234, 235 ; *Phillips on Scrofula*, p. 9 ; *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, pp. 143–145 ; *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. p. 110 ; *Cullen's Works*, Edinb. 1827, vol. i. pp. 214–221 ; *Cabanis, Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, pp. 76–83, 229–261, 520–533 ; *Noble on the Brain*, pp. 370–376 ; *Combe's North America*, vol. i. pp. 126–128. Latterly, attention has been paid to the chemistry of the blood as it varies in the various temperaments ; and this seems a more satisfactory method than the old plan of merely describing the obvious symptoms of the temperament. *Clark on Animal Physiology*, in *Fourth Report of the British Association*, p. 126 ; *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 236 ; *Wagner's Physiology*, p. 262.

[12] We often hear of hereditary talents, hereditary vices, and hereditary virtues ; but whoever will critically examine the evidence will find that we have no proof of their existence. The way in which they are commonly proved is in the highest degree illogical ; the usual course being for writers to collect instances of some mental peculiarity found in a parent and in his child, and then to infer that the peculiarity was bequeathed. By this mode of reasoning we might demonstrate any proposition ; since in all large fields of inquiry there are a sufficient number of empirical coincidences to make a plausible case in favour of whatever view a man chooses to advocate. But this is not the way in which truth is discovered ; and we ought to inquire not only how many instances there are of hereditary talents, &c., but how many instances there are of such qualities not being hereditary. Until something of this sort is attempted, we can know nothing about the matter inductively ; while, until physiology and chemistry are much more advanced, we can know nothing about it deductively.

These considerations ought to prevent us from receiving statements (*Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence*, pp. 644, 678, and many other books) which positively affirm the existence of hereditary madness and hereditary suicide ; and the same remark applies to hereditary disease (on which see some admirable observations in *Phillips on Scrofula*, pp. 101–120, London, 1846) : and with still greater force does it apply to hereditary vices and hereditary virtues ; inasmuch as ethical phenomena have not been registered as carefully as physiological ones, and therefore our conclusions respecting them are even more precarious. [Since Buckle's time the investigation of heredity has been carried somewhat further. On the side of physique it is now held as beyond question that certain diseases are inherited by offspring, though some formerly supposed to be hereditary—*e.g.* phthisis—are now preferably described as diseases accruing upon hereditary weakness. The common hereditary transmission of insanity is now regarded as beyond dispute ; and the bias to suicide is "recognized by all authorities to be one of the most commonly transmitted of abnormal conditions" (*Strahan, Suicide and Insanity*, 1893, p. 88). As regards intellectual heredity the question is still partly open, largely by reason of the practice of inquirers who discuss heredity with regard to one parent only. A measure of particular proof is established by Galton (*Hereditary Genius*, new ed. 1892) ; but some of the sociological inferences drawn by him have been emphatically challenged (*e.g.* Prof. Cooley' essay in the *Annals of the American Acad. of Polit. and Social Science*, May, 1897 ; and that of the editor on "The Economics of Genius" in the *Forum*, April, 1898). The question of racial heredity is complicated by the variety of lines and stages of civilization, and by the difficulty as to striking averages for different epochs of evolution. Modern science recognizes degeneration of the human as of other species in given conditions (Cp. Haycraft, *Darwinism and Race Progress*, 1895). But on Darwinian principles the entire human race has evolved from a much lower species, and all from a primal cell ; though the school of Weismann denies "inheritance of acquired characteristics" without properly defining acquired characteristics, or offering any explanation whatever of variation, which it takes as an irreducible datum.—Ed.]

resolves itself not into a progress of natural capacity,[13] but into a progress, if I may so say, of opportunity ; that is, an improvement in the circumstances under which that capacity after birth comes into play. Here, then, lies the gist of the whole matter. The progress is one, not of internal power, but of external advantage. The child born in a civilized land is not likely, as such, to be superior to one born among barbarians ; and the difference which ensues between the acts of the two children will be caused, so far as we know, solely by the pressure of external circumstances ; by which I mean the surrounding opinions, knowledge, associations, in a word, the entire mental atmosphere in which the two children are respectively nurtured.

On this account it is evident that if we look at mankind in the aggregate, their moral and intellectual conduct is regulated by the moral and intellectual notions prevalent in their own time. There are, of course, many persons who will rise above those notions, and many others who will sink below them. But such cases are exceptional, and form a very small proportion of the total amount of those who are nowise remarkable either for good or for evil. An immense majority of men must always remain in a middle state, neither very foolish nor very able, neither very virtuous nor very vicious, but slumbering on in a peaceful and decent mediocrity, adopting without much difficulty the current opinions of the day, making no inquiry, exciting no scandal, causing no wonder, just holding themselves on a level with their generation, and noiselessly conforming to the standard of morals and of knowledge common to the age and country in which they live.

Now, it requires but a superficial acquaintance with history to be aware that this standard is constantly changing, and that it is never precisely the same even in the most similar countries, or in two successive generations in the same country. The opinions which are popular in any nation, vary in many respects almost from year to year ; and what in one period is attacked as a paradox or a heresy, is in another period welcomed as a sober truth ; which, however, in its turn is replaced by some subsequent novelty. This extreme mutability in the ordinary standard of human actions, shows that the conditions on which the standard depends must themselves be very mutable ; and those conditions, whatever they may be, are evidently the originators of the moral and intellectual conduct of the great average of mankind.

Here, then, we have a basis on which we can safely proceed. We know that the main cause of human actions is extremely variable ; we have only, therefore, to apply this test to any set of circumstances which are supposed to be the cause, and if we find that such circumstances are not very variable, we must infer that they are not the cause we are attempting to discover.

Applying this test to moral motives, or to the dictates of what is called moral instinct, we shall at once see how extremely small is the influence those motives have exercised over the progress of civilization. For there is, unquestionably, nothing to be found in the world which has undergone so little change as those great dogmas of which moral systems are composed. To do good to others ; to

[13] To what has been already stated, I will add the opinions of two of the most profound among modern thinkers. "Men, I think, have been much the same for natural endowments in all times." *Conduct of the Understanding*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 361. "Les dispositions primitives agissent également chez les peuples barbares et chez les peuples policés ; ils sont vraisemblablement les mêmes dans tous les lieux et dans tous les tems. . . . Plus il y aura d'hommes, et plus vous aurez de grands hommes ou d'hommes propres à devenir grands." *Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. p. 264. The remarks of Dr. Brown (*Lectures on the Mind*, p. 57), if I rightly understand his rhetorical language, apply not to natural capacity, but to that which is acquired : see the end of his ninth Lecture. [Locke, of course, proceeded on the belief that the human species had been created about six thousand years ago, and he was arguing against the assumption that the understanding of the ancients was *superior* to that of the moderns. Turgot, again, may have meant not that average capacity was the same among savages and civilized, but simply that variation of capacity—involving a certain proportion of genius—takes place at all stages.—Ed.]

sacrifice for their benefit your own wishes ; to love your neighbour as yourself ; to forgive your enemies ; to restrain your passions ; to honour your parents ; to respect those who are set over you ; these, and a few others, are the sole essentials of morals ; but they have been known for thousands of years, and not one jot or tittle has been added to them by all the sermons, homilies, and text-books which moralists and theologians have been able to produce.[14]

But if we contrast this stationary aspect of moral truths with the progressive aspect of intellectual truths, the difference is indeed startling.[15] All the great

[14] That the system of morals propounded in the New Testament contained no maxim which had not been previously enunciated, and that some of the most beautiful passages in the Apostolic writings are quotations from Pagan authors, is well known to every scholar ; and so far from supplying, as some suppose, an objection against Christianity, it is a strong recommendation of it, as indicating the intimate relation between the doctrines of Christ and the moral sympathies of mankind in different ages. But to assert that Christianity communicated to man moral truths previously unknown, argues, on the part of the assertor, either gross ignorance or else wilful fraud. For evidence of the knowledge of moral truths possessed by barbarous nations, independently of Christianity, and for the most part previous to its promulgation, compare *Mackay's Religious Development*, vol. ii pp. 376-380 ; *Mure's Hist. of Greek Literature*, vol. ii. p. 398, vol. iii. p. 380 ; *Prescott's History of Mexico*, vol. i. p. 31 ; *Elphinstone's History of India*, p. 47 ; *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. i. pp. 87, 168, vol. iii. pp. 105, 114 ; *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. p. 419 ; *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. i. pp. 364–366 ; *Beausobre, Histoire de Manichée*, vol. i. pp. 318, 319 ; *Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 193 ; *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 198 ; *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 5, vol. iii. pp. 283, 284 ; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 271, vol. vii. p. 40, vol. xvi. pp. 130, 277, vol. xx. pp. 460, 461 ; *The Dabistan*, vol. i. pp. 328, 338 ; *Catlin's North-American Indians*, vol. ii. p. 243 ; *Syme's Embassy to Ava*, vol. ii. p. 389 ; *Davis's Chinese*, vol. i. p. 196, vol. ii. pp. 136, 233 ; *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. iv. p. 77, Paris, 1824. [Buckle has been severely criticized for his statement as to "some of the most beautiful passages in the Apostolic writings." The known passages in question are :—Acts xvii. 29 ; 1 Cor. xv. 33 (from Menander) ; and Romans vii. 15 (echoing Ovid, but probably proverbial). His phrase was thus unduly loose. But his main proposition is now above dispute. As regards the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, he might have cited Hennell, *Inquiry Concerning the Origin of Christianity*, 1838, ch. xvii. Compare Professor Flint, *St. Giles Lectures : The Faiths of the World*, p. 419.—Ed.]

[15] Sir James Mackintosh was so struck by the stationary character of moral principles, that he denies the possibility of their advance, and boldly affirms that no further discoveries can be made in morals : "Morality admits no discoveries. . . . More than three thousand years have elapsed since the composition of the Pentateuch ; and let any man, if he is able, tell me in what important respect the rule of life has varied since that distant period. Let the Institutes of Menu be explored with the same view ; we shall arrive at the same conclusion. Let the books of false religion be opened ; it will be found that their moral system is, in all its grand features, the same. . . . The fact is evident, that no improvements have been made in practical morality. . . . The facts which lead to the formation of moral rules are as accessible, and must be as obvious, to the simplest barbarian as to the most enlightened philosopher. . . . The case of the physical and speculative sciences is directly opposite. There the facts are remote and scarcely accessible. . . . From the countless variety of the facts with which they are conversant, it is impossible to prescribe any bounds to their future improvement. It is otherwise with morals. They have hitherto been stationary ; and, in my opinion, they are likely for ever to continue so." *Life of Mackintosh, edited by his Son*, London, 1835, vol. i. pp. 119–122. Condorcet (*Vie de Turgot*, p. 180) says, "La morale de toutes les nations a été la même ;" and Kant (*Logik*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. i. p. 356), "In der Moral-philosophie sind wir nicht weiter gekommen, als die Alten." [Mackintosh's thesis (which had been previously put by Burke : "We know that *we* make no discoveries, and we think that no discoveries are to be made, in morality," *Reflections on the French Revolution*, ed. 1790, p. 128) obscures the facts inasmuch as it fails to note that much of the ethics of the Pentateuch and of the Institutes of Menu is now repudiated by all civilized moralists. The truth

moral systems which have exercised much influence, have been fundamentally the same ; all the great intellectual systems have been fundamentally different. In reference to our moral conduct, there is not a single principle now known to the most cultivated Europeans, which was not likewise known to the ancients. In reference to the conduct of our intellect, the moderns have not only made the most important additions to every department of knowledge that the ancients ever attempted to study, but besides this, they have upset and revolutionized the old methods of inquiry ; they have consolidated into one great scheme all those resources of induction which Aristotle alone dimly perceived ; and they have created sciences, the faintest idea of which never entered the mind of the boldest thinker antiquity produced.

These are, to every educated man, recognized and notorious facts ; and the inference to be drawn from them is immediately obvious. Since civilization is the product of moral and intellectual agencies, and since that product is constantly changing, it evidently cannot be regulated by the stationary agent ; because, when surrounding circumstances are unchanged, a stationary agent can only produce a stationary effect. The only other agent is the intellectual one ; and that this is the real mover may be proved in two distinct ways : first, because being, as we have already seen, either moral or intellectual, and being, as we have also seen, not moral, it must be intellectual ; and secondly, because the intellectual principle has an activity and a capacity for adaptation, which, as I undertake to show, is quite sufficient to account for the extraordinary progress that, during several centuries, Europe has continued to make.

Such are the main arguments by which my view is supported ; but there are also other and collateral circumstances which are well worthy of consideration. The first is, that the intellectual principle is not only far more progressive than the moral principle, but is also far more permanent in its results. The acquisitions made by the intellect are, in every civilized country, carefully preserved, registered in certain well-understood formulas, and protected by the use of technical and scientific language ; they are easily handed down from one generation to another, and thus assuming an accessible, or, as it were, a tangible form, they often influence the most distant posterity, they become the heirlooms of mankind, the immortal bequest of the genius to which they owe their birth. But the good deeds effected by our moral faculties are less capable of transmission ; they are of a more private and retiring character ; while, as the motives to which they owe their origin are generally the result of self-discipline and of self-sacrifice, they have to be worked out by every man for himself ; and thus, begun by each anew, they derive little benefit from the maxims of preceding experience, nor can they well be stored up for the use of future moralists. The consequence is, that although moral excellence is more amiable, and to most persons more attractive, than intellectual excellence, still it must be confessed that, looking at ulterior results, it is far less active, less permanent, and, as I shall presently prove, less productive of real good. Indeed, if we examine the effects of the most active philanthropy, and of the largest and most disinterested kindness, we shall find

contained in the thesis is, that the essential principle of all morals, sympathy or reciprocity, was very anciently formulated among all civilized peoples, and is not yet generally acted on. Mackintosh wrote in a mood of despondency after the miscarriage of the French Revolution (*Life*, as cited, i, 123, 129, 131), and fell back, as men have done since, on a denial of all moral progress because of a great relapse in national practice. But the higher moral doctrines of antiquity were themselves the expression not only of a long prior evolution, but of the special moral insight of the few ; and the question resolves itself into one of the successful application of the principles men profess to accept. While that application is still very imperfect, it is much less so than it was in the very codes cited by Mackintosh ; *e.g.* in respect to slavery, toleration, and the treatment of criminals, the insane, the sick, the poor, and the vanquished in war—all matters of "practical morality." The problem can be rightly seen only in the light of the theory of evolution, which regards human progress as a far more protracted process than it was formerly held to be.—Ed.]

that those effects are, comparatively speaking, short-lived ; that there is only a small number of individuals they come in contact with and benefit ; that they rarely survive the generation which witnessed their commencement ; and that, when they take the more durable form of founding great public charities, such institutions invariably fall, first into abuse, then into decay, and after a time are either destroyed, or perverted from their original intention, mocking the effort by which it is vainly attempted to perpetuate the memory even of the purest and most energetic benevolence.

These conclusions are no doubt very unpalatable ; and what makes them peculiarly offensive is, that it is impossible to refute them. For the deeper we penetrate into this question, the more clearly shall we see the superiority of intellectual acquisitions over moral feeling.[16] There is no instance on record of an ignorant man who, having good intentions, and supreme power to enforce them, has not done far more evil than good. And whenever the intentions have been very eager, and the power very extensive, the evil has been enormous. But if you can diminish the sincerity of that man, if you can mix some alloy with his motives, you will likewise diminish the evil which he works. If he is selfish as well as ignorant, it will often happen that you may play off his vice against his ignorance, and by exciting his fears restrain his mischief. If, however, he has no fear, if he is entirely unselfish, if his sole object is the good of others, if he pursues that object with enthusiasm, upon a large scale, and with disinterested zeal, then it is that you have no check upon him, you have no means of preventing the calamities which, in an ignorant age, an ignorant man will be sure to inflict. How entirely this is verified by experience, we may see in studying the history of religious persecution. To punish even a single man for his religious tenets, is assuredly a crime of the deepest dye ; but to punish a large body of men, to persecute an entire sect, to attempt to extirpate opinions which, growing out of the state of society in which they arise, are themselves a manifestation of the marvellous and luxuriant fertility of the human mind,—to do this is not only one of the most pernicious but one of the most foolish acts that can possibly be conceived. Nevertheless, it is an undoubted fact that an overwhelming majority of religious persecutors have been men of the purest intentions, of the most admirable and unsullied morals.* It is impossible that this should be otherwise. For they are not bad-intentioned men who seek to enforce opinions which they believe to be good. Still less are they bad men who are so regardless of temporal considerations as to employ all the resources of their power, not for their own benefit, but for the purpose of propagating a religion which they think necessary to the future happiness of mankind. Such men as these are not bad, they are only ignorant ; ignorant of the nature of truth, ignorant of the consequences of their own acts. But in a moral point of view, their motives are unimpeachable. Indeed, it is the very ardour of their sincerity which warms them into persecution. It is the holy zeal by which they are fired, that quickens their fanaticism into a deadly activity. If you can impress any man with an absorbing conviction of the supreme importance of some moral or religious doctrine ; if you can make him believe that those who reject that doctrine are doomed to eternal perdition ; if you then give that man power, and by means of his ignorance blind him to the

[16] One part of the argument is well stated by Cuvier, who says, " Le bien que l'on fait aux hommes, quelque grand qu'il soit, est toujours passager ; les vérités qu'on leur laisse sont éternelles." *Cuvier, Éloges Historiques*, vol. ii. p. 304. [This does not justify the use of the expression " superiority over." The true formula is, in the terms of the case, " wider effectiveness than." And it is partly illegitimate to draw an absolute distinction between " intellectual acquisitions " and moral feeling when in the terms of the case the former include moral perceptions, and when there can be no such perception without a concomitant moral feeling.—Ed.]

[* Such a proposition is clearly incapable of proof. In ages of persecution the majority are persecutors, and Buckle had just before said (p. 102) that the " immense majority of men " must always be " neither very virtuous nor very vicious." He is now forcing his argument for the purpose of his immediate thesis.—Ed.]

ulterior consequences of his own act,—he will infallibly persecute those who deny his doctrine ; and the extent of his persecution will be regulated by the extent of his sincerity. Diminish the sincerity,* and you will diminish the persecution : in other words, by weakening the virtue you may check the evil. This is a truth of which history furnishes such innumerable examples that to deny it would be not only to reject the plainest and most conclusive arguments, but to refuse the concurrent testimony of every age. I will merely select two cases, which, from the entire difference in their circumstances, are very apposite as illustrations : the first being from the history of Paganism, the other from the history of Christianity ; and both proving the inability of moral feelings to control religious persecution.

I. The Roman emperors, as is well known, subjected the early Christians to persecutions, which, though they have been exaggerated, were frequent and very grievous But, what to some persons must appear extremely strange, is, that among the active authors of these cruelties, we find the names of the best men who ever sat on the throne ; while the worst and most infamous princes were precisely those who spared the Christians, and took no heed of their increase. The two most thoroughly depraved of all the emperors were certainly Commodus and Elagabalus ; neither of whom persecuted the new religion, or indeed adopted any measures against it. They were too reckless of the future, too selfish, too absorbed in their own infamous pleasures, to mind whether truth or error prevailed ; and being thus indifferent to the welfare of their subjects, they cared nothing about the progress of a creed, which they, as Pagan emperors, were bound to regard as a fatal and impious delusion. They therefore allowed Christianity to run its course, unchecked by those penal laws which more honest, but more mistaken, rulers would assuredly have enacted.[17] We find, accordingly, that the great enemy of Christianity was Marcus Aurelius, a man of kindly temper, and of fearless, unflinching honesty, but whose reign was characterized by a persecution from which he would have refrained had he been less in earnest about the religion of his fathers.[18] And to complete the argument, it may be added, that the last and one of the most strenuous of the opponents of Christianity who

[17] " The first year of Commodus must be the epocha of the toleration. From all these authorities, it appears beyond exception that Commodus put a stop to the persecution in the first year of his reign. . . . Not one writer, either heathen or Christian, makes Commodus a persecutor." *Letters concerning the Thundering Legion*, in *Moyle's Works*, vol. ii. p. 266, London, 1726. " Heliogabalus also, though in other respects the most infamous of all princes, and perhaps the most odious of all mortals, showed no marks of bitterness or aversion to the disciples of Jesus." *Mosheim's Eccl. History*, vol. i. p. 66 : see also *Milman's Hist. of Christianity*, Lond. 1840, vol. ii. p. 225.

[18] Dr. Milman (*History of Christianity*, 1840, vol. ii. p. 159) says, " A blameless disciple in the severest school of philosophic morality, the austerity of Marcus rivalled that of the Christians in its contempt of the follies and diversions of life ; yet his native kindliness of disposition was not hardened or embittered by the severity or the pride of his philosophy. With Aurelius, nevertheless, Christianity found not only a fair and high-minded competitor for the command of the human mind ; not only a rival in the exaltation of the soul of man to higher views and more dignified motives ; but a violent and intolerant persecutor." M. Guizot compares him with Louis IX. of France ; and certainly there was in both an evident connexion between sincerity and persecution : " Marc Aurèle et saint Louis sont peut être les deux seuls princes qui, en toute occasion, aient fait de leurs croyances morales la première règle de leur conduite : Marc Aurèle, stoicien ; saint Louis, chrétien." *Guizot, Civilisation en France*, vol. iv. p. 142. Even Duplessis Mornay (*Mém.* vol. iv. p. 374) calls him " le meilleur des empereurs payens ; " and Ritter (*Hist. of Philos.* vol. iv. p. 222), " the virtuous and noble emperor."

[* The expression here is again lax. It should be " diminish his conviction." Sincerity is correlative with profession : with diminished conviction, sincerity would involve diminution of persecution. Men may persecute unrelentingly from sheer malice—a circumstance not noted by Buckle.—Ed.]

occupied the throne of the Cæsars was Julian ; a prince of eminent probity, whose opinions are often attacked, but against whose moral conduct even calumny itself has hardly breathed a suspicion.[19]

II. The second illustration is supplied by Spain ; a country of which it must be confessed that in no other have religious feelings exercised such sway over the affairs of men. No other European nation has produced so many ardent and disinterested missionaries, zealous self-denying martyrs, who have cheerfully sacrificed their lives in order to propagate truths which they thought necessary to be known. Nowhere else have the spiritual classes been so long in the ascendant ; nowhere else are the people so devout, the churches so crowded, the clergy so numerous. But the sincerity and the honesty of purpose by which the Spanish people, taken as a whole, have always been marked, have not only been unable to prevent religious persecution, but have proved the means of encouraging it. If the nation had been more lukewarm, it would have been more tolerant. As it was, the preservation of the faith became the first consideration ; and everything being sacrificed to this one object, it naturally happened that zeal begat cruelty, and the soil was prepared in which the Inquisition took root and flourished.* The supporters of that barbarous institution were not hypocrites, but

[19] Neander (*History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 122) observes, that the best emperors opposed Christianity, and that the worst ones were indifferent to its encroachments. The same remark, in regard to Marcus and Commodus, is made by Gibbon ; *Decline and Fall*, chap. xvi p. 220, Lond. 1836. Another writer, of a very different character, ascribes this peculiarity to the wiles of the devil : " In the primitive times, it is observed that the best emperors were some of them stirred up by Satan to be the bitterest persecutors of the Church." *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 85. [The problem of the persecutions of the early Church is not so simple as it is here made to seem. Some emperors of good character are not charged with persecution at all—*e.g.* Titus, Nerva, Pertinax, and Alexander Severus ; while Hadrian, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius are credited with restraining it ; and Julian, the most theological of all the emperors, abstained from it under great provocation. He was a " strenuous opponent " by way of criticism, not at all by way of coercion. The persecution charged upon Domitian is doubtful ; but if it be admitted, it upsets Buckle's rule on the other side also. As regards Marcus Aurelius, he has been misled by Milman, who reproduced one of Mosheim's imputations (*De rebus Christianorum*, saec. ii. § 15) without acknowledging that in a footnote Mosheim cancels the charge, and that in the later *Ecclesiastical History* he treats it as cancelled. Milman seems to have made no analysis of Mosheim's original grounds, which are untenable, and to have overlooked or ignored the express testimony of Tertullian (Apol. 5) to the protection of the Christians by Marcus Aurelius. Renan justifiably sums up that " Marc Aurèle ne changea rien aux règles établies contre les chrétiens. Les persécutions étaient la conséquence des principes fondamentaux de l'empire en fait d'association. Marc Aurèle, loin d'exagérer la législation antérieure, l'atténua de toutes ses forces, et une des gloires de son règne est l'extension qu'il donna aux droits des collèges " (*Marc Aurèle*, p. 57). The laws from which the Christians suffered were directed against all secret societies, not against religions as such ; and while the Christians must have suffered much from local pagan malice, they often gave much provocation by their attitude towards pagan

[* Buckle here ignores the facts that the Spanish people made a prolonged and strenuous resistance to the establishment of the Inquisition, even murdering an Inquisitor before the altar. See *U. R. Burke, History of Spain*, 1895, ii., 97, 98, 101, 103, 111 ; *McCrie, The Reformation in Spain*, ed. 1856, pp. 52–3 ; *Llorente, Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition de l'Espagne*, 2 e éd. i., 185–213 ; and *Armstrong, Introd.* to Major Hume's *Spain*, pp. 14, 18. He further disregards the fact that, before the Reformation, " nowhere was the persecution of heretics more relentless than in the Netherlands "—at the hands of their fellow-countrymen (*Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 1-vol. ed. 1863, pp. 36, 81, 132). Philip II. pointed out that " the Inquisition of the Netherlands is much more pitiless than that of Spain." *Motley*, p. 174. And see below, *note* 23. Finally, as regards Spain before the Inquisition " it appears in general that heretics were more mildly treated there than in other countries " (*McCrie*, as cited, p. 41).—Ed.]

enthusiasts. Hypocrites are for the most part too supple to be cruel. For cruelty is a stern and unbending passion; while hypocrisy is a fawning and flexible art, which accommodates itself to human feelings, and flatters the weakness of men in order that it may gain its own ends. In Spain, the earnestness of the nation, being concentrated on a single topic, carried everything before it; and hatred of heresy becoming a habit, persecution of heresy was thought a duty. The conscientious energy with which that duty was fulfilled is seen in the history of the Spanish Church. Indeed, that the inquisitors were remarkable for an undeviating and incorruptible integrity, may be proved in a variety of ways, and from different and independent sources of evidence.* This is a question to which I shall hereafter return; but there are two testimonies which I cannot omit, because, from the circumstances attending them, they are peculiarly unimpeachable. Llorente, the great historian of the Inquisition, and its bitter enemy, had access to its private papers; and yet, with the fullest means of information, he does not even insinuate a charge against the moral character of the inquisitors; but while execrating the cruelty of their conduct, he cannot deny the purity of their intentions.[20] Thirty years earlier, Townsend, a clergyman of the Church of England, published his valuable work on Spain;[21] and though, as a Protestant and an Englishman, he had every reason to be prejudiced against the infamous system which he describes, he also can bring no charge against those who upheld it; but having occasion to mention its establishment at Barcelona, one of its most important branches, he makes the remarkable admission, that all its members are men of worth, and that most of them are of distinguished humanity.[22]

These facts, startling as they are, form a very small part of that vast mass of evidence which history contains, and which decisively proves the utter inability of moral feelings to diminish religious persecution. The way in which the diminu-

life and towards the empire, as well as by actual sacrilege. There is not the least reason to suppose that Commodus abrogated any oppressive laws, or passed any protective ones; and the relative immunity alleged of his reign is fairly to be ascribed to the reforms of Marcus (refs. in Renan, p. 29), respect for whom seems also to have made the Christians latterly less aggressive. Elagabalus, though vicious, was a cult-maker, and ought on Buckle's theory to have been a persecutor.—Ed.]

[20] By which, indeed, he is sorely puzzled. "On reconnaîtra mon impartialité dans quelques circonstances où je fais remarquer chez les inquisiteurs des dispositions généreuses: ce qui me porte à croire que les atroces sentences rendues par le Saint-Office, sont plutôt une conséquence de ses lois organiques, qu'un effet du caractère particulier de ses membres." *Llorente, Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne,* vol. i. p. xxiii.: compare vol. ii. pp. 267, 268, vol. iv. p. 153. [Llorente's statement is not here rightly interpreted. He speaks only of "quelques circonstances" of a favourable kind, and goes on to say that "les inquisiteurs des règnes de Ferdinand VI., de Charles III., et de Charles IV., ont tenu une conduite *si differente de ce qu'on avait vu dans les premiers siècles de l'Inquisition,* qu'ils paraissent des modèles de douceur." Townsend's testimony likewise applies only to the eighteenth century, when great restraints had been put on the Inquisition. —Ed.]

[21] Highly spoken of by the late Blanco White, a most competent judge. See *Doblado's Letters from Spain,* p. 5.

[22] "It is, however, universally acknowledged, for the credit of the corps at Barcelona, that all its members are men of worth, and most of them distinguished for humanity." *Townsend's Journey through Spain in* 1786 *and* 1787, vol. i. p. 122, Lond. 1792.

[* This statement must be pronounced extravagant. Not only are the inquisitors proved (*a*) to have adopted grossly unfair judicial methods, and (*b*) to have accepted the most worthless testimony against accused persons, while permitting only the most unimpeachable to be heard for them (*McCrie,* as cited, p. 48, and refs.), but it was formally charged against them in the report of the Grand Junto in 1696 that "the slightest offence, the least injury, against their servants, attracts their vengeance, and they punish it as if it were a crime against religion, observing neither rule nor measure" (Llorente, as cited, iv. 13).—Ed.]

tion has been really effected by the mere progress of intellectual acquirements, will be pointed out in another part of this volume ; when we shall see that the great antagonist of intolerance is not humanity, but knowledge. It is to the diffusion of knowledge, and to that alone, that we owe the comparative cessation of what is unquestionably the greatest evil men have ever inflicted on their own species. For that religious persecution is a greater evil than any other, is apparent, not so much from the enormous and almost incredible number of its known victims,[23] as from the fact that the unknown must be far more numerous, and that history gives no account of those who have been spared in the body, in order that they might suffer in the mind. We hear much of martyrs and confessors—of those who were slain by the sword, or consumed in the fire ; but we know little of that still larger number who by the mere threat of persecution have been driven into an outward abandonment of their real opinions; and who, thus forced into an apostasy the heart abhors, have passed the remainder of their life in the practice of a constant and humiliating hypocrisy. It is this which is the real curse of religious persecution. For in this way, men being constrained to mask their thoughts, there arises a habit of securing safety by falsehood, and of purchasing impunity with deceit. In this way, fraud becomes a necessary of life ; insincerity is made a daily custom ; the whole tone of public feeling is vitiated, and the gross amount of vice and of error fearfully increased.* Surely, then, we have reason to say that, compared to this, all other crimes are of small account ; and we may well be grateful for that increase of intellectual pursuits which has destroyed an evil that some among us would even now willingly restore.

The principle I am advocating is of such immense importance in practice as well as in theory, that I will give yet another instance of the energy with which it works. The second greatest evil known to mankind—the one by which, with the exception of religious persecution, most suffering has been caused—is, unquestionably, the practice of war. That this barbarous pursuit is, in the progress of society, steadily declining, must be evident, even to the most hasty reader of European history.[24] If we compare one century with another, we shall find that for a very long period wars have been becoming less frequent ; and now so clearly is the movement marked, that until the late commencement of hostilities we had remained at peace for nearly forty years : a circumstance unparalleled, not

[23] In 1546, the Venetian ambassador at the court of the Emperor Charles V. stated, in an official report to his own government on his return home, " that in Holland and in Friesland, more than 30,000 persons have suffered death at the hands of justice for Anabaptist errors." *Correspondence of Charles V. and his Ambassadors*, edited by William Bradford, Lond. 8vo, 1850, p. 471. In Spain, the Inquisition, during the eighteen years of Torquemada's ministry, punished, according to the lowest estimate, upwards of 105,000 persons, of whom 8,800 were burned. *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 265. In Andalusia alone, during a single year, the Inquisition put to death 2,000 Jews, " besides 17,000 who underwent some form of punishment less severe than that of the stake." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 410. For other statistical evidence on this horrible subject, see *Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. pp. 160, 229, 238, 239, 279, 280, 406, 407, 455, vol. ii. pp. 77, 116, 376, vol. iv. p. 31 ; and, above all, the summary at pp. 242–273.

[24] On the diminished love of war, which is even more marked than the actual diminution of war, see some interesting remarks in *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. iv. pp. 488, 713, vol. vi. pp. 68, 424–436, where the antagonism between the military spirit and the industrial spirit is, on the whole, well worked out ; though some of the leading phenomena have escaped the attention of this eminent philosopher, from his want of acquaintance with the history and present state of political economy.

[* The " real curse of religious persecution " goes further than this. The most serious result in Spain has been on one hand the elimination of the best intelligence, and on the other the paralysis of what is left. In a later chapter Buckle speaks of the Spanish people as " high-minded, generous, *truthful, full of* integrity, warm and zealous friends . . . frank, charitable, and humane." That does not consist with the present proposition.—Ed.]

only in our own country, but also in the annals of every other country which has been important enough to play a leading part in the affairs of the world.[25] The question arises, as to what share our moral feelings have had in bringing about this great improvement. And if this question is answered, not according to preconceived opinions, but according to the evidence we possess, the answer will certainly be, that those feelings have had no share at all. For it surely will not be pretended that the moderns have made any discoveries respecting the moral evils of war. On this head, nothing is now known that has not been known for many centuries. That defensive wars are just, and that offensive wars are unjust, are the only two principles which, on this subject, moralists are able to teach. These two principles were as clearly laid down, as well understood, and as universally admitted, in the Middle Ages, when there was never a week without war, as they are at the present moment, when war is deemed a rare and singular occurrence. Since, then, the actions of men respecting war have been gradually changing, while their moral knowledge respecting it has not been changing, it is palpably evident that the changeable effect has not been produced by the unchangeable cause. It is impossible to conceive an argument more decisive than this. If it can be proved that, during the last thousand years, moralists or theologians have pointed out a single evil caused by war, the existence of which was unknown to their predecessors,—if this can be proved, I will abandon the view for which I am contending. But if, as I most confidently assert, this cannot be proved, then it must be conceded, that, no additions having been made on this subject to the stock of morals, no additions can have been made to the result which the morals produce.[26]

Thus far as to the influence exercised by moral feelings in increasing our distaste for war. But if, on the other hand, we turn to the human intellect, in the narrowest sense of the term, we shall find that every great increase in its activity has been a heavy blow to the war-like spirit. The full evidence for this I shall hereafter detail at considerable length; and in this Introduction I can only pretend to bring forward a few of those prominent points which, being on the surface of history, will be at once understood.

Of these points, one of the most obvious is, that every important addition made to knowledge increases the authority of the intellectual classes, by increasing the resources which they have to wield. Now, the antagonism between these classes and the military class is evident: it is the antagonism between thought

[25] In *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, 1847, vol. iii. p. 137, this prolonged peace is gravely ascribed to "the wisdom of the adjustment of 1815;" in other words, to the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna!

[26] Unless more zeal has been displayed in the diffusion of moral and religious principles; in which case it would be possible for the principles to be stationary, and yet their effects be progressive. But so far from this, it is certain that in the Middle Ages there were, relatively to the population, more churches than there are now; the spiritual classes were far more numerous, the proselyting spirit far more eager, and there was a much stronger determination to prevent purely scientific inferences from encroaching on ethical ones. Indeed, during the Middle Ages, the moral and religious literature outweighed all the profane literature put together; and surpassed it, not only in bulk, but also in the ability of its cultivators. Now, however, the generalizations of moralists have ceased to control the affairs of men, and have made way for the larger doctrine of expediency, which includes all interests and all classes. Systematic writers on morals reached their zenith in the thirteenth century; fell off rapidly after that period; were, as Coleridge well says, opposed by "the genius of Protestantism:" and, by the end of the seventeenth century, became extinct in the most civilized countries; the *Ductor Dubitantium* of Jeremy Taylor being the last comprehensive attempt of a man of genius to mould society solely according to the maxims of moralists. Compare two interesting passages in *Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. i. p. 338, and *Coleridge's Friend*, vol. iii. p. 104. [The phrase "systematic writers on morals" here applies, of course, to the *a priori* moralists, and especially to the casuists. Buckle has been charged with gross error in this passage on the strength of a gross misconception.—Ed.]

and action, between the internal and the external, between argument and violence, between persuasion and force ; or, to sum up the whole, between men who live by the pursuits of peace and those who live by the practice of war. Whatever, therefore, is favourable to one class, is manifestly unfavourable to the other. Supposing the remaining circumstances to be the same, it must happen, that as the intellectual acquisitions of a people increase, their love of war will diminish ; and if their intellectual acquisitions are very small, their love of war will be very great.[27] In perfectly barbarous countries, there are no intellectual acquisitions ; and the mind being a blank and dreary waste, the only resource is external activity,[28] the only merit personal courage. No account is made of any man unless he has killed an enemy ; and the more he has killed, the greater the reputation he enjoys.[29] This is the purely savage state ; and it is the state in which military glory is most esteemed, and military men most respected.[30] From this frightful debasement, even up to the summit of civilization, there is a long series of consecutive steps ; gradations, at each of which something is taken from the dominion of force, and something given to the authority of thought. Slowly, and one by one, the intellectual and pacific classes begin to arise ; at first held in

[27] Herder boldly asserts that man, originally and by virtue of his organization, is peaceably disposed ; but this opinion is decisively refuted by the immense additions which, since the time of Herder, have been made to our knowledge of the feelings and habits of savages. " Indessen ist's wahr, dass der Bau des Menschen vorzüglich auf die Vertheidigung, nicht auf den Angriff gerichtet ist : in diesem muss ihm die Kunst zu Hülfe kommen, in jener aber ist er von Natur das kräftigste Geschöpf der Erde. Seine Gestalt selbst lehret ihn also Friedlichkeit, nicht räuberische Mordverwüstung,—der Humanität erstes Merkmal." *Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 185.

[28] Hence, no doubt, that acuteness of the senses, natural and indeed necessary to an early state of society, and which, being at the expense of the reflecting faculties, assimilates man to the lower animals. See *Carpenter's Human Physiology*, p. 404 ; and a fine passage in *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 12 : " Das abstehende thierische Ohr, das gleichsam immer lauscht und horchet, das kleine scharfe Auge, das in der weitesten Ferne den kleinsten Rauch oder Staub gewahr wird, der weisse hervorbleckende, knochenbenagende Zahn, der dicke Hals und die zurückgebogene Stellung ihres Kopfes auf demselben." Compare *Prichard's Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. i. pp. 292 293 ; *Azara, Amérique Méridionale*, vol. ii. p. 18 ; *Wrangle's Polar Expedition*, p. 384 ; *Pallme's Travels in Kordofan*, pp. 132, 133.

[29] " Among some Macedonian tribes, the man who had never slain an enemy was marked by a degrading badge." *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. xi. p. 397. Among the Dyaks of Borneo, " a man cannot marry until he has procured a human head ; and he that has several may be distinguished by his proud and lofty bearing, for it constitutes his patent of nobility." *Earl's Account of Borneo*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 181. See also *Crawfurd on Borneo*, in *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xxiii. pp. 77, 80. And for similar instances of this absorption of all other ideas into warlike ones, compare *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. x. p. 357 ; *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, pp. 158, 159, 195 ; *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 226, 284, vol. viii. p. 209 ; *Henderson's History of Brazil*, p. 475 ; *Southey's History of Brazil*, vol. i. pp. 126, 248 ; *Asiatic Researches*, vol ii. p. 188, vol. vii. p. 193 ; *Transactions of Bombay Society*, vol. ii. pp. 51, 52 ; *Hoskins' Travels in Ethiopia*, p. 163 ; *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. pp. 333, 334 note. See also the Thracians : γῆς δὲ ἐργάτην ἀτιμότατον. τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ πολέμου καὶ λῃϊστύος, κάλλιστον. *Herodotus*, book v. chap. 6, vol. iii. p. 10, edit. Baehr.

[30] Malcolm (*History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 204) says of the Tartars, " There is only one path to eminence, that of military renown." Thus, too, in the *Institutes of Timour*, p. 269 : " He only is equal to stations of power and dignity who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating hostile armies." The same turn of mind is shown in the frequency and evident delight with which Homer relates battles—a peculiarity noticed in *Mure's Greek Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64, where an attempt is made to turn it into an argument to prove that the Homeric poems are all by the same author ; though the more legitimate inference would be that the poems were all composed in a barbarous age.

great contempt by warriors, but nevertheless gradually gaining ground, increasing in number and in power, and at each increase weakening that old military spirit in which all other tendencies had formerly been absorbed. Trade, commerce, manufactures, law, diplomacy, literature, science, philosophy,—all these things, originally unknown, become organized into separate studies, each study having a separate class, and each class insisting on the importance of its own pursuit. Of these classes, some are, no doubt, less pacific than others; but even those which are the least pacific are of course more so than men whose associations are entirely military, and who see in every fresh war that chance of personal distinction, from which, during peace, they are altogether debarred.[31]

Thus it is that, as civilization advances, an equipoise is established, and military ardour is balanced by motives which none but a cultivated people can feel. But among a people whose intellect is not cultivated, such a balance can never exist. Of this we see a good illustration in the history of the present war.[32] For the peculiarity of the great contest in which we are engaged is, that it was produced, not by the conflicting interests of civilized countries, but by a rupture between Russia and Turkey, the two most barbarous monarchies now remaining in Europe. This is a very significant fact. It is highly characteristic of the actual condition of society, that a peace of unexampled length should have been broken, not, as former peaces were broken, by a quarrel between two civilized nations, but by the encroachments of the uncivilized Russians on the still more uncivilized Turks. At an earlier period, the influence of intellectual, and therefore pacific, habits was indeed constantly increasing, but was still too weak, even in the most advanced countries, to control the old warlike habits: hence there arose a desire for conquest, which often outweighed all other feelings, and induced great nations like France and England to attack each other on the slightest pretence, and seek every opportunity of gratifying the vindictive hatred with which each contemplated the prosperity of its neighbour. Such, however, is now the progress of affairs, that these two nations, laying aside the peevish and irritable jealousy they once entertained, are united in a common cause, and have drawn the sword, not for selfish purposes, but to protect the civilized world against the incursions of a barbarous foe.*

This is the leading feature which distinguishes the present war from its predecessors. That a peace should last for nearly forty years, and should then be interrupted, not, as heretofore, by hostilities between civilized states, but by the ambition of the only empire which is at once powerful and uncivilized,—is one of many proofs that a dislike to war is a cultivated taste peculiar to an intellectual people. For no one will pretend that the military predilections of Russia are

[31] To the prospect of personal distinction, there was formerly added that of wealth; and in Europe, during the Middle Ages, war was a very lucrative profession, owing to the custom of exacting heavy ransom for the liberty of prisoners. See Barrington's learned work, *Observations on the Statutes*, pp. 390–393. In the reign of Richard II. "a war with France was esteemed as almost the only method by which an English gentleman could become rich." Compare *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 21. Sainte Palaye (*Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, vol. i. p. 311) says, "La guerre enrichissoit alors par le butin, et par les rançons, celui qui la faisoit avec le plus de valeur, de vigilance et d'activité. La rançon étoit, ce semble, pour l'ordinaire, une année des revenus du prisonnier." For an analogy with this, see *Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. i. p. 208, sec. 3, and vol. ii. p 265, sec. 13. In Europe, the custom of paying a ransom for prisoners-of-war survived the Middle Ages, and was only put an end to by the peace of Munster, in 1648. *Manning's Commentaries on the Law of Nations*, 1839, p. 162; and on the profits formerly made, pp. 157, 158.

[32] I wrote this in 1855.

[* This favourable view of the Crimean war is now almost universally abandoned. It appears that Buckle himself was thus carried away by the popular infatuation of his day, while men of a more idealistic turn of mind—including such different types as Bright and Carlyle—took the sanely critical view. The spirit of social science was, however, represented among them by Cobden.—Ed.]

caused by a low state of morals, or by a disregard of religious duties. So far from this, all the evidence we have, shows that vicious habits are not more common in Russia than in France or England ;[33] and it is certain that the Russians submit to the teachings of the church with a docility greater than that displayed by their civilized opponents.[34] It is, therefore, clear that Russia is a warlike country, not because the inhabitants are immoral, but because they are unintellectual.* The fault is in the head, not in the heart. In Russia, the national intellect being little cultivated, the intellectual classes lack influence ; the military class, therefore, is supreme. In this early stage of society, there is as yet no middle rank,[35] and consequently the thoughtful and pacific habits which spring from the middle ranks have no existence. The minds of men, deprived of mental pursuits,[36] naturally turn to warlike ones, as the only resource remaining to them. Hence it is that in Russia all ability is estimated by a military standard. The army is considered to be the greatest glory of the country : to win a battle, or outwit an enemy, is valued as one of the noblest achievements of life ; and civilians, whatever their merits may be, are despised by this barbarous people, as beings of an altogether inferior and subordinate character.[37]

[33] Indeed some have supposed that there is less immorality in Russia than in Western Europe ; but this idea is probably erroneous. See *Stirling's Russia*, Lond. 1841, pp. 59, 60. The benevolence and charitable disposition of the Russians are attested by Pinkerton, who had good means of information, and was by no means prejudiced in their favour. See *Pinkerton's Russia*, Lond. 1833, pp. 335, 336. Sir John Sinclair also says they are "prone to acts of kindness and charity." *Sinclair's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 241.

[34] The reverence of the Russian people for their clergy has attracted the attention of many observers, and is, indeed, too notorious to require proof.

[35] A very observing and intelligent writer says, "Russia has only two ranks—the highest and the lowest." *Letters from the Baltic*, Lond. 1841, vol. ii. p. 185. "Les marchands, qui formeraient une classe moyenne, sont en si petit nombre qu'ils ne peuvent marquer dans l'état : d'ailleurs presque tous sont étrangers : . . . où donc trouver cette classe moyenne qui fait la force des états ?" *Custine's Russie*, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126 : see also vol. iv. p. 74.

[36] A recent authoress, who had admirable opportunities of studying the society of St. Petersburg, which she estimated with that fine tact peculiar to an accomplished woman, was amazed at this state of things among classes surrounded with every form of luxury and wealth : "a total absence of all rational tastes or literary topics. . . . Here it is absolutely *mauvais genre* to discuss a rational subject—mere *pédanterie* to be caught upon any topics beyond dressing, dancing, and a *jolie tournure*." *Letters from the Baltic*, 1841, vol. ii. p. 233. M. Custine (*La Russie en* 1839, vol. i. p. 321) says, "Règle générale, personne ne profère jamais un mot qui pourrait intéresser vivement quelqu'un." At vol. ii. p. 195, "De toutes les facultés de l'intelligence, la seule qu'on estime ici c'est le tact." Another writer of repute, M. Kohl, contemptuously observes, that in Russia "the depths of science are not even guessed at." *Kohl's Russia*, 1842, Lond. p. 142.

[37] According to Schnitzler, "Precedence is determined, in Russia, by military rank ; and an ensign would take the *pas* of a nobleman not enrolled in the army, or occupying some situation giving military rank." *M'Culloch's Geog. Dict.* 1849, vol. ii. p. 614. The same thing is stated in *Pinkerton's Russia*, 1833, p. 321. M. Erman, who travelled through great part of the Russian empire, says, "In the modern language of St. Petersburg, one constantly hears a distinction of the greatest importance, conveyed in the inquiry which is habitually made respecting individuals of the educated class : Is he a plain-coat or a uniform ?" *Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. p. 45. See also on this preponderance of the military classes, which is the inevitable fruit of the national ignorance, *Kohl's Russia*, pp. 28, 194 ; *Stirling's Russia under Nicholas the First*, p. 7 ; *Custine's Russie*, vol. i. pp. 147, 152, 252, 266, vol. ii. pp. 71, 128, 309, vol. iii. p. 328, vol. iv. p. 284. Sir A. Alison (*History*

[*. It is hardly correct to say that "the Russians" sought the Crimean war, which was begun by France and Britain. In so far as "Russia" was responsible, the autocracy and the higher bureaucracy settled everything. And no English or French writer made a more trenchant exposure of the mindlessness of war in that connexion than did Tolstoy in his *Sevastopol*.—Ed.]

In England, on the other hand, opposite causes have produced opposite results. With us intellectual progress is so rapid, and the authority of the middle class so great, that not only have military men no influence in the government of the state, but there seemed at one time even a danger lest we should push this feeling to an extreme ; and lest, from our detestation of war, we should neglect those defensive precautions which the enmity of other nations makes it advisable to adopt. But this at least we may safely say, that, in our country, a love of war is, as a national taste, utterly extinct.* And this vast result has been effected, not by moral teachings, nor by the dictates of moral instinct ; but by the simple fact, that in the progress of civilization there have been formed certain classes of society which have an interest in the preservation of peace, and whose united authority is sufficient to control those other classes whose interest lies in the prosecution of war.

It would be easy to conduct this argument further, and to prove how, by an increasing love of intellectual pursuits, the military service necessarily declines, not only in reputation, but likewise in ability. In a backward state of society, men of distinguished talents crowd to the army, and are proud to enrol themselves in its ranks. But as society advances, new sources of activity are opened, and new professions arise, which, being essentially mental, offer to genius opportunities for success more rapid than any formerly known. The consequence is that in England, where these opportunities are more numerous than elsewhere, it nearly always happens that if a father has a son whose faculties are remarkable, he brings him up to one of the lay professions, where intellect, when accompanied by industry, is sure to be rewarded. If, however, the inferiority of the boy is obvious, a suitable remedy is at hand : he is made either a soldier or a clergyman ; he is sent into the army, or hidden in the church. And this, as we shall hereafter see, is one of the reasons why, as society advances, the ecclesiastical spirit and the military spirit never fail to decline. As soon as eminent men grow unwilling to enter any profession, the lustre of that profession will be tarnished : first its reputation will be lessened, and then its power will be abridged. This is the process through which Europe is actually passing, in regard both to the church and to the army. The evidence, so far as the ecclesiastical profession is concerned, will be found in another part of this work. The evidence respecting the military profession is equally decisive. For although that profession has in modern Europe produced a few men of undoubted genius, their number is so extremely small as to amaze us at the dearth of original ability. That the military class, taken as a whole, has a tendency to degenerate, will become still more obvious, if we compare long periods of time. In the ancient world, the leading warriors were not only possessed of considerable accomplishments, but were comprehensive thinkers in politics as well as in war, and were in every respect the first characters of their age. Thus,—to give only a few specimens from a single people,—we find that the three most successful statesmen Greece ever produced were Solon, Themistocles, and Epaminondas,—all of whom were distinguished military commanders. Socrates, supposed by some to be the wisest of the ancients, was a soldier ; and so was Plato ; and so was Antisthenes, the celebrated founder of the Cynics. Archytas, who gave a new direction to the Pythagorean philosophy, and Melissus, who developed the Eleatic philosophy,

of Europe, vol. ii. pp. 391, 392) says, "The whole energies of the nation are turned towards the army. Commerce, the law, and all civil employments, are held in no esteem ; the whole youth of any consideration betake themselves to the profession of arms." The same writer (vol. x. p. 566) quotes the remark of Bremner, that "nothing astonishes the Russian or Polish nobleman so much as seeing the estimation in which the civil professions, and especially the bar, are held in Great Britain."

[* This claim will not stand. Continental critics latterly charge upon Englishmen an exceptional levity in contemplating war, resulting from the fact that they have not to apprehend its being waged in their own country. As regards disinclination for domestic war, civilized nations are very much on a par ; and even Turkey does not undertake wars of aggression.—Ed.]

were both of them well known generals, famous alike in literature and in war. Among the most eminent orators, Pericles, Alcibiades, Andocides, Demosthenes, and Æschines, were all members of the military profession ; as also were the two greatest tragic writers, Æschylus and Sophocles. Archilochus, who is said to have invented iambic verses, and whom Horace took as a model, was a soldier ; and the same profession could likewise boast of Tyrtæus, one of the founders of elegiac poetry, and of Alcæus, one of the best composers of lyric poetry. The most philosophic of all the Greek historians was certainly Thucydides ; but he, as well as Xenophon and Polybius, held high military appointments, and on more than one occasion succeeded in changing the fortunes of war. In the midst of the hurry and turmoil of camps, these eminent men cultivated their minds to the highest point that the knowledge of that age would allow : and so wide is the range of their thoughts, and such the beauty and dignity of their style, that their works are read by thousands who care nothing about the sieges and battles in which they were engaged.

These were among the ornaments of the military profession in the ancient world ; and all of them wrote in the same language, and were read by the same people. But in the modern world this identical profession, including many millions of men, and covering the whole of Europe, has never been able, since the sixteenth century, to produce ten authors who have reached the first class either as writers or as thinkers. Descartes is an instance of an European soldier combining the two qualities ; he being as remarkable for the exquisite beauty of his style as for the depth and originality of his inquiries. This, however, is a solitary case ; and there is, I believe, no second one of a modern military writer thus excelling in both departments. Certainly the English army, during the last two hundred and fifty years, affords no example of it, and has, in fact, possessed only two authors, Raleigh and Napier, whose works are recognized as models, and are studied merely for their intrinsic merit. Still, this is simply in reference to style ; and these two historians, notwithstanding their skill in composition, have never been reputed profound thinkers on difficult subjects, nor have they added anything of moment to the stock of our knowledge. In the same way, among the ancients, the most eminent soldiers were likewise the most eminent politicians, and the best leaders of the army were generally the best governors of the state. But here again the progress of society has wrought so great a change that for a long period instances of this have been excessively rare. Even Gustavus Adolphus and Frederick the Great failed ignominiously in their domestic policy, and showed themselves as short-sighted in the arts of peace as they were sagacious in the arts of war. Cromwell, Washington, and Napoleon are, perhaps, the only first-rate modern warriors of whom it can be fairly said that they were equally competent to govern a kingdom and command an army. And if we look at England as furnishing a familiar illustration, we see this remark exemplified in our two greatest generals, Marlborough and Wellington. Marlborough was a man not only of the most idle and frivolous pursuits, but was so miserably ignorant that his deficiences made him the ridicule of his contemporaries ; and of politics he had no other idea * but to gain the favour of the sovereign by flattering his mistress, to desert the brother of that sovereign at his utmost need, and afterwards, by a double treachery, turn against his next benefactor, and engage in a criminal, as well as a foolish, correspondence with the very man whom a few years before he had infamously abandoned. These were the characteristics of the greatest conqueror of his age, the hero of a hundred fights, the victor of Blenheim and of Ramilies. As to our other great warrior, it is indeed true that the name of Wellington should never be pronounced by an Englishman without gratitude

[* This account of Marlborough will be pronounced unjudicial by many who agree with Buckle in denouncing his character. In his foreign diplomacy he is proved to have shown endless tact and sagacity. Compare the estimate of Lecky (*History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. 1892, i. 145–6), who sums up that " as a negociator he ranks with the most skilful diplomatists of his age," and cites Bolingbroke's opinion that he was not only the greatest general, but also " the greatest minister our country or any other has produced."—Ed.]

and respect : these feelings are, however, due solely to his vast military services, the importance of which it would ill become us to forget. But whoever has studied the civil history of England during the present century, knows full well that this military chief, who in the field shone without a rival, and who, to his still greater glory be it said, possessed an integrity of purpose, an unflinching honesty, and a high moral feeling, which could not be surpassed, was nevertheless utterly unequal to the complicated exigencies of political life. It is notorious, that in his views of the most important legislative measures he was always in the wrong. It is notorious, and the evidence of it stands recorded in our Parliamentary Debates, that every great measure which was carried, every great improvement, every great step in reform, every concession to the popular wishes, was strenuously opposed by the Duke of Wellington, became law in spite of his opposition, and after his mournful declarations that by such means the security of England would be seriously imperilled. Yet there is now hardly a forward schoolboy who does not know that to these very measures the present stability of our country is mainly owing. Experience, the great test of wisdom, has amply proved that those vast schemes of reform, which the Duke of Wellington spent his political life in opposing, were, I will not say expedient or advisable, but indispensably necessary. That policy of resisting the popular will which he constantly advised, is precisely the policy which has been pursued, since the Congress of Vienna, in every monarchy except our own. The result of that policy is written for our instruction : it is written in that great explosion of popular passion, which in the moment of its wrath upset the proudest thrones, destroyed princely families, ruined noble houses, desolated beautiful cities. And if the counsel of our great general had been followed, if the just demands of the people had been refused,—this same lesson would have been written in the annals of our own land ; and we should most assuredly have been unable to escape the consequence of that terrible catastrophe in which the ignorance and selfishness of rulers did, only a few years ago, involve a large part of the civilized world.

Thus striking is the contrast between the military genius of ancient times and the military genius of modern Europe. The causes of this decay are clearly traceable to the circumstance that, owing to the immense increase of intellectual employments, few men of ability will now enter a profession into which, in antiquity, men of ability eagerly crowded, as supplying the best means of exercising those faculties which, in more civilized countries, are turned to a better account. This, indeed, is a very important change ; and thus to transfer the most powerful intellects from the arts of war to the arts of peace, has been the slow work of many centuries, the gradual but constant encroachments of advancing knowledge. To write the history of those encroachments would be to write the history of the human intellect ; a task impossible for any single man adequately to perform. But the subject is one of such interest, and has been so little studied, that though I have already carried this analysis further than I had intended, I cannot refrain from noticing what appear to me to be the three leading ways in which the warlike spirit of the ancient world has been weakened by the progress of European knowledge.

The first of these arose out of the invention of Gunpowder ; which, though a warlike contrivance, has in its results been eminently serviceable to the interests of peace.[38] This important invention is said to have been made in the thirteenth century ;[39] but was not in common use until the fourteenth, or even the beginning

[38] The consequences of the invention of gunpowder are considered very superficially by Frederick Schlegel (*Lectures on the History of Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 37, 38), and by Dugald Stewart (*Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 262). They are examined with much greater ability, though by no means exhaustively, in *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. i. pp. 292, 296, 297 ; *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. iv. p. 301 *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 470.

[39] From the following authorities, it appears impossible to trace it further back than the thirteenth century ; and it is doubtful whether the Arabs were, as is commonly supposed, the inventors : *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 590 ; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 242 ; *Beckmann's History of Inventions*, 1846, vol. ii. p. 505 ; *Histoire Lit. de la*

of the fifteenth century. Scarcely had it come into operation, when it worked a great change in the whole scheme and practice of war. Before this time, it was considered the duty of nearly every citizen to be prepared to enter the military service, for the purpose either of defending his own country, or of attacking others.[40] Standing armies were entirely unknown; and in their place there existed a rude and barbarous militia, always ready for battle, and always unwilling to engage in those peaceful pursuits which were then universally despised. Nearly every man being a soldier, the military profession, as such, had no separate existence; or, to speak more properly, the whole of Europe composed one great army, in which all other professions were merged. To this the only exception was the ecclesiastical profession; but even that was affected by the general tendency, and it was not at all uncommon to see large bodies of troops led to the field by bishops and abbots, to most of whom the arts of war were in those days perfectly familiar.[41] At all events, between these two professions men were necessarily divided: the only avocations were war and theology; and if you refused to enter the church, you were bound to serve in the army. As a natural consequence, everything of real importance was altogether neglected. There were, indeed, many priests and many warriors, many sermons and many battles.[42] But on the other hand, there was neither trade, nor commerce, nor manufactures; there was no science, no literature: the useful arts were entirely unknown; and even the highest ranks of society were unacquainted, not only with the most ordinary comforts, but with the commonest decencies of civilized life.

But so soon as gunpowder came into use, there was laid the foundation of a great change. According to the old system, a man had only to possess, what he generally inherited from his father, either a sword or a bow, and he was ready equipped for the field.[43] According to the new system, new means were required,

France, vol. xx. p. 236; *Thomson's History of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 36; *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 341. The statements in *Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. pp. 370, 371, are more positive than the evidence we are possessed of will justify; but there can be no doubt that a sort of gunpowder was at an early period used in China, and in other parts of Asia.

[40] *Vattel, le Droit des Gens*, vol. ii. p. 129; *Lingard's History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 356, 357. Among the Anglo-Saxons, "all free men and proprietors of land, except the ministers of religion, were trained to the use of arms, and always held ready to take the field at a moment's warning." *Eccleston's English Antiquities*, p. 62. 'There was no distinction between the soldier and the citizen." *Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 200.

[41] On these warlike ecclesiastics, compare *Grose's Military Antiq.* vol. i. pp. 67–8; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 26, 183, vol. iii. p. 14; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 458, vol. v. pp. 92, 402, 406; *Mosheim's Eccl. History*, vol. i. pp. 173, 193, 241; *Crichton's Scandinavia*, Edinb. 1838, vol. i. p. 220. Such opponents were the more formidable, because in those happy days it was sacrilege for a layman to lay hands on a bishop. In 1095 his Holiness the Pope caused a council to declare, "Quod qui apprehenderit episcopum omnino ex lex fiat." *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 18. As the context contains no limitation of this, it would follow that a man became spiritually outlawed if he, even in self-defence, took a bishop prisoner.

[42] As Sharon Turner observes of England under the Anglo-Saxon government, "war and religion were the absorbing subjects of this period." *Turner's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 263. And a recent scientific historian says of Europe generally: "alle Künste und Kenntnisse, die sich nicht auf das edle Kriegs-, Rauf- und Raubhandwerk bezogen, waren überflüssig und schädlich. Nur etwas Theologie war vonnöthen, um die Erde mit dem Himmel zu verbinden." *Winckler, Geschichte der Botanik*, 1854, p. 56.

[43] In 1181, Henry II. of England ordered that every man should have either a sword or bow; which he was not to sell, but leave to his heir: "cæteri autem omnes haberent wanbasiam, capellum ferreum, lanceam et gladium, vel arcum et sagittas: et prohibuit ne aliquis arma sua venderet vel invadiaret; sed cùm moreretur, daret illa propinquiori hæredi suo." *Rog. de Hov. Annal. in Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 348 rev. In the reign of Edward I., it was ordered that every man possessing land to the value of forty shillings should keep "a sword, bow and arrows, and a dagger. . . . Those who were to keep bows and arrows might have them out of the forest." *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. ii.

and the equipment became more costly and more difficult. First, there was the supply of gunpowder ;[44] then there was the possession of muskets, which were expensive weapons, and considered difficult to manage.[45] Then, too, there were other contrivances to which gunpowder naturally gave rise, such as pistols, bombs, mortars, shells, mines, and the like.[46] All these things, by increasing the complication of the military art, increased the necessity of discipline and practice ; while, at the same time, the change that was being effected in the ordinary weapons deprived the great majority of men of the possibility of procuring them. To suit these altered circumstances, a new system was organized ; and it was found advisable to train up bodies of men for the sole purpose of war, and to separate them as much as possible from those other employments in which formerly all soldiers were occasionally engaged. Thus it was that there arose standing armies ; the first of which were formed in the middle of the fifteenth century,[47] almost immediately after gunpowder was generally known. Thus,

pp. 301, 302. Compare *Geijer's History of the Swedes*, part i. p. 94. Even late in the fifteenth century, there were at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, "in each from four to five thousand scholars, all grown up, carrying swords and bows, and in great part gentry." *Sir William Hamilton on the History of Universities*, in *Hamilton's Philosoph. Discussions*, p. 414. One of the latest attempts made to revive archery, was a warrant issued by Elizabeth in 1596, and printed by Mr. Collier in the *Egerton Papers*, pp. 217–220, edit. Camden Soc. 1840. In the south-west of England, bows and arrows did not finally disappear from the muster-rolls till 1599 ; and in the meantime the musket gained ground. See *Yonge's Diary*, edit. Camden Soc. 1848, p. xvii.

[44] It is stated by many writers that no gunpowder was manufactured in England until the reign of Elizabeth. *Camden's Elizabeth*, in *Kennett's History*, vol. ii. p. 388, London, 1719 ; *Strickland's Queens of England*, vol. vi. p. 223, Lond. 1843 ; *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 378. But Sharon Turner (*History of England*, vol. vi. pp. 490, 491, Lond. 1839) has shown, from an order of Richard III. in the Harleian manuscripts, that it was made in England in 1483 ; and Mr. Eccleston (*English Antiquities*, p. 182, Lond. 1847) states that the English both made and exported it as early as 1411 : compare p. 202. At all events, it long remained a costly article ; and even in the reign of Charles I., I find a complaint of its dearness, "whereby the train-bands are much discouraged in their exercising." *Parliament. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 655. In 1686, it appears from the *Clarendon Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 413, that the wholesale price ranged from about £2 10s. to £3 a barrel. On the expense of making it in the present century, see *Liebig and Kopp's Reports on Chemistry*, vol iii. p. 325, Lond. 1852.

[45] The muskets were such miserable machines that in the middle of the fifteenth century it took a quarter of an hour to charge and fire one. *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 342. Grose (*Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 146, vol. ii. pp. 292, 337) says, that the first mention of muskets in England is in 1471 ; and that rests for them did not become obsolete until the reign of Charles I. In the recent edition of *Beckmann's History of Inventions*, Lond. 1846, vol. ii. p. 535, it is strangely supposed that muskets were "first used at the battle of Pavia." Compare *Daniel, Histoire de la Milice*, vol. i. p. 464, with *Smythe's Military Discourses*, in *Ellis's Original Letters*, p. 53, edit. Camden Society.

[46] Pistols are said to have been invented early in the sixteenth century. *Grose's Military Antiq.* vol. i. pp. 102, 146. Gunpowder was first employed in mining towns in 1487. *Prescott's Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 32 ; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 243 ; *Daniel, Histoire de la Milice Française*, vol. i. p. 574. Daniel (*Milice Française*, vol. i. pp. 580, 581) says, that bombs were not invented till 1588 ; and the same thing is asserted in *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xv. p. 248 : but, according to Grose (*Military Antiq.* vol. i. p. 387), they are mentioned by Valturinus in 1472. On the general condition of the French artillery in the sixteenth century, see *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. i. pp. 94, 476, 478, Paris, 1838, 4to ; a curious and valuable publication. There is some doubt as to the exact period in which cannons were first known ; but they were certainly used in war before the middle of the fourteenth century See *Bohlen, das alte Indien*, vol. ii. p. 63 ; and *Daniel, Histoire de la Milice*, vol. i. pp. 441, 442.

[47] *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. i. p. 413 ; *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice*, vol. i. p. 210, vol. ii. pp. 491, 493 ; *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. viii. p. 228.

too, there arose the custom of employing mercenary troops ; of which we find a few earlier instances, though the practice was not fully established until the latter part of the fourteenth century.[48]

The importance of this movement was soon seen, by the change it effected in the classification of European society. The regular troops being, from their discipline, more serviceable against the enemy, and also more immediately under the control of the government, it naturally followed that, as their merits became understood, the old militia should fall, first into disrepute, then be neglected, and then sensibly diminish. At the same time, this diminution in the number of undisciplined soldiers deprived the country of a part of its warlike resources, and therefore made it necessary to pay more attention to the disciplined ones, and to confine them more exclusively to their military duties. Thus it was that a division was first broadly established between the soldier and the civilian ; and there arose a separate military profession,[49] which, consisting of a comparatively small number of the total amount of citizens, left the remainder to settle in some other pursuit.[50] In this way, immense bodies of men were gradually weaned from their old warlike habits ; and being, as it were, forced into civil life, their energies became available for the general purposes of society, and for the cultivation of those arts of peace which had formerly been neglected. The result was, that the European mind, instead of being, as heretofore, solely occupied either with war or with theology, now struck out into a middle path, and created those great branches of knowledge to which modern civilization owes its origin. In each successive generation this tendency towards a separate organization was more marked ; the utility of a division of labour became clearly recognized ; and as by this means knowledge itself advanced, the authority of this middle or intellectual class correspondingly increased. Each addition to its power lessened the weight of the other two classes, and checked those superstitious feelings and that love of war, on which, in an early state of society, all enthusiasm is concentrated. The evidence of the growth and diffusion of this intellectual principle is so full and decisive, that it would be possible, by combining all the branches of knowledge, to trace nearly the whole of its consecutive steps. At present it is enough to say that, taking a general view, this third or intellectual class first displayed an independent, though still a vague, activity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries ; * that in the sixteenth century, this activity, assuming a dis-

[48] The leading facts respecting the employment of mercenary troops are indicated with great judgment by Mr. Hallam, in his *Middle Ages*, vol. i. pp. 328–337.

[49] Grose (*Military Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 310, 311) says, that until the sixteenth century, English soldiers had no professional dress ; but "were distinguished by badges of their leaders' arms, similar to those now worn by watermen." It was also early in the sixteenth century that there first arose a separate military literature. *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice*, vol. i. p 380 : "Les auteurs qui ont écrit en détail sur la discipline militaire . or ce n'est guères que sous François I., et sous l'Empereur Charles V., que les Italiens, les François. les Espagnols et les Allemans ont commencé à écrire sur ce sujet."

[50] The change from the time when every layman was a soldier, is very remarkable. Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. i. p. 291) says, "Among the civilized nations of modern Europe, it is commonly computed, that not more than the one-hundredth part of the inhabitants of any country can be employed as soldiers, without ruin to the country which pays the expense of their service." The same proportion is given in *Sadler's Law of Population*, vol. i. p. 292 ; and in *Grandeur et Décadence des*

[* This statement is in itself unduly vague, and is inconsistent with that made below, in the second paragraph of the ninth chapter. The scholastic life in France in the twelfth century was already active and far-reaching ; and the movement of Abailard's pupil, Arnold of Brescia, in Italy (1139–1155) comes under the definition implied in the text. The manifold heresy in Provence and Languedoc, crushed by the so called Albigensian Crusades early in the thirteenth century, included similar intellectual elements. Such a treatise, again, as the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua (1324) is hardly to be called vague ; and the Lollard movement in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was in some respects more intellectual than that of the Reformation.—Ed.]

tinct form, showed itself in religious outbreaks ; that in the seventeenth century, its energy, becoming more practical, was turned against the abuses of government, and caused a series of rebellions, from which hardly any part of Europe escaped ; and finally, that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it has extended its aim to every department of public and private life, diffusing education, teaching legislators, controlling kings, and, above all, settling on a sure foundation that supremacy of Public Opinion, to which not only constitutional princes, but even the most despotic sovereigns, are now rendered strictly amenable.

These, indeed, are vast questions ; and without some knowledge of them, no one can understand the present condition of European society, or form the least idea of its future prospects. It is, however, sufficient that the reader can now perceive the way in which so slight a matter as the invention of gunpowder diminished the warlike spirit, by diminishing the number of persons to whom the practice of war was habitual. There were, no doubt, other and collateral circumstances which tended in the same direction ; but the use of gunpowder was the most effectual, because, by increasing the difficulty and expense of war, it made a separate military profession indispensable ; and thus, curtailing the action of the military spirit, left an overplus, an unemployed energy, which soon found its way to the pursuits of peace, infused into them a new life, and began to control that lust of conquest which, though natural to a barbarous people, is the great enemy of knowledge, and is the most fatal of those diseased appetites by which even civilized countries are too often afflicted.

The second intellectual movement by which the love of war has been lessened is much more recent, and has not yet produced the whole of its natural effects. I allude to the discoveries made by Political Economy ; a branch of knowledge with which even the wisest of the ancients had not the least acquaintance, but which possesses an importance it would be difficult to exaggerate, and is, moreover, remarkable, as being the only subject immediately connected with the art of government that has yet been raised to a science. The practical value of this noble study, though perhaps only fully known to the more advanced thinkers, is gradually becoming recognized by men of ordinary education : but even those by whom it is understood, seem to have paid little attention to the way in which, by its influence, the interests of peace, and therefore of civilization, have been directly promoted.[51] The manner in which this has been brought about I will endeavour to explain, as it will furnish another argument in support of that great principle which I wish to establish.

It is well known that among the different causes of war commercial jealousy was formerly one of the most conspicuous ; and there are numerous instances of quarrels respecting the promulgation of some particular tariff, or the protection of some favourite manufacture. Disputes of this kind were founded upon the very ignorant but the very natural notion, that the advantages of commerce depend upon the balance of trade, and that whatever is gained by one country must be lost by another. It was believed that wealth is composed entirely of money ; and that it is therefore the essential interest of every people to import few commodities and much gold. Whenever this was done, affairs were said to be in a sound and healthy state ; but if this was not done, it was declared that we were being drained of our resources, and that some other country was getting the better of us, and was enriching itself at our expense.[52] For this the only

Romains, chap. iii.,—*Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 130 : also in *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 105 ; and in *Alison's History of Europe*, vol. xii. p. 318.

[51] The pacific tendencies of political economy are touched on very briefly in *Blanqui, Histoire de l'Economie Politique*, vol. ii. p. 207 : and in *Twiss's Progress of Political Economy*, p. 240.

[52] This favourite doctrine is illustrated in a curious "Discourse," written in 1578, and printed in *Stow's London*, in which it is laid down, that if our exports exceed our imports, we gain by the trade ; but that if they are less, we lose. *Stow's London*, edit. Thoms, 1842, p. 205. Whenever this balance was disturbed, politicians were thrown into an agony of fear. In 1620, James I. said, in one of his long speeches, "It's strange that my

remedy was, to negotiate a commercial treaty, which should oblige the offending nation to take more of our commodities, and give us more of their gold : if, however, they refused to sign the treaty, it became necessary to bring them to reason ; and for this purpose an armament was fitted out to attack a people who, by lessening our wealth, had deprived us of that money by which alone trade could be extended in foreign markets.[53]

This misconception of the true nature of barter was formerly universal ;[54] and being adopted even by the ablest politicians, was not only an immediate cause of war, but increased those feelings of national hatred by which war is encouraged ; each country thinking that it had a direct interest in diminishing the wealth of its neighbours.[55] In the seventeenth, or even late in the sixteenth century, there were, indeed, one or two eminent thinkers who exposed some of

Mint hath not gone this eight or nine years : but I think the fault of the want of money is the uneven balancing of trade." *Parl. History*, vol. i. p. 1179 : see also the debate "On the Scarcity of Money," pp. 1194–1196. In 1620, the House of Commons, in a state of great alarm, passed a resolution, "That the importation of tobacco out of Spain is one reason of the scarcity of money in this kingdom." *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 1198. In 1627, it was actually argued in the House of Commons that the Netherlands were being weakened by their trade with the East Indies, because it carried money out of the country ! *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 220. Half a century later, the same principle was advocated by Sir William Temple in his Letters, and also in his Observations upon the United Provinces. *Temple's Works*, vol. i. p. 175, vol. ii. pp. 117, 118.

[53] In 1672, the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury, then Lord Chancellor, announced that the time had come when the English must go to war with the Dutch ; for that it was "impossible both should stand upon a balance ; and that if we do not master their trade, they will ours. They or we must truckle. One must and will give the law to the other. There is no compounding, where the contest is for the trade of the whole world." *Somers Tracts*, vol. viii. p. 39. A few months later, still insisting on the propriety of the war, he gave as one of his reasons, that it "was necessary to the trade of England that there should be a fair adjustment of commerce in the East Indies." *Parl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 587. In 1701, Stepney, a diplomatist and one of the lords of trade, published an essay, strongly insisting on the benefits which would accrue to English commerce by a war with France. *Somers Tracts*, vol. xi. pp. 199, 217 ; and he says, p. 205, that one of the consequences of peace with France would be "the utter ruin and destruction of our trade." See also, in vol. xiii. p. 688, the remarks on the policy of William III. In 1743, Lord Hardwicke, one of the most eminent men of his time, said in the House of Lords, "If our wealth is diminished, it is time to ruin the commerce of that nation which has driven us from the markets of the Continent—by sweeping the seas of their ships, and by blockading their ports." *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 89.

[54] In regard to the seventeenth century, see *Mill's History of India*, vol. i. pp. 41, 42. To this I may add, that even Locke had very confused notions respecting the use of money in trade. See *Essay on Money*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. iv. ; and in particular pp. 9, 10, 12, 20, 21, 49–52. Berkeley, profound thinker as he was, fell into the same errors, and assumes the necessity of maintaining the balance of trade, and lessening our imports in proportion as we lessen our exports. See the *Querist*, Nos. xcix. clxi., in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 246, 250 : see also his proposal for a sumptuary law, in *Essay towards preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*, in *Works*, vol. ii. 190. [Also in the *Querist*, ciii.] The economical views of Montesquieu (*Esprit des Lois*, livre xx. chap. xii. in *Œuvres*, p. 353) are as hopelessly wrong ; while Vattel (*Droit des Gens*, vol. i. pp. 111, 117, 118, 206) goes out of his way to praise the mischievous interference of the English government, which he recommends as a pattern to other states.

[55] The Earl of Bristol, a man of some ability, told the House of Lords in 1642, that it was a great advantage to England for other countries to go to war with each other ; because by that means we should get their money, or, as he called it, their "wealth." See his speech, in *Parl. History*, vol. ii. pp. 1274–1279. [The view in question is still common. A few years ago an hon. member was loudly applauded in the House of Commons when he told how, in China, he had been able to prevent certain proposed trade concessions to France. See also the extracts in the editor's *Patriotism and Empire*, 1899, pp. 56–59.—Ed.]

the fallacies upon which this opinion was based.[56] But their arguments found no favour with those politicians by whom European affairs were then administered. It is doubtful if they were known; and it is certain that, if known, they were despised by statesmen and legislators, who, from the constancy of their practical occupations, cannot be supposed to have sufficient leisure to master each new discovery that is successively made; and who in consequence are, as a body, always in the rear of their age. The result was, that they went blundering on in the old track, believing that no commerce could flourish without their interference, troubling that commerce by repeated and harassing regulations, and taking for granted that it was the duty of every government to benefit the trade of their own people by injuring the trade of others.[57]

But in the eighteenth century, a long course of events, which I shall hereafter trace, prepared the way for a spirit of improvement, and a desire for reform, of which the world had then seen no example. This great movement displayed its energy in every department of knowledge; and now it was that a successful attempt was first made to raise Political Economy to a science, by discovering the laws which regulate the creation and diffusion of wealth. In the year 1776, Adam Smith published his *Wealth of Nations;* which, looking at its ultimate results, is probably the most important book that has ever been written, and is certainly the most valuable contribution ever made by a single man towards establishing the principles on which government should be based. In this great work, the old theory of protection as applied to commerce was destroyed in nearly all its parts;[58] the doctrine of the balance of trade was not only attacked, but its falsehood was demonstrated; and innumerable absurdities, which had been accumulating for ages, were suddenly swept away.[59]

[56] Serra, who wrote in 1613, is said to have been the first to prove the absurdity of discouraging the exportation of the precious metals. See *Twiss on the Progress of Political Economy*, pp. 8, 12, 13. But I believe that the earliest approach towards modern economical discoveries is a striking essay published in 1581, and ascribed to William Stafford. It will be found in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. ix. pp. 139–192, edit. Park, 1812; and the title, *Brief Conceipt of English Pollicy*, gives an inadequate idea of what is, on the whole, the most important work on the theory of politics which had then appeared: since the author not only displays an insight into the nature of price and value, such as no previous thinker possessed, but he points out clearly the causes of that system of enclosures which is the leading economical fact in the reign of Elizabeth, and is intimately connected with the rise of the poor-laws. Some account of this essay is given by Dr. Twiss, but the original is easily accessible, and should be read by every student of English history. Among other heretical propositions, it recommends free trade in corn. [Prof. Ingram (*History of Political Economy*, 1888, p. 45) thinks Stafford was acquainted with the writings of Bodin, who in his *Réponse aux paradoxes de M. Malestroit* (1568) and his *La République* (1576) sets forth similar views (*Id.* pp. 43–4). At other points, Stafford held by current fallacies (*Id.* p. 45).—Ed.]

[57] In regard to the interference of the English legislature, it is stated by Mr. M'Culloch (*Polit. Econ.* p. 269), on the authority of a committee of the House of Commons, that before the year 1820, "no fewer than two thousand laws with respect to commerce had been passed at different periods." It may be confidently asserted, that every one of those laws was an unmitigated evil, since no trade, and indeed no interest of any kind, can be protected by government without inflicting immeasurably greater loss upon the unprotected interests and trades; while if the protection is universal, the loss will be universal. Some striking instances of the absurd laws which have been passed respecting trade, are collected in *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, pp. 279–285. Indeed, it was considered necessary that every parliament should do something in this way; and Charles II., in one of his speeches, says, "I pray, contrive any good short bills which may improve the industry of the nation . . . and so God bless your councils." *Parl. History*, vol. iv. p. 291. Compare the remarks on the fishery-trade, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 33

[58] To this the only exception of any moment is the view taken of the usury-laws, which Jeremy Bentham has the honour of demolishing.

[59] Before Adam Smith, the principal merit is due to Hume; but the works of that profound thinker were too fragmentary to produce much effect. Indeed Hume, notwith-

If the *Wealth of Nations* had appeared in any preceding century, it would have shared the fate of the great works of Stafford and Serra ; and although the principles which it advocated would no doubt have excited the attention of speculative thinkers, they would in all probability have produced no effect on practical politicians, or, at all events, would only have exercised an indirect and precarious influence. But the diffusion of knowledge had now become so general, that even our ordinary legislators were in some degree prepared for these great truths which in a former period they would have despised as idle novelties. The result was, that the doctrines of Adam Smith soon found their way into the House of Commons ;[60] and, being adopted by a few of the leading members, were listened to with astonishment by that great assembly, whose opinions were mainly regulated by the wisdom of their ancestors, and who were loth to believe that anything could be discovered by the moderns which was not already known to the ancients. But it is in vain that such men as these always set themselves up to resist the pressure of advancing knowledge. No great truth, which has once been found, has ever afterwards been lost ; nor has any important discovery yet been made which has not eventually carried everything before it. Even so, the principles of Free Trade, as demonstrated by Adam Smith, and all the consequences which flow from them, were vainly struggled against by the most overwhelming majorities of both Houses of Parliament. Year by year the great truth made its way ; always advancing, never receding.[61] The majority was at first deserted by a few men of ability, then by ordinary men, then it became a minority, then even the minority began to dwindle ; and at the present day, eighty years after the publication of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, there is not to be found any one of tolerable education who is not ashamed of holding opinions which, before the time of Adam Smith, were universally received.

Such is the way in which great thinkers control the affairs of men, and by their discoveries regulate the march of nations. And truly the history of this one triumph alone should be enough to repress the presumption of statesmen and legislators, who so exaggerate the importance of their craft, as to ascribe great results to their own shifting and temporary contrivances. For, whence did they derive that knowledge, of which they are always ready to assume the merit ? How did they obtain their opinions ? How did they get at their principles ? These are the elements of their success ; and these they can only learn from their

standing his vast powers, was inferior to Smith in comprehensiveness as well as in industry. [Below, ch. v. *note* 21, Hume is admitted to have been right on the law of rent when Smith was wrong. Hume's range was certainly wider than Smith's ; and his total output greater. The entire passage further fails to do justice to the French Physiocrats, from whom Smith learned much. See below, ch. v. p. 135, *note*.—Ed.]

[60] The first notice I have observed of the *Wealth of Nations* in Parliament is in 1783 ; and between then and the end of the century it is referred to several times, and latterly with increasing frequency. See *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxiii. p. 1152, vol. xxvi. pp. 481, 1035, vol. xxvii. p. 385, vol. xxix. pp. 834, 905, 982, 1065, vol. xxx. pp. 330, 333, vol. xxxii. p. 2, vol. xxxiii. pp. 353, 386, 522, 548, 549, 563, 774, 777, 778, 822, 823, 824, 825, 827, 1249, vol. xxxiv. pp. 11, 97, 98, 141, 142, 304, 473, 850, 901, 902, 903. It is possible that one or two passages may have been overlooked ; but I believe that these are the only instances of Adam Smith being referred to during seventeen years. From a passage in *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, vol. i. p. 51, it appears that even Addington was studying Adam Smith in 1787.

[61] In 1797, Pulteney, in one of his financial speeches, appealed to " the authority of Dr. Smith, who, it was well said, would persuade the present generation and govern the next." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxiii. p. 778. In 1813, Dugald Stewart (*Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. ii. p. 472) announced that the doctrine of free trade " has now, I believe, become the prevailing creed of thinking men all over Europe." And in 1816, Ricardo said, " The reasoning by which the liberty of trade is supported is so powerful, that it is daily obtaining converts. It is with pleasure that I see the progress which this great principle is making amongst those whom we should have expected to cling the longest to old prejudices." *Proposals for an Economical Currency*, in *Ricardo's Works*, p. 407.

masters,—from those great teachers, who, moved by the inspiration of genius, fertilize the world with their discoveries.* Well may it be said of Adam Smith, and said too without fear of contradiction, that this solitary Scotchman has, by the publication of one single work, contributed more towards the happiness of man than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account.

The result of these great discoveries I am not here concerned to examine, except so far as they aided in diminishing the energy of the warlike spirit. And the way in which they effected this may be easily stated. As long as it was generally believed that the wealth of a country consists of its gold, it was of course also believed that the sole object of trade is to increase the influx of the precious metals: it therefore became natural that Government should be expected to take measures by which such influx could be secured. This, however, could only be done by draining other countries of their gold; a result which they, for precisely the same reasons, strenuously resisted. The consequence was, that any idea of real reciprocity was impossible: every commercial treaty was an attempt made by one nation to outwit another;[62] every new tariff was a declaration of hostility; and that which ought to be the most peaceable of all pursuits, became one of the causes of those national jealousies and national animosities, by which war is mainly promoted.[63] But when it was once clearly understood that gold and silver are not wealth, but are merely the representatives of wealth; when men began to see that wealth itself solely consists of the value which skill and labour can add to the raw material, and that money is of no possible use to a nation except to measure and circulate their riches; when these great truths were recognized,[64] all the old notions respecting the balance of trade, and the supreme importance of the precious metals, at once fell to the ground. These enormous errors being dispersed, the true theory of barter was easily worked out. It was perceived, that if commerce is allowed to be free, its advantages will be shared by every country which engages in it; that, in the absence of monopoly, the benefits of trade are of necessity reciprocal; and that, so far from depending on the amount of gold received, they simply arise from the facility with which a nation gets rid of those commodities which it can produce most cheaply, and receives in return those commodities which it could only produce at a great

[62] Sir Theodore Janson, in his *General Maxims of Trade*, published in 1713, lays it down as a principle universally recognized, that "All the nations of Europe seem to strive who shall outwit one another in point of trade: and they concur in this maxim, That the less they consume of foreign commodities, the better it is for them." *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 292. Thus, too, in a *Dialogue between an Englishman and a Dutchman*, published in 1700, the Dutchman is represented as boasting that his government had "forced treaties of commerce exclusive to all other nations." *Somers Tracts*, vol. xi. p. 376. This is the system of "narrow selfishness" denounced by Dr. Story, in his noble work, *Conflict of Laws*, 1841, p. 32.

[63] "It cannot, indeed, be denied, that mistaken views of commerce, like those so frequently entertained of religion, have been the cause of many wars and of much bloodshed." *M'Culloch's Principles of Political Economy*, p. 140. See also pp. 37, 38: "It has made each nation regard the welfare of its neighbours as incompatible with its own: hence the reciprocal desire of injuring and impoverishing each other; and hence that spirit of commercial rivalry, which has been the immediate or remote cause of the greater number of modern wars."

[64] On the rapid diffusion during the present century of the principles worked out by the economists, compare *Laing's Sweden*, pp. 356–358, with a note to the last edition of *Malthus on Population*, 1826, vol. ii. pp. 354, 355.

[* This is scarcely consistent with the praise bestowed below, in ch. viii., on Richelieu, who is not shown to have been instructed by any teachers. It also overlooks the fact that Turgot, justly praised at the end of ch. xiii., was both a great teacher and a statesman. In Portugal before him, too, the great Marquis of Pombal, who held some enlightened views on bullion and trade, appears to have thought for himself. See *The Marquis of Pombal*, by the Conde di Carnota, 2nd ed. 1871.—Ed.]

expense, but which the other nation can, from the skill of its workmen, or from the bounty of nature, afford to supply at a lower rate. From this it followed that, in a mercantile point of view, it would be as absurd to attempt to impoverish a people with whom we trade, as it would be in a tradesman to wish for the insolvency of a rich and frequent customer. The result is, that the commercial spirit, which formerly was often warlike, is now invariably pacific.[65] And although it is perfectly true that not one merchant out of a hundred is familiar with the arguments on which these economical discoveries are founded, that does not prevent the effect which the discoveries themselves produce on his own mind. The mercantile class is, like every other, acted upon by causes which only a few members of that class are able to perceive. Thus, for instance, of all the innumerable opponents of protection, there are very few indeed who can give valid reasons to justify their opposition. But this does not prevent the opposition from taking place. For an immense majority of men always follow with implicit submission the spirit of their own time ; and the spirit of the times is merely its knowledge, and the direction that knowledge takes. As, in the ordinary avocations of daily life, every one is benefited, in the increase of his comforts, and of his general security, by the progress of many arts and sciences, of which perhaps he does not even know the name, just so is the mercantile class benefited by those great economical discoveries which, in the course of two generations, have already effected a complete change in the commercial legislation of this country, and which are now operating slowly but steadily upon those other European states, where, public opinion being less powerful, it is more difficult to establish great truths and extirpate old abuses. While, therefore, it is perfectly true that among merchants a comparatively small number are acquainted with political economy,* it is not the less true that they owe a large part of their wealth to the political economists ; who, by removing the obstacles with which the ignorance of successive governments had impeded trade, have now settled on a solid foundation that commercial prosperity which is by no means the least of our national glories. Most assuredly is it also true, that this same intellectual movement has lessened the chance of war, by ascertaining the principles which ought to regulate our commercial relations with foreign countries ; by proving, not only the inutility, but the positive mischief, caused by interfering with them ; and finally, by exploding those long-established errors, which, inducing men to believe that nations are the natural enemies of each other, encouraged those evil feelings, and fostered those national jealousies, to the strength of which the military spirit owed no small share of its former influence.

The third great cause by which the love of war has been weakened, is the way in which discoveries respecting the application of Steam to the purposes of travelling have facilitated the intercourse between different countries, and thus aided in destroying that ignorant contempt which one nation is too apt to feel for another. Thus, for instance, the miserable and impudent falsehoods which a large class of English writers formerly directed against the morals and private character of the French, and, to their shame be it said, even against the chastity of French women,

[65] "The feelings of rival tradesmen, prevailing among nations, overruled for centuries all sense of the general community of advantage which commercial countries derive from the prosperity of one another ; and that commercial spirit, which is now one of the strongest obstacles to wars, was during a certain period of European history their principal cause." *Mill's Political Economy*, 1849, vol. ii. p. 221. This great change in the feelings of the commercial classes did not begin before the present century, and has not been visible to ordinary observers until the last five-and-twenty or thirty years; but it was foretold in a remarkable passage written by Herder in 1787 : see his *Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iii. pp. 292, 293. [Buckle's proposition will no longer hold good. Since his day, through disregard of economic science. and in respect of new developments of capitalism, the commercial classes have frequently favoured aggression (*e.g.* in the annexation of Burmah, the invasion of Egypt, and the war in South Africa) ; and the old belief in the need of fighting for markets has again become common.—Ed.]

[* The number in England is probably smaller to-day than when Buckle wrote.—Ed.]

tended not a little to embitter the angry feelings then existing between the two first countries of Europe; irritating the English against French vices, irritating the French against English calumnies. In the same way, there was a time when every honest Englishman firmly believed that he could beat ten Frenchmen; a class of beings whom he held in sovereign contempt, as a lean and stunted race, who drank claret instead of brandy, who lived entirely off frogs; miserable infidels, who heard mass every Sunday, who bowed down before idols, and who even worshipped the Pope. On the other hand, the French were taught to despise us as rude unlettered barbarians, without either taste* or humanity; surly, ill-conditioned men, living in an unhappy climate, where a perpetual fog, only varied by rain, prevented the sun from ever being seen; suffering from so deep and inveterate a melancholy, that physicians had called it the English spleen; and, under the influence of this cruel malady, constantly committing suicide, particularly in November, when we were well known to hang and shoot ourselves by thousands.[66]

Whoever has looked much into the older literature of France and England, knows that these were the opinions which the two first nations of Europe, in the ignorance and simplicity of their hearts, held respecting each other. But the progress of improvement, by bringing the two countries into close and intimate contact, has dissipated these foolish prejudices, and taught each people to admire, and, what is still more important, to respect each other. And the greater the contact, the greater the respect. For, whatever theologians may choose to assert, it is certain that mankind at large has far more virtue than vice, and that in every country good actions are more frequent than bad ones. Indeed, if this were otherwise, the preponderance of evil would long since have destroyed the human race, and not even have left a single man to lament the degeneracy of his species. An additional proof of this is the fact, that the more nations associate with each other, and the more they see and know of their fellow-creatures, the more quickly do ancient enmities disappear. This is because an enlarged experience proves that mankind is not so radically bad as we from our infancy are taught to believe. But if vices were really more frequent than virtues, the result would be, that the increasing amalgamation of society would increase our bad opinion of others; because, though we may love our own vices, we do not generally love the vices of our neighbours. So far, however, is this from being the actual consequence, that it has always been found, that those whose extensive knowledge makes them best acquainted with the general course of human actions, are precisely those who take the most favourable view of them. The greatest observer and the most profound thinker is invariably the most lenient judge. It is the solitary misanthrope, brooding over his fancied wrongs, who is most prone to depreciate the good qualities of our nature, and exaggerate its bad ones. Or else it is some foolish and ignorant monk, who, dreaming away his existence in an idle solitude, flatters his own vanity by denouncing the vices of others; and thus declaiming against the enjoyments of life, revenges himself on that society from which by his own superstition he is excluded.† These are the sort of men who insist most strongly on the corruption of our nature, and on the degeneracy into which we have fallen. The enormous evil which such opinions

[66] That there are more suicides in gloomy weather than in fine weather used always to be taken for granted, and was a favourite topic with the French wits, who were never weary of expatiating on our love of self-murder, and on the relation between it and our murky climate. Unfortunately for such speculations, the fact is exactly opposite to what is generally supposed, and we have decisive evidence that there are more suicides in summer than in winter. See *Quetelet sur l'Homme*, vol. ii. pp. 152, 158; *Tissot de la Manie du Suicide*, Paris, 1840, pp. 50, 149, 150; *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. i. p. 102; *Winslow's Anatomy of Suicide*, 1840, pp. 131, 132; *Hawkins's Medical Statistics*, p. 170.

[* If every honest Englishman thought and spoke as is alleged in the previous sentence, this would not be far wrong. Both sentences are exaggerations.—Ed.]

[† Frederick the Great, who called mankind "diese verdammte Rasse," hardly belonged to either order.—Ed.]

have brought about, is well understood by those who have studied the history of countries in which they are, and have been, most prevalent. Hence it is that, among the innumerable benefits derived from advancing knowledge, there are few more important than those improved facilities of communication,[67] which, by increasing the frequency with which nations and individuals are brought into contact, have to an extraordinary extent corrected their prejudices, raised the opinion which each forms of the other, diminished their mutual hostility, and thus diffusing a more favourable view of our common nature, have stimulated us to develop those boundless resources of the human understanding, the very existence of which it was once considered almost a heresy to assert.

This is precisely what has occurred in modern Europe. The French and English people have, by the mere force of increased contact, learned to think more favourably of each other, and to discard that foolish contempt in which both nations formerly indulged. In this, as in all cases, the better one civilized country is acquainted with another, the more it will find to respect and to imitate. For of all the causes of national hatred, ignorance is the most powerful. When you increase the contact, you remove the ignorance, and thus you diminish the hatred.[68] This is the true bond of charity ; and it is worth all the lessons which moralists and divines are able to teach. They have pursued their vocation for centuries, without producing the least effect in lessening the frequency of war. But it may be said without the slightest exaggeration, that every new railroad which is laid down, and every fresh steamer which crosses the Channel, are additional guarantees for the preservation of that long and unbroken peace which, during forty years, has knit together the fortunes and the interests of the two most civilized nations of the earth.

I have thus, so far as my knowledge will permit, endeavoured to indicate the causes which have diminished religious persecution and war ; the two greatest evils with which men have yet contrived to afflict their fellow-creatures. The question of the decline of religious persecution I have only briefly noticed, because it will be more fully handled in a subsequent part of this volume. Enough however, has been advanced to prove how essentially it is an intellectual process, and how little good can be effected on this subject by the operation of moral feelings. The causes of the decline of the warlike spirit I have examined at considerable, and perhaps, to some readers, at tedious length ; and the result of that examination has been, that the decline is owing to the increase of the intellectual classes, to whom the military classes are necessarily antagonistic. In pushing the inquiry a little deeper, we have, by still further analysis, ascertained the existence of three vast though subsidiary causes, by which the general movement has been accelerated. These are—the invention of Gunpowder, the discoveries of Political Economy, and the discovery of improved means of Locomotion. Such are the three great modes or channels by which the progress of knowledge has weakened the old warlike spirit ; and the way in which they have effected this has, I trust, been clearly pointed out. The facts and arguments which I have brought forward have, I can conscientiously say, been subjected to careful and repeated scrutiny ; and I am quite unable to see on what possible ground their accuracy is to be impugned. That they will be disagreeable to

[67] Respecting which I will only mention one fact, in regard to our own country. By the returns of the Board of Trade, it appears that the passengers annually travelling by railway amounted in 1842 to nineteen millions ; but in 1852 they had increased to more than eighty-six millions. *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. xvi. p. 292.

[68] Of this Mr. Stephens (in his valuable work, *Central America*, vol. i. pp. 247–8) relates an interesting instance in the case of that remarkable man Carrera : " Indeed, in no particular had he changed more than in his opinion of foreigners ; a happy illustration of the effect of personal intercourse in breaking down prejudices against individuals or classes." Mr. Elphinstone (*History of India*, p. 195) says, " Those who have known the Indians longest, have always the best opinion of them : but *this is rather a compliment to human nature than to them, since it is true of every other people.*" Compare an instructive passage in *Darwin's Journal of Researches*, p. 421, with *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*. vol. ii. p. 61.

certain classes, I am well aware ; but the unpleasantness of a statement is hardly to be considered a proof of its falsehood. The sources from which the evidence has been derived are fully indicated ; and the arguments, I hope, fairly stated. And from them there results a most important conclusion. From them we are bound to infer that the two oldest, greatest, most inveterate, and most widely-spread evils which have ever been known, are constantly, though on the whole slowly, diminishing ; and that their diminution has been effected, not at all by moral feelings, nor by moral teachings, but solely by the activity of the human intellect, and by the inventions and discoveries which, in a long course of successive ages, man has been able to make.

Since, then, in the two most important phenomena which the progress of society presents, the moral laws have been steadily and invariably subordinate to the intellectual laws,* there arises a strong presumption that in inferior matters the same process has been followed. To prove this in its full extent, and thus raise the presumption to an absolute certainty, would be to write, not an Introduction to history, but the History itself. The reader must therefore be satisfied for the present with what, I am conscious, is merely an approach towards demonstration ; and the complete demonstration must necessarily be reserved for the future volumes of this work : in which I pledge myself to show that the progress Europe has made from barbarism to civilization is entirely due to its intellectual activity ; that the leading countries have now, for some centuries, advanced sufficiently far to shake off the influence of those physical agencies by which in an earlier state their career might have been troubled ; and that although the moral agencies are still powerful, and still cause occasional disturbances, these are but aberrations, which, if we compare long periods of time, balance each other, and thus in the total amount entirely disappear. So that, in a great and comprehensive view, the changes in every civilized people are, in their aggregate, dependent solely on three things : first, on the amount of knowledge possessed by their ablest men ; secondly, on the direction which that knowledge takes, that is to say, the sort of subjects to which it refers ; thirdly, and above all, on the extent to which the knowledge is diffused, and the freedom with which it pervades all classes of society.

These are the three great movers of every civilized country ; and although their operation is frequently disturbed by the vices or the virtues of powerful individuals, such moral feelings correct each other, and the average of long periods remains unaffected. Owing to causes of which we are ignorant, the moral qualities do, no doubt, constantly vary ; so that in one man, or perhaps even in one generation, there will be an excess of good intentions, in another an excess of bad ones. But we have no reason to think that any permanent change has been effected in the proportion which those who naturally possess good intentions bear to those in whom bad ones seem to be inherent. In what may be called the innate and original morals of mankind, there is, so far as we are aware, no progress. Of the different passions with which we are born, some are more prevalent at one time, some at another ; but experience teaches us that, as they are always antagonistic, they are held in balance by the force of their own opposition. The activity of one motive is corrected by the activity of another. For to every vice there is a corresponding virtue. Cruelty is counteracted by benevolence ; sympathy is excited by suffering ; the injustice of some provokes the charity of others ; new evils are met by new remedies, and even the most enormous offences that have ever been known have left behind them no permanent impression. The desolation of countries and the slaughter of men are losses which never fail to be repaired, and at the distance of a few centuries every vestige of them is effaced. The gigantic crimes of Alexander or Napoleon become after a time void of effect, and the affairs of the world return to their former level. This is the ebb and flow of history, the perpetual flux to which by the laws of our nature we are subject. Above all this, there is a far higher movement ; and as the tide rolls on, now advancing, now receding, there is, amid its endless fluctuations, one thing, and one alone, which endures for ever. The actions of bad men produce only

[* For "laws" it would be well to read here "factors." See above, p. 26, *note*.—Ed.]

temporary evil, the actions of good men only temporary good ; and eventually the good and the evil altogether subside, are neutralized by subsequent generations, absorbed by the incessant movement of future ages. But the discoveries of great men never leave us ; they are immortal, they contain those eternal truths which survive the shock of empires, outlive the struggles of rival creeds, and witness the decay of successive religions. All these have their different measures and their different standards ; one set of opinions for one age, another set for another. They pass away like a dream ; they are as the fabric of a vision, which leaves not a rack behind. The discoveries of genius alone remain : it is to them we owe all that we now have; they are for all ages and all times ; never young, and never old, they bear the seeds of their own life ; they flow on in a perennial and undying stream ; they are essentially cumulative, and, giving birth to the additions which they subsequently receive, they thus influence the most distant posterity, and after the lapse of centuries produce more effect than they were able to do even at the moment of their promulgation.

CHAPTER V

Inquiry into the Influence exercised by Religion, Literature, and Government:

By applying to the history of Man those methods of investigation which have been found successful in other branches of knowledge, and by rejecting all preconceived notions which would not bear the test of those methods, we have arrived at certain results, the heads of which it may now be convenient to recapitulate. We have seen that our actions, being solely the result of internal and external agencies, must be explicable by the laws of those agencies; that is to say, by mental laws and by physical laws. We have also seen that mental laws are, in Europe, more powerful than physical laws; * and that, in the progress of civilization, their superiority is constantly increasing, because advancing knowledge multiplies the resources of the mind, but leaves the old resources of nature stationary. On this account, we have treated the mental laws as being the great regulators of progress; and we have looked at the physical laws as occupying a subordinate place, and as merely displaying themselves in occasional disturbances, the force and frequency of which have been long declining, and are now, on a large average, almost inoperative. Having by this means resolved the study of what may be called the dynamics of society into the study of the laws of the mind, we have subjected these last to a similar analysis; and we have found that they consist of two parts, namely, moral laws and intellectual laws. By comparing these two parts, we have clearly ascertained the vast superiority of the intellectual laws; and we have seen that as the progress of civilization is marked by the triumph of the mental laws over the physical, just so is it marked by the triumph of the intellectual laws † over the moral ones. This important inference rests on two distinct arguments. First, that moral truths being stationary, and intellectual truths being progressive, it is highly improbable that the progress of society should be due to moral knowledge, which for many centuries has remained the same, rather than to intellectual knowledge, which for many centuries has been incessantly advancing. The other argument consists in the fact, that the two greatest evils known to mankind have not been diminished by moral improvement; but have been, and still are, yielding to the influence of intellectual discoveries. From all this it evidently follows, that if we wish to ascertain the conditions which regulate the progress of modern civilization, we must seek them in the history of the amount and diffusion of intellectual knowledge; and we must consider physical phenomena and moral principles as causing, no doubt, great aberrations in short periods, but in long periods correcting and balancing themselves, and thus leaving the intellectual laws to act uncontrolled by these inferior and subordinate agents.

Such is the conclusion to which we have been led by successive analyses, and

[* See above, pp. 86–90, *notes*.—Ed.]

[† That is, factors. See above, p. 26, *note*.—Ed.]

on which we now take our stand. The actions of individuals are greatly affected by their moral feelings and by their passions; but these being antagonistic to the passions and feelings of other individuals, are balanced by them; so that their effect is, in the great average of human affairs, nowhere to be seen; and the total actions of mankind, considered as a whole, are left to be regulated by the total knowledge of which mankind is possessed. And of the way in which individual feeling and individual caprice are thus absorbed and neutralized, we find a clear illustration in the facts already brought forward respecting the history of crime. For by those facts it is decisively proved that the amount of crime committed in a country is, year after year, reproduced with the most startling uniformity, not being in the least affected by those capricious and personal feelings to which human actions are too often referred. But if, instead of examining the history of crime year by year, we were to examine it month by month, we should find less regularity; and if we were to examine it hour by hour, we should find no regularity at all; neither would its regularity be seen if, instead of the criminal records of a whole country, we only knew those of a single street, or of a single family. This is because the great social laws by which crime is governed can be perceived only after observing great numbers or long periods; but in a small number, and a short period, the individual moral principle triumphs, and disturbs the operation of the larger and intellectual law. While, therefore, the moral feelings by which a man is urged to commit a crime, or to abstain from it, will produce an immense effect on the amount of his own crimes, they will produce no effect on the amount of crimes committed by the society to which he belongs; because, in the long-run, they are sure to be neutralized by opposite moral feelings, which cause in other men an opposite conduct. Just in the same way, we are all sensible that moral principles do affect nearly the whole of our actions; but we have incontrovertible proof that they produce not the least effect on mankind in the aggregate, or even on men in very large masses, provided that we take the precaution of studying social phenomena for a period sufficiently long, and on a scale sufficiently great, to enable the superior laws to come into uncontrolled operation.

The totality of human actions being thus, from the highest point of view, governed by the totality of human knowledge, it might seem a simple matter to collect the evidence of the knowledge, and, by subjecting it to successive generalizations, ascertain the whole of the laws which regulate the progress of civilization. And that this will be eventually done, I do not entertain the slightest doubt. But, unfortunately, history has been written by men so inadequate to the great task they have undertaken, that few of the necessary materials have yet been brought together. Instead of telling us those things which alone have any value,—instead of giving us information respecting the progress of knowledge, and the way in which mankind has been affected by the diffusion of that knowledge,—instead of these things, the vast majority of historians fill their works with the most trifling and miserable details: personal anecdotes of kings and courts; interminable relations of what was said by one minister, and what was thought by another; and, what is worse than all, long accounts of campaigns, battles, and sieges, very interesting to those engaged in them, but to us utterly useless, because they neither furnish new truths, nor do they supply the means by which new truths may be discovered.* This is the real impediment which now stops our advance. It is this want of judgment, and this ignorance of what is most worthy of selection, which deprive us of materials that ought long since to have been accumulated, arranged, and stored up for future use. In other great branches of knowledge, observation has preceded discovery; first the facts have been registered, and then their laws have been found. But in the study of the history of Man, the important facts have

[* It was one of the many originalities of Bodin to stipulate, in the sixteenth century, for a more rational handling of history in Buckle's sense. See his proposals described and discussed by Monteil (*Histoire des Français des divers états*, 3e édit., tom. iii., station lvii.), the most energetic preacher of the reform of history since Voltaire.—Ed.]

been neglected, and the unimportant ones preserved. The consequence is, that whoever now attempts to generalize historical phenomena, must collect the facts, as well as conduct the generalization. He finds nothing ready to his hand. He must be the mason as well as the architect ; he must not only scheme the edifice, but likewise excavate the quarry. The necessity of performing this double labour entails upon the philosopher such enormous drudgery, that the limits of an entire life are unequal to the task ; and history, instead of being ripe, as it ought to be, for complete and exhaustive generalizations, is still in so crude and informal a state, that not the most determined and protracted industry will enable any one to comprehend the really important actions of mankind, during even so short a period as two successive centuries.

On account of these things, I have long since abandoned my original scheme ; and I have reluctantly determined to write the history, not of general civilization, but of the civilization of a single people. While, however, by this means, we curtail the field of inquiry, we unfortunately diminish the resources of which the inquiry is possessed. For although it is perfectly true that the totality of human actions, if considered in long periods, depends on the totality of human knowledge, it must be allowed that this great principle, when applied only to one country, loses something of its original value. The more we diminish our observations, the greater becomes the uncertainty of the average ; in other words, the greater the chance of the operation of the larger laws being troubled by the operation of the smaller. The interference of foreign governments ; the influence exercised by the opinions, literature, and customs of a foreign people ; their invasions, perhaps even their conquests ; the forcible introduction by them of new religions, new laws, and new manners,—all these things are perturbations, which, in a view of universal history, equalize each other, but which, in any one country, are apt to disturb the natural march, and thus render the movements of civilization more difficult to calculate. The manner in which I have endeavoured to meet this difficulty will be presently stated ; but what I first wish to point out, are the reasons which have induced me to select the history of England as more important than any other, and therefore as the most worthy of being subjected to a complete and philosophic investigation.

Now, it is evident that, inasmuch as the great advantage of studying past events consists in the possibility of ascertaining the laws by which they were governed, the history of any people will become more valuable in proportion as their movements have been least disturbed by agencies not arising from themselves. Every foreign or external influence which is brought to bear upon a nation is an interference with its natural development,* and therefore complicates the circumstances we seek to investigate. To simplify complications is, in all branches of knowledge, the first essential of success. This is very familiar to the cultivators of physical science, who are often able, by a single experiment, to discover a truth which innumerable observations had vainly searched ; the reason being, that by experimenting on phenomena we can disentangle them from their complications ; and thus isolating them from the interference of unknown agencies, we leave them, as it were, to run their own course, and disclose the operation of their own law.

This, then, is the true standard by which we must measure the value of the history of any nation. The importance of the history of a country depends, not upon the splendour of its exploits, but upon the degree to which its actions are due to causes springing out of itself. If, therefore, we could find some civilized people who had worked out their civilization entirely by themselves ; who had escaped all foreign influence, and who had been neither benefited nor retarded by the personal peculiarities of their rulers,—the history of such a people would

[* On this view, the " natural development " of the northern nations would have been to remain forever in a state of barbarism. To say that their history would in that case have been " more valuable " is preposterous. This *reductio ad absurdum*, however, cancels the proposition in the text, which is a verbal fallacy due to insufficient reflection.—Ed.]

be of paramount importance ; * because it would present a condition of normal and inherent development ; it would show the laws of progress acting in a state of isolation ; it would be, in fact, an experiment ready-made, and would possess all the value of that artificial contrivance to which natural science is so much indebted.

To find such a people as this is obviously impossible ; but the duty of the philosophic historian is to select for his special study the country in which the conditions have been most closely followed. Now, it will be readily admitted, not only by ourselves, but by intelligent foreigners, that in England, during, at all events, the last three centuries,† this has been done more constantly and more successfully than in any other country. I say nothing of the number of our discoveries, the brilliancy of our literature, or the success of our arms. These are invidious topics ; and other nations may perhaps deny to us those superior merits which we are apt to exaggerate. But I take up this single position, that of all European countries England is the one where, during the longest period, the government has been most quiescent, and the people most active ; where popular freedom has been settled on the widest basis ; where each man is most able to say what he thinks, and do what he likes ; where every one can follow his own bent, and propagate his own opinions ; where, religious persecution being little known, the play and flow of the human mind may be clearly seen, unchecked by those restraints to which it is elsewhere subjected ; where the profession of heresy is least dangerous, and the practice of dissent most common ; where hostile creeds flourish side by side, and rise and decay without disturbance, according to the wants of the people, unaffected by the wishes of the church, and uncontrolled by the authority of the state ; where all interests, and all classes, both spiritual and temporal, are most left to take care of themselves ; where that meddlesome doctrine called Protection was first attacked, and where alone it has been destroyed ; and where, in a word, those dangerous extremes to which interference gives rise having been avoided, despotism and rebellion are equally rare, and concession being recognized as the groundwork of policy, the national progress has been least disturbed by the power of privileged classes, by the influence of particular sects, or by the violence of arbitrary rulers.

That these are the characteristics of English history is notorious ; to some men a matter of boast, to others of regret. And when to these circumstances we add that England, owing to its insular formation,[1] was until the middle of the last century rarely visited by foreigners, it becomes evident that, in our progress as a people, we have been less affected than any other by the two main sources of interference, namely, the authority of government, and the influence of foreigners. In the sixteenth century, it became a fashion, among the English nobility, to travel abroad ;[2] but it was by no means the fashion for foreign nobility to travel in England. In the seventeenth century, the custom of

[1] Coleridge well says, "It is the chief of many blessings derived from the insular character and circumstances of our country, that our social institutions have formed themselves out of our proper needs and interests." *Coleridge on the Constitution of the Church and State*, 8vo, 1830, pp. 20, 21. The political consequences of this were much noticed at the time of the French Revolution. See *Mémoires de La Fayette*, vol. i. p. 404, Bruxelles, 1837.

[2] In another place, I shall collect the evidence of the rapidly increasing love of travelling in the sixteenth century ; but it is interesting to observe, that during the latter half of the century there was first established the custom of appointing travelling tutors. Compare *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, p. 218, with a letter from Beza, written in 1598, in *Mémoires et Correspondance de Du Plessis Mornay*, vol. ix. p. 81.

[* The nearest approach to such a history is that of ancient Egypt, which Buckle has briefly handled above. Next would come the history of China, which he has not dealt with at all. Next, perhaps, would be that of Iceland, or that of Turkey, which he said he could "write on the back of his hand"—(*Life*, by Huth, ii. 171)—another *reductio ad absurdum*.—Ed.]

[† This qualification surrenders the thesis.—Ed.]

travelling for amusement spread so much, that, among the rich and idle classes, there were few Englishmen who did not, at least once in their life, cross the Channel; while the same classes in other countries, partly because they were less wealthy, partly from an inveterate dislike to the sea, hardly ever entered our island, unless compelled to do so on some particular business. The result was that in other countries, and particularly in France and Italy, the inhabitants of the great cities became gradually accustomed to foreigners, and, like all men, were imperceptibly influenced by what they often saw.* On the other hand, there were many of our cities in which none but Englishmen ever set their feet;[3] and inhabitants, even of the metropolis, might grow old without having once seen a single foreigner, except, perhaps, some dull and pompous ambassador taking his airing on the banks of the Thames. And although it is often said that, after the restoration of Charles II., our national character began to be greatly influenced by French example,[4] this, as I shall fully prove, was confined to that small and insignificant part of society which hung about the court; nor did it produce any marked effect upon the two most important classes,—the intellectual class and the industrious class. The movement may, indeed, be traced in the most worthless parts of our literature,—in the shameless productions of Buckingham, Dorset, Etherege, Killigrew, Mulgrave, Rochester, and Sedley.† But neither then, nor at a much later period, were any of our great thinkers influenced by the intellect of France;[5] on the contrary, we find in their ideas, and even in their style, a certain rough and native vigour, which, though offensive to our more polished neighbours, has at least the merit of being the indigenous product of our own country.[6] The origin and extent of

[3] In regard to the society of women, this was still more observable, even at a much later period; and when the Countess de Boufflers visited England, at the beginning of the reign of George III., "on lui faisoit un mérite de sa curiosité de voir l'Angleterre; car on remarquoit qu'elle étoit la seule dame françoise de qualité qui fût venue en voyageuse depuis deux cents ans: on ne comprenoit point, dans cette classe, les ambassadrices, ni la duchesse de Mazarin, qui y étoient venues par nécessité." *Dutens, Mémoires d'un Voyageur*, vol. i. p. 217. Compare *Mémoires de Madame de Genlis*, vol. viii. p. 241.

[4] *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 288; *Mahon's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 211; and many other writers.

[5] The only Englishman of genius who, during this period, was influenced by the French mind, was Dryden; but this is chiefly apparent in his plays, the whole of which are now deservedly forgotten. [See the preceding note.—ED.] His great works, and, above all, those wonderful satires, in which he distances every competitor, except Juvenal, are thoroughly national, and as mere specimens of English are, if I may express my own judgment, to be ranked immediately after Shakespeare. In Dryden's writings there are unquestionably many Gallicisms of expression, but few Gallicisms of thought; and it is by these last that we must estimate the real amount of foreign influence. Sir Walter Scott goes so far as to say, "It will admit of question, whether any single French word has been naturalized upon the sole authority of Dryden." *Scott's Life of Dryden*, p. 523, 8vo, 1808. Rather a bold assertion. As to the opinion of Fox, see Lord Holland's preface to *Fox's James II.*, 4to, 1808, p. xxxii.

[6] Another circumstance which has maintained the independence, and therefore increased the value, of our literature, is, that in no great country have literary men been

[* This line of reasoning overlooks the fact that the chief influence exerted by travel is often that on the traveller, not his on the people among whom he travels. English thought and literature were much more influenced by the contact of Englishmen with Italy, down to Milton, than were Italian thought and literature by the passage of Englishmen through Italy.—ED.]

[† This entirely overlooks the great influence of French *criticism* on English literature for two or three generations after the Restoration. Dryden was much influenced by it, and so were Shaftesbury and Addison; and a whole series of the French critics, including Rapin, Bossu, Du Bos, Bouhours, Fontenelle, and Dacier were translated. See refs. in the editor's *Essays towards a Critical Method*, 1889, pp. 26–27. Cp. Shaftesbury, *Characteristics*, ed. 1900, i. 94.—ED.]

that connexion between the French and English intellects which subsequently arose, is a subject of immense importance; but, like most others of real value, it has been entirely neglected by historians. In the present work, I shall attempt to supply this deficiency: in the meantime I may say, that although we have been, and still are, greatly indebted to the French for our improvement in taste, in refinement, in manners, and indeed in all the amenities of life, we have borrowed from them nothing absolutely essential,* nothing by which the destinies of nations are permanently altered. On the other hand, the French have not only borrowed from us some very valuable political institutions, but even the most important event in French history is due, in no small degree, to our influence. Their Revolution of 1789 was, as is well known, brought about, or, to speak more properly, was mainly instigated, by a few great men, whose works, and afterwards whose speeches, roused the people to resistance; but what is less known, and nevertheless is certainly true, is, that these eminent leaders learnt in England that philosophy and those principles by which, when transplanted into their own country, such fearful and yet such salutary results were effected.[7]

It will not, I hope, be supposed that by these remarks I mean to cast any reflection on the French: a great and admirable people; a people in many respects superior to ourselves; a people from whom we have still much to learn, and whose deficiencies, such as they are, arise from the perpetual interference of a long line of arbitrary rulers. But, looking at this matter historically, it is unquestionably true that we have worked out our civilization with little aid from them, while they have worked out theirs with great aid from us. At the same time, it must also be admitted that our governments have interfered less with us than their governments have interfered with them. And without in the least prejudging the question as to which is the greater country, it is solely on these grounds that I consider our history more important than theirs: and I select for especial study the progress of English civilization simply because, being less affected by agencies not arising from itself, we can the more clearly discern in it the normal march of society, and the undisturbed operation of those great laws by which the fortunes of mankind are ultimately regulated.

After this comparison between the relative value of French and English history, it seems scarcely necessary to examine the claims which may be put forward for the history of other countries. Indeed, there are only two in whose favour anything can be said: I mean Germany, considered as a whole, and the United States of North America. As to the Germans, it is undoubtedly true that since the middle of the eighteenth century they have produced a greater number of

so little connected with the government, or rewarded by it. That this is the true policy, and that to protect literature is to injure it, are propositions for the proof of which I must refer to chap. xi. of this volume—on the system of Louis XIV. In the meantime, I will quote the following words from a learned and, what is much better, a thoughtful writer: "Nor must he who will understand the English institutions leave out of view the character of the enduring works which had sprung from the salient energy of the English mind. Literature had been left to develop itself. William of Orange was foreign to it; Anne cared not for it; the first George knew no English; the second not much." *Bancroft's History of the American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 48. Compare *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, 1854, vol. i. pp. 93–96, vol. ii. p. 480.

[7] See for evidence of this influence of England, chap. xii. of the present volume. [The passage in the text assumes that the French Revolution resulted solely or mainly from the influence of English *thought* on the French mind. It really was in large measure determined by the *example* of the American Revolution.—Ed.]

[* While here making the "absolutely essential" the only alternative to influences on "the amenities of life," Buckle below (ch. vi. p. 184) admits that "the great French thinkers" led the way in comprehensive thinking on history. But he wholly omits to note that Adam Smith, to whose work he attributes such immense importance, was preceded and deeply influenced by the French Physiocrats. Cp. McCulloch, *Principles of Political Economy*, 2nd ed. p. 59; H. Higgs, *The Physiocrats*, 1897, p. 127; Ingram, *History of Political Economy*, 1888, p. 88. And see below, ch. xiv. *notes* 3 and 4.—Ed.]

profound thinkers than any other country, I might perhaps say, than all other countries put together. But the objections which apply to the French are still more applicable to the Germans. For the protective principle has been, and still is, stronger in Germany than in France. Even the best of the German governments are constantly interfering with the people ; never leaving them to themselves, always looking after their interests, and meddling in the commonest affairs of daily life. Besides this, the German literature,* though now the first in Europe, owes its origin, as we shall hereafter see, to that great sceptical movement, by which, in France, the Revolution was preceded. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, the Germans, notwithstanding a few eminent names, such as Kepler and Leibnitz, had no literature of real value ; and the first impetus which they received, was caused by their contact with the French intellect, and by the influence of those eminent Frenchmen who, in the reign of Frederick the Great, flocked to Berlin,[8] a city which has ever since been the head-quarters of philosophy and science. From this there have resulted some very important circumstances, which I can here only briefly indicate. The German intellect, stimulated by the French into a sudden growth, has been irregularly developed ; and thus hurried into an activity greater than the average civilization of the country requires. The consequence is, that there is no nation in Europe in which we find so wide an interval between the highest minds and the lowest minds. The German philosophers possess a learning, and a reach of thought, which places them at the head of the civilized world. The German people are more superstitious, more prejudiced, and, notwithstanding the care which the government takes of their education, more really ignorant, and more unfit to guide themselves, than are the inhabitants either of France or of England.[9] This

[8] The history of this remarkable, though short-lived, union between the French and German intellects will be traced in the next volume ; but its first great effect, in stimulating, or rather in creating, the German literature, is noticed by one of the most learned of their own writers : " Denn einestheils war zu diesen Gegenständen immer die lateinische Sprache gebraucht, und die Muttersprache zu wenig cultivirt worden, anderntheils wurden diese Schriften auch meistentheils nur von Gelehrten, und zwar Universitätsgelehrten, für welche sie auch hauptsächlich bestimmt waren, gelesen. Gegen die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, als mehrere englische und französische Werke gelesen und übersetzt wurden, und durch die Vorliebe des Königs von Preussen Friedrichs II., der von Franzosen gebildet worden war, französische Gelehrte besonders geehrt und angestellt wurden, entstand ein Wetteifer der Deutschen, auch in dem schriftlichen Vortrage nicht zurück zu bleiben, und die Sprache hob sich bald zu einem hohen Grade von Vollkommenheit." *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. xi. pp. 286, 287. [For the truth of Buckle's proposition, which has been frequently called in question, see the evidence collected in the editor's *Buckle and his Critics*, ch. vi. § 5.—Ed.]

[9] A popular view of the system of national education established in Germany will be found in *Kay's Social Condition and Education of the People of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 1–344. But Mr. Kay, like most literary men, overrates the advantages of literary acquirements, and underrates that education of the faculties which neither books nor schools can impart to a people who are debarred from the exercise of civil and political rights. In the history of the protective spirit (chaps. ix. and x. of the present volume), I shall return to this subject, in connexion with France; and in the next volume I shall examine it in regard to German civilization. In the meantime, I must be allowed to protest against the account Mr. Kay has given of the results of compulsory education ; an agreeable picture, drawn by an amiable and intelligent writer, but of the inaccuracy of which I possess decisive evidence. Two points only I will now refer to. 1st. The notorious fact, that the German people, notwithstanding their so-called education, are unfit to take any share in political matters, and have no aptitude for the practical and administrative parts of government. 2nd. The fact, equally notorious to those who have studied the subject, that there are more popular superstitions in Prussia, the most educated part

[* Buckle here and often elsewhere, though not always, uses the term " literature " as covering philosophic and scientific works as well as, or rather than, *belles lettres*. See below, *note* 32.—Ed.]

separation and divergence of the two classes is the natural result of that artificial stimulus, which a century ago was administered to one of the classes, and which thus disturbed the normal proportions of society. Owing to this, the highest intellects have, in Germany, so outstripped the general progress of the nation, that there is no sympathy between the two parties; nor are there at present any means by which they may be brought into contact. Their great authors address themselves, not to their country, but to each other. They are sure of a select and learned audience, and they use what, in reality, is a learned language: they turn their mother-tongue into a dialect, eloquent indeed, and very powerful, but so difficult, so subtle, and so full of complicated inversions, that to their own lower classes it is utterly incomprehensible.[10] From this, there have arisen some of the most marked peculiarities of German literature. For, being deprived of ordinary readers, it is cut off from the influence of ordinary prejudice; and hence, it has displayed a boldness of inquiry, a recklessness in the pursuit of truth, and a disregard of traditional opinions, which entitle it to the highest praise. But, on the other hand, this same circumstance has produced that absence of practical knowledge, and that indifference to material and physical interests, for which the German literature is justly censured. As a matter of course, all this has widened the original breach, and increased the distance which separates the great German thinkers from that dull and plodding

of Germany, than there are in England; and that the tenacity with which men cling to them is greater in Prussia than in England. For illustration of the practical working, in individual cases, of compulsory education, and of the hardship it causes, see a scandalous occurrence, related in *Laing's Notes of a Traveller*, 8vo, 1842, p. 165, first series; and on the physical evils produced by German education, see *Phillips on Scrofula*, London, 1846, pp. 253, 254, where there is some useful evidence of the consequences of "that great German sin of over-regulation." [The first of the above propositions will not now be affirmed by any one. The second was denied in 1858 by Theodore Parker (*Works*, xii. 126). The absence of evidence on Buckle's side puts the assertion out of court. It should be noted however that the above promise to discuss German civilization in the second volume was not fulfilled.—Ed.]

[10] This is well stated by Mr. Laing, by far the ablest traveller who has published observations on European society: "German authors, both the philosophic and the poetic, address themselves to a public far more intellectual, and more highly cultivated, than our reading public. . . . In our literature, the most obscure and abstruse of metaphysical or philosophical writers *take the public mind in a far lower state*, simply cognisant of the meaning of language, and possessed of the ordinary reasoning powers. . . . The social influence of German literature is, consequently, confined within a narrower circle. It has no influence on the mind of the lower, or even of the middle classes in active life, who have not the opportunity or leisure to screw their faculties up to the pitch-note of their great writers. The reading public must devote much time to acquire the knowledge, tone of feeling, and of imagination, necessary to follow the writing public. The social economist finds accordingly in Germany the most extraordinary dullness, inertness of mind, and ignorance, below a certain level, with the most extraordinary intellectual development, learning, and genius, at or above it." *Laing's Notes of a Traveller*, first series, pp. 266, 267. The same acute observer says in a later work (*Notes*, third series, 8vo, 1852, p. 12): "The two classes speak and think in different languages. The cultivated German language, the language of German literature, is not the language of the common man, nor even of the man far up in the middle ranks of society,—the farmer, tradesman, shopkeeper." See also pp. 351, 352, 354. It is singular that so clear and vigorous a thinker as Mr. Laing evidently is, should have failed in detecting the cause of this peculiar phenomenon. [Taine, who says of French literature what Laing and Buckle say of German, affirms on the other hand that "in Germany, on Sunday, a servant reads and listens to Schiller." (*Lafontaine et ses Fables*, 7e édit. pp. 59–61); and M. Bossert, making the same statement concerning France, goes so far as to say that "in Germany the public which judges intellectual products is the entire nation" (*Goethe, ses Précurseurs et ses Contemporains*, 1872, p. v.). The truth probably lies midway in both cases.—Ed.]

class, which, though it lies immediately beneath them, still remains uninfluenced by their knowledge, and uncheered by the glow and fire of their genius.

In America, on the other hand, we see a civilization precisely the reverse of this. We see a country of which it has been truly said, that in no other are there so few men of great learning, and so few men of great ignorance.[11] In Germany, the speculative classes and the practical classes are altogether disunited; in America, they are altogether fused. In Germany, nearly every year brings forward new discoveries, new philosophies, new means by which the boundaries of knowledge are to be enlarged. In America, such inquiries are almost entirely neglected: since the time of Jonathan Edwards no great metaphysician has appeared; little attention has been paid to physical science; * and, with the single exception of jurisprudence,[12] scarcely anything has been done for those vast subjects on which the Germans are incessantly labouring. The stock of American knowledge is small, but it is spread through all classes; the stock of German knowledge is immense, but it is confined to one class. Which of these two forms of civilization is the more advantageous, is a question we are not now called upon to decide. It is enough for our present purpose that in Germany there is a serious failure in the diffusion of knowledge; and, in America, a no less serious one in its accumulation. And as civilization is regulated by the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge, it is evident that no country can even approach to a complete and perfect pattern, if, cultivating one of these conditions to an excess, it neglects the cultivation of the other. Indeed, from this want of balance and equilibrium between the two elements of civilization, there have arisen in America and in Germany those great but opposite evils, which, it is to be feared, will not be easily remedied; and which, until remedied, will certainly retard the progress of both countries, notwithstanding the temporary advantages which such one-sided energy does for the moment always procure.

I have very briefly, but I hope fairly, and certainly with no conscious partiality, endeavoured to estimate the relative value of the history of the four leading countries of the world. As to the real greatness of the countries themselves, I offer no opinion; because each considers itself to be the first. But, unless the facts I have stated can be controverted, it certainly follows that the history of England is, to the philosopher, more valuable than any other; because he can more clearly see in it the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge going hand-in-hand; because that knowledge has been less influenced by foreign and external agencies; and because it has been less interfered with, either for good or for

[11] "Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait de pays dans le monde où, proportion gardée avec la population, il se trouve aussi peu d'ignorants et moins de savants qu'en Amérique." *Tocqueville de la Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. i. p. 91.

[12] The causes of this exception I shall endeavour to trace in the next volume; but it is interesting to notice that, as early as 1775, Burke was struck by the partiality of the Americans for works on law. See *Burke's Speech*, in *Parliamentary History*, vol. xviii. p. 495; or in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 188. He says: "In no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to the Congress were lawyers. But all who read,—and most do read,—endeavour to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England." Of this state of society, the great works of Kent and Story were, at a later period, the natural result. On the respect at present felt for the legal profession, see *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, 1849, vol. i. p. 45; and as to the judges, *Combe's N. America*, vol. ii. p. 329.

[* The phrase "little attention has been paid" is inaccurate, as was pointed out by Theodore Parker, who on the other hand held that Buckle overstated the degree of diffusion of knowledge in the United States. (*Works*, xii. 149.) Though in 1857 little original work had been done there for science, the sciences were widely studied.—Ed.]

evil, by those powerful, but frequently incompetent men, to whom the administration of public affairs is intrusted.

It is on account of these considerations, and not at all from those motives which are dignified with the name of patriotism, that I have determined to write the history of my own country, in preference to that of any other ; and to write it in a manner as complete, and as exhaustive, as the materials which are now extant will enable me to do. But inasmuch as the circumstances already stated render it impossible to discover the laws of society solely by studying the history of a single nation, I have drawn up the present Introduction, in order to obviate some of the difficulties with which this great subject is surrounded. In the earlier chapters, I have attempted to mark out the limits of the subject considered as a whole, and fix the largest possible basis upon which it can rest. With this view, I have looked at civilization as broken into two vast divisions : the European division, in which Man is more powerful than Nature ; and the non-European division, in which Nature is more powerful than Man. This has led us to the conclusion that national progress, in connexion with popular liberty, could have originated in no part of the world except in Europe ; where, therefore, the rise of real civilization, and the encroachments of the human mind upon the forces of nature, are alone to be studied. The superiority of the mental laws over the physical being thus recognized as the groundwork of European history, the next step has been, to resolve the mental laws into moral and intellectual, and prove the superior influence of the intellectual ones in accelerating the progress of Man. These generalizations appear to me the essential preliminaries of history, considered as a science ; and, in order to connect them with the special history of England we have now merely to ascertain the fundamental condition of intellectual progress, as, until that is done, the annals of any people can only present an empirical succession of events, connected by such stray and casual links as are devised by different writers, according to their different principles. The remaining part of this Introduction will therefore be chiefly occupied in completing the scheme I have sketched, by investigating the history of various countries in reference to those intellectual peculiarities on which the history of our own country supplies no adequate information. Thus, for instance, in Germany the accumulation of knowledge has been far more rapid than in England ; the laws of the accumulation of knowledge may on that account be most conveniently studied in German history, and then applied deductively to the history of England. In the same way, the Americans have diffused their knowledge much more completely than we have done ; I therefore propose to explain some of the phenomena of English civilization by those laws of diffusion, of which, in American civilization, the workings may be most clearly seen, and hence the discovery most easily made. Again, inasmuch as France is the most civilized country in which the protective spirit is very powerful, we may trace the occult tendencies of that spirit among ourselves, by studying its obvious tendencies among our neighbours. With this view, I shall give an account of French history, in order to illustrate the protective principle, by showing the injury it has inflicted on a very able and enlightened people. And, in an analysis of the French Revolution, I shall point out how that great event was a reaction against the protective spirit ; while, as the materials for the reaction were drawn from England, we shall also see in it the way in which the intellect of one country acts upon the intellect of another ; and we shall arrive at some results respecting that interchange of ideas which is likely to become the most important regulator of European affairs. This will throw much light on the laws of international thought ; and, in connexion with it, two separate chapters will be devoted to a History of the Protective Spirit and an Examination of its relative intensity in France and England. But the French as a people have since the beginning or middle of the seventeenth century been remarkably free from superstition ; and, notwithstanding the efforts of their government, they are very averse to ecclesiastical power : so that, although their history displays the protective principle in its political form, it supplies little evidence respecting its religious form ; while, in our own country, the evidence is also scanty. Hence my intention is to give a view

of Spanish history ; because in it we may trace the full results of that protection against error which the spiritual classes are always eager to afford. In Spain, the church has, from a very early period, possessed more authority, and the clergy have been more influential, both with the people and the government, than in any other country ; it will therefore be convenient to study in Spain the laws of ecclesiastical development, and the manner in which that development affects the national interests. Another circumstance which operates on the intellectual progress of a nation is the method of investigation that its ablest men habitually employ. This method can only be one of two kinds ; it must be either inductive or deductive. Each of these belongs to a different form of civilization, and is always accompanied by a different style of thought, particularly in regard to religion and science. These differences are of such immense importance that, until their laws are known, we cannot be said to understand the real history of past events. Now the two extremes of the difference are, undoubtedly, Germany and the United States ; the Germans being preeminently deductive, the Americans inductive. But Germany and America are in so many other respects diametrically opposed to each other, that I have thought it expedient to study the operations of the deductive and inductive spirit in countries between which a closer analogy exists ; because the greater the similarity between two nations, the more easily can we trace the consequences of any single divergence, and the more conspicuous do the laws of that divergence become. Such an opportunity occurs in the history of Scotland, as compared with that of England. Here we have two nations, bordering on each other, speaking the same language, reading the same literature, and knit together by the same interests. And yet it is a truth, which seems to have escaped attention, but the proof of which I shall fully detail, that until the last thirty or forty years the Scotch intellect has been even more entirely deductive than the English intellect has been inductive. The inductive tendencies of the English mind, and the almost superstitious reverence with which we cling to them, have been noticed with regret by a few, and a very few, of our ablest men.[13] On the other hand, in Scotland, particularly during the eighteenth century, the great thinkers, with hardly an exception, adopted the deductive method. Now the characteristic of deduction, when applied to branches of knowledge not yet ripe for it, is, that it increases the number of hypotheses from which we reason downwards, and brings into disrepute the slow and patient ascent peculiar to inductive inquiry. This desire to grasp at truth by speculative, and, as it were, foregone conclusions, has often led the way to great discoveries ; and no one, properly instructed, will deny its immense value. But when it is universally followed, there is imminent danger lest the observation of mere empirical uniformities should be neglected ; and lest thinking men should grow impatient at those small and proximate generalizations, which, according to the inductive scheme, must invariably precede the larger and higher ones. Whenever this impatience actually occurs, there is produced serious mischief. For these lower generalizations form a neutral ground, which speculative minds and practical minds possess in common, and on which they meet. If this ground is cut away, the meeting is impossible. In such case, there arises among the scientific classes an undue contempt for inferences which the experience of the vulgar has drawn, but of which the laws seem inexplicable ; while, among the practical classes, there arises a disregard of speculations so wide, so magnificent, and of which the intermediate and preliminary steps are hidden from their gaze. The results of this in Scotland are highly curious, and are, in several respects, similar to those which we find in Germany ; since in both countries the intellectual classes have long been remarkable for their boldness of investigation and their freedom from prejudice, and the people at large equally remarkable

[13] Particularly Coleridge and Mr. John Mill. But, with the greatest possible respect for Mr. Mill's profound work on Logic, I must venture to think that he has ascribed too much to the influence of Bacon in encouraging the inductive spirit, and too little to those other circumstances which gave rise to the Baconian philosophy, and to which that philosophy owes its success.

for the number of their superstitions and the strength of their prejudices. In Scotland this is even more striking than in Germany; because the Scotch, owing to causes which have been little studied, are, in practical matters, not only industrious and provident, but singularly shrewd. This, however, in the higher departments of life, has availed them nothing; and, while there is no country which possesses a more original, inquisitive, and innovating literature than Scotland does, so also is there no country equally civilized in which so much of the spirit of the Middle Ages still lingers, in which so many absurdities are still believed, and in which it would be so easy to rouse into activity the old feelings of religious intolerance.*

The divergence, and indeed the hostility, thus established between the practical and speculative classes, is the most important fact in the history of Scotland, and is partly cause and partly effect of the predominance of the deductive method. For this descending scheme being opposed to the ascending or inductive scheme, neglects those lower generalizations which are the only ones that both classes understand, and, therefore, the only ones where they sympathize with each other. The inductive method, as popularized by Bacon, gave great prominence to these lower or proximate truths; and this, though it has often made the intellectual classes in England too utilitarian, has at all events saved them from that state of isolation in which they would otherwise have remained. But in Scotland the isolation has been almost complete, because the deductive method has been almost universal.† Full evidence of this will be collected in the next volume‡; but, that I may not leave the subject entirely without illustration, I will notice very briefly the principal instances that occurred during those three generations in which Scotch literature reached its highest excellence.

During this period, which comprises nearly a century, the tendency was so unmistakeable as to form a striking phenomenon in the annals of the human mind. The first great symptom was a movement begun by Simson, professor at the University of Glasgow, and continued by Stewart, professor at the University of Edinburgh. These able men made strenuous efforts to revive the pure Greek geometry, and depreciate the algebraic or symbolical analysis.[14] Hence there arose among them, and among their disciples, a love of the most refined methods

[14] Simson was appointed in 1711; and even before he began to lecture, he drew up "a translation of the three first books of L'Hopital's Conic Sections, in which geometrical demonstrations are substituted for the algebraical of the original, according to Mr. Simson's early taste on this subject." *Trail's Life and Writings of Robert Simson*, 1812, 4to, p. 4. This was probably the rudiment of his work on Conic Sections, published in 1735. *Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques*, vol. iii. p. 12. On the difference between the ancient and modern schemes, there are some ingenious, though perhaps scarcely tenable, remarks in Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. pp. 354 seq. and p. 380. See also *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. i. pp. 383–395. Matthew Stewart, the mathematical professor at Edinburgh, was the father of Dugald. See, respecting him and his crusade against the modern analysis, *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. pp. 357–360, vol. iii. p. 249; and a strange passage in *First Report of the British Association*, p. 59.

[* Buckle seems to have been much struck by the Sabbatarianism of Scotland in his day, and to have had this chiefly in view in the above passage. In other regards, his statement will hardly stand, most Catholic countries showing a greater survival of general superstitions than is seen in non-Gaelic Scotland. And Buckle seems to have known little of the *rural* life of England.—Ed.]

[† The meaning seems to be that whereas in England, *e.g.*, Bacon and Hobbes and Locke and Bentham had so dealt with practical questions as to have much influence on public policy or individual research, the Scottish writers had had no such influence. This is on the face of it inconsistent with the account previously given of the influence of Adam Smith; but in a subsequent chapter (xx) it is explained that Smith's influence on trade and politics was due not to his deductive method but to his coinciding there with the needs and the movement of his age and country.—Ed.]

[‡ *I.e.* in the later chapters of the present volume.—Ed.]

of solution, and a contempt for those easier, but less elegant ones, which we owe to algebra.[15] Here we clearly see the isolating and esoteric character of a scheme which despises what ordinary understandings can quickly master, and which had rather proceed from the ideal to the tangible, than mount from the tangible to the ideal. Just at the same time, the same spirit was displayed, in another branch of inquiry, by Hutcheson, who, though an Irishman by birth, was educated in the University of Glasgow, and was professor there. In his celebrated moral and æsthetic researches, he, in the place of inductive reasoning from palpable facts, substituted deductive reasoning from impalpable principles; ignoring the immediate and practical suggestions of the senses, and believing that by a hypothetical assumption of certain laws, he could descend upon the facts, instead of rising from the facts in order to learn the laws.[16] His philosophy exercised immense influence among metaphysicians;[17] and his method of working downwards, from the abstract to the concrete, was adopted by another and a still greater Scotchman, the illustrious Adam Smith. How Smith favoured the deductive form of investigation is apparent in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, likewise in his *Essay on Language*,[18] and even in his fragment on the *History of Astronomy*, in which he, from general considerations, undertook to prove what the march of astronomical discovery must have been, instead of first ascertaining what it had been.[19] The *Wealth of Nations*, again, is entirely deductive, since in it Smith generalizes the laws of wealth, not from the phenomena of wealth, nor from statistical statements, but from the phenomena of selfishness; thus

[15] One of Simson's great reasons for recommending the old analysis, was that it was "more elegant" than the comparatively modern practice of introducing algebraic calculations into geometry. See *Trail's Simson*, 1812, 4to, pp. 27, 67; a valuable work, which Lord Brougham, in his hasty life of Simson, calls "a very learned and exceedingly ill-written, indeed hardly readable" book. *Brougham's Men of Letters and Science*, vol. i. p. 482, 8vo, 1845. Dr. Trail's style is clearer, and his sentences are less involved, than Lord Brougham's; and he had moreover the great advantage of understanding the subject upon which he wrote.

[16] Sir James Mackintosh (*Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy*, p. 208) says of Hutcheson, "To him may also be ascribed that proneness to multiply ultimate and original principles in human nature, which characterized the Scottish school till the second extinction of passion for metaphysical speculation in Scotland." There is an able view of Hutcheson's philosophy in *Cousin, Histoire de la Philosophie*, I. série, vol. iv. pp. 31 seq.; written with clearness and eloquence, but perhaps overpraising Hutcheson.

[17] On its influence, see a letter from Mackintosh to Parr, in *Memoirs of Mackintosh*, by his Son, vol. i. p. 334. Compare *Letters from Warburton to Hurd*, pp. 37, 82.

[18] Which is added to his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, edit. 1822, 2 volumes. Compare a letter which Smith wrote in 1763 on the origin of language (in *Nichols's Literary Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. pp. 515, 516), which exhibits, on a small scale, the same treatment, as distinguished from a generalization of the facts which are supplied by a comprehensive comparison of different languages. Dr. Arnold speaks slightingly of such investigations. He says, "Attempts to explain the phenomena of language *a priori* seem to me unwise." *Arnold's Miscellaneous Works*, p. 385. This would lead into a discussion too long for a note: but it appears to me that these *a priori* inferences are, to the philologist, what hypotheses are to the inductive natural philosopher; and if this be the case, they are extremely important, because no really fruitful experiment ever can be made unless it is preceded by a judicious hypothesis. In the absence of such an hypothesis, men may grope in the dark for centuries, accumulating facts without obtaining knowledge.

[19] See, for instance, his attempt to prove, from general reasonings concerning the human mind, that there was a necessary relation in regard to the order in which men promulgated the system of concentric spheres and that of eccentric spheres and epicycles. *History of Astronomy*, in *Smith's Philosophical Essays*, 1795, 4to, pp. 31, 36, which it may be convenient to compare with *Whewell's Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, 1847, vol. ii. pp. 53, 60, 61. This striking fragment of Adam Smith's is probably little read now; but it is warmly praised by one of the greatest living philosophers, M. A. Comte, in his *Philosophie Positive*, vol. vi. p. 319.

making a deductive application of one set of mental principles to the whole set of economical facts.[20] The illustrations with which his great book abounds are no part of the real argument: they are subsequent to the conception; and if they were all omitted, the work, though less interesting, and perhaps less influential, would, in a scientific point of view, be equally valuable. To give another instance: the works of Hume, his metaphysical essays alone excepted, are all deductive; his profound economical inquiries are essentially *a priori*, and might have been written without any acquaintance with those details of trade and finance from which, according to the inductive scheme, they should have been generalized.[21] Thus, too, in his *Natural History of Religion*, he endeavoured simply by reflection, and independently of evidence, to institute a purely speculative investigation into the origin of religious opinions.[22] In the same way, in his *History of England*, instead of first collecting the evidence and then drawing inferences from it, he began by assuming that the relations between the people and the government must have followed a certain order, and he either neglected or distorted the facts by which this supposition was contradicted.[23] These

[20] The two writers who have inquired most carefully into the method which political economists ought to follow, are Mr. John Mill (*Essays on Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, 1844, pp. 120–164) and Mr. Rae (*New Principles of Political Economy*, 1834, pp. 328–351). Mr. Rae, in his ingenious work, objects to Adam Smith that he transgressed the rules of the Baconian philosophy, and thus prevented his inferences from being as valuable as they would have been if he had treated his subject inductively. But Mr. Mill, with great force of reasoning, has proved that the deductive plan is the only one by which political economy can be raised to a science. He says, p. 143, political economy is "essentially an *abstract* science, and its method is the method *a priori*;" and at p. 146, that the *a posteriori* method is "altogether inefficacious." To this I may add, that the modern theory of rent, which is now the corner-stone of political economy, was got at, not by generalizing economical facts, but by reasoning downwards after the manner of geometricians. Indeed, those who oppose the theory of rent, always do so on the ground that it is contradicted by facts; and then, with complete ignorance of the philosophy of method, they infer that therefore the theory is wrong. See, for instance, *Jones on the Distribution of Wealth*, 8vo, 1831; a book containing some interesting facts, but vitiated by this capital defect of method. See also *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. i. p. 317, vol. vi. p. 322; where it is said that economical theories should be generalized from statistical facts. Compare vol. xvii. p. 116, vol. xviii. p. 101.

[21] A striking instance has lately come to light of the sagacity with which Hume employed this method. See *Burton's Life and Correspondence of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 486; where we find, that immediately Hume had read the *Wealth of Nations*, he detected Smith's error concerning rent being an element of price; so that it now appears that Hume was the first to make this great discovery, as far as the idea is concerned; though Ricardo has the merit of proving it. [As noted above, p. 29, the law of rent was fully proved in 1777, by Anderson, a generation before Ricardo.—Ed.]

[22] The historical facts he introduces are merely illustrations; as any one will see who will read *The Natural History of Religion*, in *Hume's Philos. Works*, Edinb. 1826, vol. iv. pp. 435–513. I may mention that there is a considerable similarity between the views advocated in this remarkable essay and the religious stages of *Comte's Philosophie Positive*; for Hume's early form of polytheism is evidently the same as M. Comte's fetichism, from which both these writers believe that monotheism subsequently arose, as a later and more refined abstraction. That this was the course adopted by the human mind is highly probable, and is confirmed by the learned researches of Mr. Grote. See his *History of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 462, 497, vol. v. p. 22. The opposite and more popular opinion, of monotheism preceding idolatry, was held by most of the great earlier writers, and is defended by many moderns, and among others by Dr. Whewell (*Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 256), who expresses himself with considerable confidence: see also *Letters from Warburton to Hurd*, p. 239. Compare *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 183, Lond. 1835, with the "einige Funken des Monotheismus" of Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. p. 455.

[23] That is to say, he treated historical facts as merely illustrative of certain general principles, which he believed could be proved without the facts; so that, as M. Schlosser

different writers, though varying in their principles, and in the subjects they studied, were all agreed as to their method; that is to say, they were all agreed to investigate truth rather by descent than by ascent. The immense social importance of this peculiarity I shall examine in the next volume, where I shall endeavour to ascertain how it affected the national civilization, and caused some curious contrasts with the opposite, and more empirical, character of English literature. In the meantime, and merely to state what will be hereafter proved, I may add that the deductive method was not only employed by those eminent Scotchmen I have mentioned, but was carried into the speculative *History of Civil Society* by Ferguson; into the study of legislation by Mill; into the study of jurisprudence by Mackintosh; into geology by Hutton; into thermotics by Black and Leslie; into physiology by Hunter, by Alexander Walker, and by Charles Bell; into pathology by Cullen; into therapeutics by Brown and Currie.

This is an outline of the plan I purpose to follow in the present Introduction, and by means of which I hope to arrive at some results of permanent value. For by studying different principles in those countries where they have been most developed, the laws of the principles will be more easily unfolded than if we had studied them in countries where they are very obscure. And inasmuch as in England civilization has followed a course more orderly, and less disturbed, than in any other country, it becomes the more necessary, in writing its history, to use some resources like those which I have suggested. What makes the history of England so eminently valuable is, that nowhere else has the national progress been so little interfered with, either for good or for evil.* But the mere fact that our civilization has, by this means, been preserved in a more natural and healthy state, renders it incumbent on us to study the diseases to which it is liable, by observing those other countries where social disease is more rife. The security and the durability of civilization must depend on the regularity with which its elements are combined, and on the harmony with which they work. If any one element is too active, the whole composition will be in danger. Hence it is, that although the laws of the composition of the elements will be best ascertained wherever we can find the composition most complete, we must, nevertheless, search for the laws of each separate element, wherever we can find the element itself most active. While, therefore, I have selected the history of England, as that in which the harmony of the different principles has been longest maintained, I have, precisely on that account, thought it advisable to study each principle separately in the country where it has been most powerful, and where, by its inordinate development, the equilibrium of the entire structure has been disturbed.

By adopting these precautions, we shall be able to remove many of the difficulties which still beset the study of history. Before, however, entering that wide field which now lies in our way, it will be well to clear up some preliminary points, which I have not yet noticed, and the discussion of which may obviate certain objections that might otherwise be raised. The subjects to which I allude are Religion, Literature, and Government: three topics† of vast importance, and which, in the opinion of many persons, are the prime movers of human affairs. That this opinion is altogether erroneous, will be amply proved

(*History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 76) well says, "History with Hume was only a subordinate pursuit, only a means by which he might introduce his philosophy," etc. Considering how little is known of the principles which govern social and political changes, there can be no doubt that Hume was premature in the application of this method; but it is absurd to call the method dishonest, since the object of his History was, not to *prove* conclusions, but to *illustrate* them; and he therefore thought himself justified in selecting the illustrations. I am simply stating his views, without at all defending them; indeed, I believe that in this respect he was seriously in the wrong.

[* See above, pp. 132, 133, *notes*.—Ed.]
[† For "topics" read "forces."—Ed.]

in the present work ; but as the opinion is widely spread, and is very plausible, it is necessary that we should at once come to some understanding respecting it, and inquire into the real nature of that influence, which these three great powers do actually exercise over the progress of civilization.

Now, in the first place, it is evident that if a people were left entirely to themselves, their religion, their literature, and their government would be, not the causes of their civilization, but the effects of it. Out of a certain condition of society, certain results naturally follow. Those results may, no doubt, be tampered with by some external agency ; but if that is not done, it is impossible that a highly civilized people, accustomed to reason and to doubt, should ever embrace a religion of which the glaring absurdities set reason and doubt at defiance. There are many instances of nations changing their religion, but there is no instance of a progressive country voluntarily adopting a retrogressive religion ; neither is there any example of a declining country ameliorating its religion. It is of course true that a good religion is favourable to civilization, and a bad one unfavourable to it. Unless, however, there is some interference from without, no people will ever discover that their religion is bad until their reason tells them so ; but if their reason is inactive, and their knowledge stationary, the discovery will never be made. A country that continues in its old ignorance will always remain in its old religion. Surely nothing can be plainer than this. A very ignorant people will, by virtue of their ignorance, incline towards a religion full of marvels ; a religion which boasts of innumerable gods, and which ascribes every occurrence to the immediate authority of those gods. On the other hand, a people whose knowledge makes them better judges of evidence, and who are accustomed to that most difficult task, the practice of doubting, will require a religion less marvellous, less obtrusive ; one that taxes their credulity less heavily. But will you therefore say that the badness of the first religion causes the ignorance ; and that the goodness of the second religion causes the knowledge ? Will you say that when one event precedes another, the one which comes first is the effect, and the one which follows afterwards is the cause ? This is not the way in which men reason on the ordinary affairs of life ; and it is difficult to see why they should reason thus respecting the history of past events.

The truth is that the religious opinions which prevail in any period are among the symptoms by which that period is marked. When the opinions are deeply rooted, they do, no doubt, influence the conduct of men ; but before they can be deeply rooted, some intellectual change must first have taken place. We may as well expect that the seed should quicken in the barren rock as that a mild and philosophic religion should be established among ignorant and ferocious savages. Of this innumerable experiments have been made, and always with the same result. Men of excellent intentions, and full of a fervent, though mistaken zeal, have been, and still are, attempting to propagate their own religion among the inhabitants of barbarous countries. By strenuous and unremitting activity, and frequently by promises, and even by actual gifts, they have in many cases persuaded savage communities to make a profession of the Christian religion. But whoever will compare the triumphant reports of the missionaries with the long chain of evidence supplied by competent travellers, will soon find that such profession is only nominal, and that these ignorant tribes have adopted, indeed, the ceremonies of the new religion, but have by no means adopted the religion itself. They receive the externals, but there they stop. They may baptize their children ; they may take the sacrament ; they may flock to the church. All this they may do, and yet be as far removed from the spirit of Christianity as when they bowed the knee before their former idols. The rites and forms of a religion lie on the surface ; they are at once seen, they are quickly learned, easily copied by those who are unable to penetrate to that which lies beneath. It is this deeper and inward change which alone is durable ; and this the savage can never experience while he is sunk in an ignorance that levels him with the brutes by which he is surrounded. Remove the ignorance, and then the religion may enter. This is the only course by which ultimate benefit can be effected. After a careful study of the history and condition of barbarous nations, I do most confidently assert that there is no well-attested case of any people being per-

manently converted to Christianity, except in those very few instances where missionaries, being men of knowledge as well as men of piety, have familiarized the savage with habits of thought, and by thus stimulating his intellect have prepared him for the reception of those religious principles which, without such stimulus, he could never have understood.[24]

It is in this way that, looking at things upon a large scale, the religion of mankind is the effect of their improvement, not the cause of it. But, looking at things upon a small scale, or taking what is called a practical view of some short and special period, circumstances will occasionally occur which disturb this general order, and apparently reverse the natural process. And this, as in all such cases, can only arise from the peculiarities of individual men ; who, moved by the minor laws which regulate individual actions, are able, by their genius or their energy, to interfere with the operation of those greater laws which regulate large societies. Owing to circumstances still unknown, there appear from time to time great thinkers, who, devoting their lives to a single purpose, are able to anticipate the progress of mankind, and to produce a religion or a philosophy by which important effects are eventually brought about. But if we look into history we shall clearly see that, although the origin of a new opinion may be thus due to a single man, the result which the new opinion produces will depend on the condition of the people among whom it is propagated. If either a religion or a philosophy is too much in advance of a nation, it can do no present service, but must bide its time, until the minds of men are ripe for its reception. Of this innumerable instances will occur to most readers. Every science and every creed has had its martyrs ; men exposed to obloquy, or even to death, because they knew more than their contemporaries, and because society was not sufficiently advanced to receive the truths which they communicated. According to the ordinary course of affairs, a few generations pass away, and then there comes a period when these very truths are looked upon as commonplace facts ; and a little later there comes another period, in which they are declared to be necessary, and even the dullest intellects wonder how they could ever have been denied. This is what happens when the human mind is allowed to have fair play, and to exercise itself with tolerable freedom in the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge. If, however, by violent, and therefore by artificial, means, this same society is prevented from exercising its intellect, then the truths, however important they may be, can never be received. For why should certain truths be rejected in one age, and acknowledged in another ? The truths remain the same ; their ultimate recognition must therefore be due to a change in the society which now accepts what it had before despised. Indeed, history is full of evidence of the utter inefficiency even of the noblest principles, when they are promulgated among a very ignorant nation. Thus it was that the doctrine of One God, taught to the Hebrews of old, remained for many centuries altogether inoperative.* The people to whom it

[24] A writer of great authority has made some remarks on this, which are worth attending to : " Ce fut alors que les Jésuites pénétrèrent dans la Chine pour y prêcher l'évangile. Ils ne tardèrent pas à s'apercevoir qu'un des moyens les plus efficaces pour s'y maintenir, en attendant le moment que le ciel avoit marqué pour éclairer ce vaste empire, étoit d'étaler des connoissances astronomiques." *Montucla, Histoire des Mathématiques*, vol. i. p. 468 ; and see vol. ii. pp. 586, 587. Cuvier delicately hints at the same conclusion. He says of Emery : " Il se souvenait que l'époque où le christianisme a fait le plus de conquêtes, et où ses ministres ont obtenu le plus de respect, est celle, où ils portaient chez les peuples convertis les lumières des lettres, en même temps que les vérités de la

[* The critical study of Hebrew history, which had made little progress in Buckle's day, has made an end of the belief that a monotheistic doctrine was preached to the early Hebrews. It was certainly a late development. Cp. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1881–88, i. 428 ; Wellhausen, *Israel* (in same vol. with *Prolegomena*) p. 440 ; Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel*, Eng. tr. 1874, i. 10–11 ; Sharpe's *History of the Hebrew Nation*, 4th ed. 1882, pref. pp. xi.–xiii. ; Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd ed. 1892, Lectures viii. and ix., and pp. 310–12.—Ed.]

was addressed had not yet emerged from barbarism ; they were, therefore, unable to raise their minds to so elevated a conception. Like all other barbarians, they craved after a religion which would feed their credulity with incessant wonders ; and which, instead of abstracting the Deity to a single essence, would multiply their gods until they covered every field, and swarmed in every forest. This is the idolatry, which is the natural fruit of ignorance ; and this it is to which the Hebrews were perpetually recurring. Notwithstanding the most severe and unremitting punishments, they at every opportunity abandoned that pure theism which their minds were too backward to receive, and relapsed into superstitions which they could more easily understand,—into the worship of the golden calf, and the adoration of the brazen serpent. Now, and in this age of the world, they have long ceased to do these things. And why ? Not because their religious feelings are more easily aroused, or their religious fears more often excited. So far from this, they are dissevered from their old associations ; they have lost for ever those scenes by which men might well have been moved. They are no longer influenced by those causes which inspired emotions, sometimes of terror, sometimes of gratitude. They no longer witness the pillar of cloud by day, or the pillar of fire by night ; they no longer see the Law being given from Sinai, nor do they hear the thunder rolling from Horeb. In the presence of these great appeals, they remained idolaters in their hearts, and whenever an opportunity occurred they became idolaters in their practice ; and this they did because they were in that state of barbarism, of which idolatry is the natural product. To what possible circumstance can their subsequent change be ascribed, except to the simple fact that the Hebrews, like all other people, as they advanced in civilization, began to abstract and refine their religion, and, despising the old worship of many gods, thus by slow degrees elevated their minds to that steady perception of One Great Cause, which, at an earlier period, it had been vainly attempted to impress upon them ?

Thus intimate is the connexion between the opinions of a people and their knowledge ; and thus necessary is it that, so far as nations are concerned, intellectual activity should precede religious improvement. If we require further illustrations of this important truth, we shall find them in the events which occurred in Europe soon after the promulgation of Christianity. The Romans were, with rare exceptions, an ignorant and barbarous race ; ferocious, dissolute, and cruel. For such a people, Polytheism was the natural creed ; and we read, accordingly, that they practised an idolatry which a few great thinkers, and only a few, ventured to despise. The Christian religion, falling among these men, found them unable to appreciate its sublime and admirable doctrines. And when, a little later, Europe was overrun by fresh immigrations, the invaders, who were even more barbarous than the Romans, brought with them those superstitions which were suited to their actual condition. It was upon the materials arising from these two sources that Christianity was now called to do her work. The result is most remarkable. For after the new religion seemed to have carried all before it, and had received the homage of the best part of Europe, it was soon found that nothing had been really effected. It was soon found that society was in that early stage in which superstition is inevitable ; and in which men, if they do not have it in one form, will have it in another. It was in vain that Christianity taught a simple doctrine, and enjoined a simple worship. The minds of men were too backward for so great a step, and required more complicated forms and a more complicated belief. What followed is well known to the students of ecclesiastical history. The

religion, et où ils formaient à la fois dans les nations l'ordre le plus éminent et le plus éclairé." *Cuvier, Eloges Historiques*, vol. iii. p. 170. Even Southey (*History of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 378) says : " Missionaries have always complained of the fickleness of their converts ; and they must always complain of it, till they discover that some degree of civilization must precede conversion, or at least accompany it." And see, to the same effect, *Halkett's Notes on the North-American Indians*, pp. 352, 353 ; and *Combe's North America*, vol. i. p. 250, vol. ii. p. 353.

superstition of Europe, instead of being diminished, was only turned into a fresh channel. The new religion was corrupted by the old follies. The adoration of idols was succeeded by the adoration of saints; the worship of the Virgin was substituted for the worship of Cybele;[25] Pagan ceremonies were established in Christian churches; not only the mummeries of idolatry, but likewise its doctrines, were quickly added, and were incorporated and worked into the spirit of the new religion; until, after the lapse of a few generations, Christianity exhibited so grotesque and hideous a form, that its best features were lost, and the lineaments of its earlier loveliness altogether destroyed.[26]

After some centuries were passed, Christianity slowly emerged from these corruptions; many of which, however, even the most civilized countries have not yet been able to throw off.[27] Indeed, it was found impossible to effect even the beginning of a reform, until the European intellect was in some degree roused from its lethargy. The knowledge of men, gradually advancing, made them indignant at superstitions which they had formerly admired. The way in which their indignation increased, until, in the sixteenth century, it broke out into that great event which is well called the Reformation, forms one of the most interesting subjects in modern history. But for our present purpose it is enough to keep in mind the memorable and important fact, that for centuries after Christianity was the established religion of Europe, it failed to bear its natural fruit, because its lot was cast among a people whose ignorance compelled them to be superstitious, and who, on account of their superstition, defaced a system which, in its original purity, they were unable to receive.[28]

Indeed, in every page of history, we meet with fresh evidence of the little effect religious doctrines can produce upon a people, unless preceded by intellectual culture. The influence exercised by Protestantism, as compared with Catholicism, affords an interesting example of this. The Catholic religion bears to the Protestant religion exactly the same relation that the Dark Ages bear to the sixteenth century. In the Dark Ages, men were credulous and ignorant; they therefore produced a religion which required great belief and little knowledge. In the sixteenth century, their credulity and ignorance, though still considerable, were rapidly diminishing, and it was found necessary to organize a religion suited to their altered circumstances: a religion more

[25] This is curiously illustrated by the fact, that the 25th of March, which is now called Lady-day, in honour of the Virgin Mary, was in Pagan times called Hilaria, and was dedicated to Cybele, the mother of the gods. Compare *Blunt's Vestiges of Ancient Manners*, 8vo, 1823, pp. 51–55, with *Hampson's Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, 8vo, 1841, vol. i. pp. 56, 177.

[26] On this interesting subject, the two best English books are *Middleton's Letter from Rome*, and *Priestley's History of the Corruptions of Christianity*; the former work being chiefly valuable for ritual corruptions, the latter work for doctrinal ones. *Blunt's Vestiges of Ancient Manners* is also worth reading; but is very inferior to the two treatises just named, and is conceived in a much narrower spirit.

[27] The large amount of Paganism which still exists in every Christian sect, forms an argument against an ingenious distinction which M. Bunsen has made between the change of a religion and that of a language; alterations in a religion being, as he supposes, always more abrupt than those in a language. *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 358, 359.

[28] It was necessary, says M. Maury, that the church "se rapprochât davantage de l'esprit grossier, inculte, ignorant du barbare." *Maury, Légendes Pieuses du Moyen Age*, p. 101. An exactly similar process has taken place in India, where the Puranas are to the Vedas what the works of the Fathers are to the New Testament. Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, pp. 87, 88, 98; *Wilson's Preface to the Vishnu Purana*, p. vii.; and *Transactions of Bombay Society*, vol. i. p. 205. So that, as M. Max Müller well expresses it, the Puranas are "a secondary formation of Indian mythology." *Müller on the Languages of India*, in *Reports of British Association for* 1847, p. 324. [The Puranas, however, deal with the lives of the gods, greatly elaborating them, whereas the works of "the Fathers" do not thus add to the New Testament. The Apocryphal Gospels and the Lives of the Saints make a nearer parallel.—Ed.]

favourable to free inquiry ; a religion less full of miracles, saints, legends, and idols ; a religion of which the ceremonies were less frequent and less burdensome ; a religion which should discourage penance, fasting, confession, celibacy, and those other mortifications which had long been universal. All this was done by the establishment of Protestantism ; a mode of worship which, being thus suited to the age, made, as is well known, speedy progress. If this great movement had been allowed to proceed without interruption, it would in the course of a few generations have overthrown the old superstition, and established in its place a simpler and less troublesome creed ; the rapidity with which this was done being of course proportioned to the intellectual activity of the different countries. But unfortunately the European governments, who are always meddling in matters with which they have no concern, thought it their duty to protect the religious interests of the people ; and, making common cause with the Catholic clergy, they in many instances forcibly stopped the heresy, and thus arrested the natural development of the age.* This interference was, in nearly all cases, well intended, and is solely to be ascribed to the ignorance of rulers respecting the proper limits of their functions : but the evils caused by this ignorance it would be difficult to exaggerate. During almost a hundred and fifty years, Europe was afflicted by religious wars, religious massacres, and religious persecutions ; not one of which would have arisen if the great truth had been recognized, that the state has no concern with the opinions of men, and no right to interfere, even in the slightest degree, with the form of worship which they may choose to adopt. This principle was, however, formerly unknown, or at all events unheeded ; and it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that the great religious contests were brought to a final close, and the different countries settled down into their public creeds ; which, in the essential points, have never since been permanently altered ; no nation having, for more than two hundred years, made war upon another on account of its religion ; and all the great Catholic countries having, during the same period, remained Catholic, all the great Protestant ones remained Protestant.

From this it has arisen that, in several of the European countries, the religious development has not followed its natural order, but has been artificially forced into an unnatural one.† According to the natural order, the most civilized countries should all be Protestants, and the most uncivilized ones Catholics. In the average of instances, this is actually the case ; so that many persons have been led into the singular error, of ascribing all modern enlightenment to the influence of Protestantism ; overlooking the important fact, that until the enlightenment had begun, Protestantism was never required. But although, in the ordinary course of affairs, the advance of the Reformation would have been the measure, and the symptom, of that advance of knowledge by which it was preceded, still, in many cases, the authority of the government and of the church acted as disturbing causes, and frustrated the natural progress of religious improvement. And, after the treaty of Westphalia had fixed the political relations of Europe, the love of theological strife so greatly subsided, that men no longer thought it worth their while to raise a religious revolution, and to risk their lives in an attempt to overturn the creed of the state. At the same time, governments, not being themselves particularly fond of revolutions, have encouraged this stationary condition ; and very naturally, and, as it

[* As the religious wars in France showed, and as Buckle himself insists in chapter viii., the Protestants there were always in a minority, that is to say, the Catholic laity as well as the Government were opposed to them. In ch. xiii., again, he writes that "in 1598 the French Government for the first time *ventured upon* a great public act of religious toleration"—ventured, that is, to resist the prejudice of a great mass of the laity. Thus the formula of "the spirit of the age" must be qualified. The determining forces were economic and political; and it was the balance of economic and political interest, and not a larger share of any intellectual "spirit," that determined the distribution of Protestantism in Europe.—Ed.]

[† The terms here revert to the fallacy noted above, pp. 132, 133, *notes*.—Ed.]

appears to me, very wisely, have made no great alteration, but have left the national establishments as they found them; that is to say, the Protestant ones Protestant, the Catholic ones Catholic. Hence it is, that the national religion professed by any country at the present moment, is no decisive criterion of the present civilization of the country; because the circumstances which fixed the religion occurred long since, and the religion remains endowed and established by the mere continuance of an impetus which was formerly given.

Thus far as to the origin of the ecclesiastical establishments of Europe. But, in their practical consequences, we see some results which are highly instructive. For many countries owing their national creed, not to their own proper antecedents, but to the authority of powerful individuals, it will be invariably found, that in such countries the creed does not produce the effects which might have been expected from it, and which, according to its terms, it ought to produce. Thus, for instance, the Catholic religion is more superstitious, and more intolerant, than the Protestant; but it by no means follows, that those countries which profess the former creed, must be more superstitious, and more intolerant, than those which profess the latter. So far from this, the French are not only quite as free from those odious qualities as are the most civilized Protestants, but they are more free from them than some Protestant nations, as the Scotch and the Swedes. Of the highly-educated class I am not here speaking; but of the clergy, and of the people generally, it must be admitted, that in Scotland there is more bigotry, more superstition, and a more thorough contempt for the religion of others, than there is in France.* And in Sweden, which is one of the oldest Protestant countries in Europe,[29] there is, not occasionally, but habitually, an intolerance and a spirit of persecution, which would be discreditable to a Catholic country; but which is doubly disgraceful when proceeding from a people who profess to base their religion on the right of private judgment.[30]

These things show, what it would be easy to prove by a wider induction, that when from special, or, as they are called, accidental causes, any people profess a religion more advanced than themselves, it will not produce its legitimate effect.[31] The superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism consists in

[29] The doctrines of Luther were first preached in Sweden in 1519; and, in 1527, the principles of the Reformation were formally adopted in an assembly of the States at Westeraas, which enabled Gustavus Vasa to seize the property of the church. *Geijer's History of the Swedes*, part i. pp. 110, 118, 119; *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 22; *Crichton and Wheaton's History of Scandinavia*, vol. i. pp. 399, 400. The apostasy proceeded so favourably, that De Thou (*Histoire Univ.* vol. xiii. p. 312) says, in 1598, "Il y avoit déjà si long-tems que ce culte étoit établi en Suède, qu'il étoit comme impossible de trouver, soit parmi le peuple, soit parmi les seigneurs, quelqu'un qui se souvînt d'avoir vu dans ce roïaume l'exercice public de la religion catholique."

[30] On the state of things in 1838, see some curious, and indeed shameful, details in *Laing's Sweden*, London, 8vo, 1839. Mr. Laing, though himself a Protestant, truly says, that in Protestant Sweden there "is inquisition law, working in the hands of a Lutheran state-church, as strongly as in Spain or Portugal in the hands of a Roman-Catholic church." *Laing's Sweden*, p. 324. In the seventeenth century, it was ordered by the Swedish church, and the order was confirmed by government, that "if any Swedish subject change his religion, he shall be banished the kingdom, and lose all right of inheritance, both for himself and his descendants. . . . . If any bring into the country teachers of another religion, he shall be fined and banished." *Burton's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 387, 8vo, 1828. To this may be added, that it was not till 1781 that Roman Catholics were allowed to exercise their religion in Sweden. See *Crichton's History of Scandinavia*, Edinb. 1838, vol. ii. p. 320. See also, on this intolerant spirit, *Whitelocke's Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. pp. 164, 412, vol. ii. p. 212.

[31] We see a good instance of this in the case of the Abyssinians, who have professed Christianity for centuries; but, as no pains were taken to cultivate their intellect, they found the religion too pure for them: they therefore corrupted it, and, down to the

[* See note above, p. 141.—Ed.]

its diminution of superstition and intolerance, and in the check which it gives to ecclesiastical power. But the experience of Europe teaches us that when the superior religion is fixed among an inferior people, its superiority is no longer seen. The Scotch and the Swedes,—and to them might be added some of the Swiss cantons,—are less civilized than the French, and are therefore more superstitious. This being the case, it avails them little that they have a religion better than the French. It avails them little that, owing to circumstances which have long since passed away, they, three centuries ago, adopted a creed to which the force of habit and the influence of tradition now oblige them to cling. Whoever has travelled in Scotland with sufficient attention to observe the ideas and opinions of the people, and whoever will look into Scotch theology, and read the history of the Scotch Kirk, and the proceedings of the Scotch Assemblies and Consistories, will see how little the country has benefited by its religion, and how wide an interval there is between its intolerant spirit and the natural tendencies of the Protestant Reformation.* On the other hand, whoever will subject France to a similar examination, will see an illiberal religion accompanied by liberal views, and a creed full of superstitions professed by a people among whom superstition is comparatively rare.

The simple fact is, that the French have a religion worse than themselves; the Scotch have a religion better than themselves. The liberality of France is as ill suited to Catholicism, as the bigotry of Scotland is ill suited to Protestantism. In these as in all similar cases, the characteristics of the creed are overpowered by the characteristics of the people; and the national faith is, in the most important points, altogether inoperative, because it does not harmonize with the civilization of the country in which it is established. How idle, then, it is to ascribe the civilization to the creed; and how worse than foolish are the attempts of government to protect a religion which, if suited to the people, will need no protection, and, if unsuited to them, will work no good!

If the reader has seized the spirit of the preceding arguments, he will hardly require that I should analyze with equal minuteness the second disturbing cause, namely, Literature. It is evident that what has already been said respecting the religion of a people is in a great measure applicable to their literature. Literature,[32] when it is in a healthy and unforced state, is simply the form in which the knowledge of a country is registered; the mould in which it is cast. In this, as in the other cases we have considered, individual men may of course take great steps, and rise to a great height above the level of their age. But if they rise beyond a certain point, their present usefulness is impaired; if they rise still higher, it is destroyed.[33] When the interval between

present moment, they have not made the slightest progress. The accounts given by Bruce of them are well known; and a traveller, who visited them in 1839, says: "Nothing can be more corrupt than the nominal Christianity of this unhappy nation. It is mixed up with Judaism, Mohammedanism, and idolatry, and is a mass of rites and superstitions which cannot mend the heart." *Kraff's Journal at Ankobar*, in *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. x. p. 488; see also vol. xiv. p. 13: and for a similar state of things in America, see the account of the Quiché Indians, in *Stephens's Central America*, vol. ii. pp. 191, 192. Compare *Squier's Central America*, vol. i. pp. 322, 323, with *Halkett's North-American Indians*, pp. 29, 212, 268. For further confirmation of this view, in another part of the world, see *Tuckey's Expedition to the Zaire*, pp. 79, 80, 165.

[32] I use the word literature, not as opposed to science, but in its larger sense, including everything which is written—"taking the term literature in its primary sense of an application of letters to the records of facts or opinions." *Mure's History of the Literature of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 50.

[33] Compare *Tocqueville, Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. ii. p. 130, with some admirable remarks on the Sophists in *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 481. Sir W. Hamilton, whose learning respecting the history of opinions is well known, says, "Precisely in

[* As Buckle shows in his eighth chapter, the Reformation *was* extremely intolerant in France, and the hatreds of Lutherans and Calvinists in northern Europe were long proverbial. Thus the Reformation never exhibited its "natural tendencies."—Ed.]

the intellectual classes and the practical classes is too great, the former will possess no influence, the latter will reap no benefit. This is what occurred in the ancient world, when the distance between the ignorant idolatry of the people and the refined systems of philosophers was altogether impassable ; [34] and this is the principal reason why the Greeks and Romans were unable to retain the civilization which they for a short time possessed.* Precisely the same process is at the present moment going on in Germany, where the most valuable part of literature forms an esoteric system, which, having nothing in common with the nation itself, produces no effect on the national civilization. The truth is, that although Europe has received great benefit from its literature, this is owing, not to what the literature has originated, but to what it has preserved. Knowledge must be acquired before it can be written ; and the only use of books is to serve as a storehouse in which the treasures of the intellect are safely kept, and where they may be conveniently found. Literature in itself is but a trifling matter ; and is merely valuable as being the armory in which the weapons of the human mind are laid up, and from which, when required, they can be quickly drawn. But he would be a sorry reasoner who, on that account, should propose to sacrifice the end that he might obtain the means ; who should hope to defend the armory by giving up the weapons, and who should destroy the treasure, in order to improve the magazine in which the treasure is kept.

Yet this is what many persons are apt to do. From literary men, in particular, we hear too much of the necessity of protecting and rewarding literature, and we hear too little of the necessity of that freedom and boldness, in the absence of which the most splendid literature is altogether worthless. Indeed, there is a general tendency, not to exaggerate the advantages of knowledge,—for that is impossible,—but to misunderstand what that is in which knowledge really consists. Real knowledge, the knowledge on which all civilization is based, solely consists in an acquaintance with the relations which things and ideas bear to each other and to themselves ; in other words, in an acquaintance with physical and mental laws. If the time should ever come when all these laws are known, the circle of human knowledge will then be complete ; and, in the interim, the value of literature depends upon the extent to which it communicates either a knowledge of the laws, or the materials by which the laws may be discovered. The business of education is to accelerate this great movement, and thus increase the fitness and aptitude of men, by increasing the resources which they possess. Towards this purpose, literature, so far as it is auxiliary, is highly useful. But to look upon an acquaintance with litera-

proportion as an author is in advance of his age, is it likely that his works will be neglected." *Hamilton's Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 186. Thus too, in regard to the fine arts, Sir Joshua Reynolds (*Fourth Discourse*, in *Works*, vol. i. p. 363) says, " Present time and future may be considered as rivals ; and he who solicits the one, must expect to be discountenanced by the other."

[34] Hence the intellectually exclusive and, as M. Neander well terms it, " aristocratic spirit of antiquity." *Neander's History of the Church*, vol. i. pp. 40, 97, vol. ii. p. 31. This is constantly overlooked by writers who use the word ' democracy ' loosely ; forgetting that, in the same age, democracies of politics may be very common, while democracies of thought are very rare. For proof of the universal prevalence formerly of this esoteric and aristocratic spirit, see the following passages : *Ritter's History of Ancient Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 338, vol. iii. pp. 9, 17 ; *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. ii. pp. 200, 205, 220 ; *Beausobre, Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 41 ; *Matter, Histoire du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 13, vol. ii. pp. 83, 370 ; *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. i. p. 250 ; *Grote's History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 561, vol. iv. p. 544 ; *Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 150, vol. vi. p. 95 ; *Warburton's Works*, vol. vii. pp. 962, 972, 4to, 1788 ; *Sharpe's History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 174 ; *Cudworth's Intellect. System*, vol. ii. pp. 114, 365, 443, vol. iii. p. 20.

[* The state of things described is rather an aspect of the problem than a solution. We need a reason why for the sunderance in question — Ed.]

ture as one of the objects of education, is to mistake the order of events, and to make the end subservient to the means. It is because this is done that we often find what are called highly educated men, the progress of whose knowledge has been actually retarded by the activity of their education. We often find them burdened by prejudices, which their reading, instead of dissipating, has rendered more inveterate.[35] For literature, being the depository of the thoughts of mankind, is full not only of wisdom but also of absurdities. The benefit, therefore, which is derived from literature, will depend not so much upon the literature itself, as upon the skill with which it is studied, and the judgment with which it is selected. These are the preliminary conditions of success ; and if they are not obeyed, the number and the value of the books in a country become a matter quite unimportant. Even in an advanced stage of civilization, there is always a tendency to prefer those parts of literature which favour ancient prejudices, rather than those which oppose them ; and in cases where this tendency is very strong, the only effect of great learning will be, to supply the materials which may corroborate old errors, and confirm old superstitions. In our time such instances are not uncommon ; and we frequently meet with men whose erudition ministers to their ignorance, and who the more they read, the less they know. There have been states of society in which this disposition was so general, that literature has done far more harm than good. Thus, for example, in the whole period from the sixth to the tenth centuries,* there were not in all Europe more than three or four men who dared to think for themselves ; and even they were obliged to veil their meaning in obscure and mystical language. The remaining part of society was, during these four centuries, sunk in the most degrading ignorance. Under these circumstances, the few who were able to read, confined their studies to works which encouraged and strengthened their superstition, such as the legends of the saints, and the homilies of the fathers. From these sources they drew those lying and impudent fables, of which the theology of that time is principally composed.[36] These miserable stories were widely circulated, and were valued as solid and important truths. The more the literature was read, the more the stories were believed ; in other words, the greater the learning, the greater the ignorance.[37] And I entertain no doubt that if, in the seventh and eighth centuries, which were the

[35] Locke has noticed this "learned ignorance," for which many men are remarkable. See a fine passage in the *Essay on Human Understanding*, book iii. chap. x. in *Locke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 27, and similar remarks in his *Conduct of the Understanding*, vol. ii. pp. 350, 364, 365, and in his *Thoughts on Education*, vol. viii. pp. 84-87. If this profound writer were now alive, what a war he would wage against our great universities and public schools, where innumerable things are still taught which no one is concerned to understand, and which few will take the trouble to remember ! Compare *Condorcet, Vie de Turgot*, pp. 255, 256 note.

[36] The statistics of this sort of literature would prove a curious subject for inquiry. No one, I believe, has thought it worth while to sum them up ; but M. Guizot has made an estimate that the Bollandist collection contains more than twenty-five thousand lives of saints : " à en juger par approximation, ils contiennent plus de 25,000 vies de saints." *Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, vol. ii. p. 32. It is said (*Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 62) that of Saint Patrick alone there were sixty-six biographers before Joceline.

[37] For, as Laplace observes, in his remarks on the sources of error in connexion with the doctrine of probabilities, " C'est à l'influence de l'opinion de ceux que la multitude juge les plus instruits, et à qui elle a coutume de donner sa confiance sur les plus importants objets de la vie, qu'est due la propagation de ces erreurs qui, dans les temps d'ignorance, ont couvert la face du monde." *Bouillaud, Philosophie Médicale*, p. 218.

[* This is an exaggeration ; but even the corrected statement, much more this, shows the inadequacy of the previous generalization that the relative weakness of nature in Europe evoked the superior powers of man. An explanation is clearly needed in terms of culture forces. See notes on pp. 74, 87, 89, above.—Ed.]

worst part of that period,[38] all knowledge of the alphabet had for a while been lost, so that men could no longer read the books in which they delighted, the subsequent progress of Europe would have been more rapid than it really was. For when the progress began, its principal antagonist was that credulity which the literature had fostered. It was not that better books were wanting, but it was that the relish for such books was extinct. There was the literature of Greece and Rome, which the monks not only preserved, but even occasionally looked into and copied. But what could that avail such readers as they? So far from recognizing the merit of the ancient writers, they were unable to feel even the beauties of their style, and they trembled at the boldness of their inquiries. At the first glimpse of the light, their eyes were blinded. They never turned the leaves of a pagan author without standing aghast at the risk they were running; and they were in constant fear, lest by imbibing any of his opinions, they should involve themselves in a deadly sin. The result was that they willingly laid aside the great masterpieces of antiquity; and in their place they substituted those wretched compilations which corrupted their taste, increased their credulity, strengthened their errors, and prolonged the ignorance of Europe, by embodying each separate superstition in a written and accessible form, thus perpetuating its influence, and enabling it to enfeeble the understanding even of a distant posterity.

It is in this way that the nature of the literature possessed by a people is of very inferior importance, in comparison with the disposition of the people by whom the literature is to be read. In what are rightly termed the Dark Ages, there was a literature in which valuable materials were to be found; but there was no one who knew how to use them. During a considerable period, the Latin language was a vernacular dialect;[39] and if men had chosen they might have studied the great Latin authors. But to do this they must have been in a state of society very different from that in which they actually lived. They, like every other people, measured merit by the standard commonly received in their own age; and according to their standard the dross was better than the gold. They therefore rejected the gold, and hoarded up the dross. What took place then is, on a smaller scale, taking place now. Every literature contains something that is true, and much that is false; and the effect it produces will chiefly depend upon the skill with which the truth is discriminated from the falsehood. New ideas and new discoveries possess prospectively an importance difficult to exaggerate; but until the ideas are received, and the discoveries adopted, they exercise no influence and therefore work no good. No literature can ever benefit a people unless it finds them in a state of preliminary preparation. In this respect, the analogy with religious opinions is complete. If the religion and the literature of a country are unsuited to its wants, they will be useless, because the literature will be neglected, and the religion will be disobeyed. In such cases, even the ablest books are unread, and the purest doctrines despised. The works fall into oblivion; the faith is corrupted by heresy.

The other opinion to which I have referred is, that the civilization of Europe is chiefly owing to the ability which has been displayed by the different governments, and to the sagacity with which the evils of society have been palliated by legislative remedies. To any one who has studied history in its original sources, this notion must appear so extravagant, as to make it difficult to refute it with becoming gravity. Indeed, of all the social theories which have ever been broached, there is none so utterly untenable, and so unsound in all its parts, as this. In the first place we have the obvious consideration that the rulers of a country have, under ordinary circumstances, always been the in-

[38] M. Guizot (*Civilisation en France*, vol. ii. pp. 171, 172) thinks that, on the whole, the seventh was even worse than the eighth: but it is difficult to choose between them.

[39] Some of the results of Latin being colloquially employed by the monks are judiciously stated in *Herder's Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit*, vol. iv. pp. 202, 203. The remarks on this custom by Dugald Stewart refer to a later period. *Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. iii. pp. 110, 111.

habitants of that country; nurtured by its literature, bred to its traditions, and imbibing its prejudices. Such men are at best only the creatures of the age, never its creators. Their measures are the result of social progress, not the cause of it. This may be proved, not only by speculative arguments, but also by a practical consideration, which any reader of history can verify for himself. No great political improvement, no great reform, either legislative or executive, has ever been originated in any country by its rulers. The first suggesters of such steps have invariably been bold and able thinkers,* who discern the abuse, denounce it, and point out how it is to be remedied. But long after this is done, even the most enlightened governments continue to uphold the abuse, and reject the remedy. At length, if circumstances are favourable, the pressure from without becomes so strong that the government is obliged to give way; and, the reform being accomplished, the people are expected to admire the wisdom of their rulers, by whom all this has been done. That this is the course of political improvement, must be well known to whoever has studied the law-books of different countries in connexion with the previous progress of their knowledge. Full and decisive evidence of this will be brought forward in the present work; but, by way of illustration, I may refer to the abolition of the corn-laws, undoubtedly one of the most remarkable facts in the history of England during this century. The propriety, and, indeed, the necessity, of their abolition, is now admitted by every one of tolerable information; and the question arises as to how it was brought about. Those Englishmen who are little versed in the history of their country will say that the real cause was the wisdom of Parliament; while others, attempting to look a little further, will ascribe it to the activity of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and the consequent pressure put upon Government. But whoever will minutely trace the different stages through which this great question successively passed, will find that the Government, the Legislature, and the League, were the unwitting instruments of a power far greater than all other powers put together. They were simply the exponents of that march of public opinion, which on this subject had begun nearly a century before their time.† The steps of this vast movement I shall examine on another occasion; at present it is enough to say that soon after the middle of the eighteenth century the absurdity of protective restrictions on trade was so fully demonstrated by the political economists, as to be admitted by every man who understood their arguments, and had mastered the evidence connected with them. From this moment, the repeal of the corn-laws became a matter, not of party, nor of expediency, but merely of knowledge. Those who knew the facts, opposed the laws; those who were ignorant of the facts, favoured the laws.‡ It was therefore clear that whenever the diffusion of knowledge reached a certain point, the laws must fall. The merit of the League was, to assist this diffusion; the merit of the Parliament was, to yield to it. It is however certain that the members both of League and Legislature could at best only slightly hasten what the progress of knowledge rendered inevitable.§ If they had lived a century earlier, they would have been altogether powerless, because the age would not have been ripe for their labours. They were the creatures of a movement which began long before any of them

[* As these thinkers were also necessarily natives of their own country, the distinction drawn between them and the rulers is not enlightening. What Buckle had in view was the fact that the thinkers escape many of the intellectual trammels as well as the pre-occupations of rulers. But, as before, he here overlooks the progressive action of some rulers, which he elsewhere recognizes.—Ed.]

[† The League were certainly creators as well as "exponents" of "public opinion," being in a minority to start with. To communicate knowledge is to create opinion.—Ed.]

[‡ Much too little allowance is here made for *interest* as distinct from knowledge.—Ed.]

[§ As the progress of knowledge could take place only by the communication of it, the phrase "could at best only slightly hasten" is strictly meaningless. There was nothing "inevitable" in the case, had there been no propaganda; and there could have been no consummation apart from the Legislature.—Ed.]

were born ; and the utmost they could do was, to put into operation what others had taught, and repeat, in louder tones, the lessons they had learned from their masters. For, it was not pretended, they did not even pretend themselves, that there was anything new in the doctrines which they preached from the hustings, and disseminated in every part of the kingdom. The discoveries had long since been made, and were gradually doing their work ; encroaching upon old errors, and making proselytes in all directions. The reformers of our time swam with the stream : they aided what it would have been impossible long to resist. Nor is this to be deemed a slight or grudging praise of the services they undoubtedly rendered. The opposition they had to encounter was still immense ; and it should always be remembered, as a proof of the backwardness of political knowledge, and of the incompetence of political legislators, that although the principles of free trade had been established for nearly a century by a chain of arguments as solid as those on which the truths of mathematics are based, they were to the last moment strenuously resisted ; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that Parliament was induced to grant what the people were determined to have, and the necessity of which had been proved by the ablest men during three successive generations.

I have selected this instance as an illustration, because the facts connected with it are undisputed, and indeed are fresh in the memory of us all. For it was not concealed at the time, and posterity ought to know, that this great measure, which, with the exception of the Reform Bill, is by far the most important ever passed by a British parliament, was, like the Reform Bill, extorted from the legislature by a pressure from without ; that it was conceded, not cheerfully, but with fear ; and that it was carried by statesmen who had spent their lives in opposing what they now suddenly advocated. Such was the history of these events ; and such likewise has been the history of all those improvements which are important enough to rank as epochs in the history of modern legislation.

Besides this, there is another circumstance worthy the attention of those writers who ascribe a large part of European civilization to measures originated by European governments. This is, that every great reform which has been effected has consisted, not in doing something new, but in undoing something old. The most valuable additions made to legislation have been enactments destructive of preceding legislation ; and the best laws which have been passed have been those by which some former laws were repealed. In the case just mentioned, of the corn-laws, all that was done was to repeal the old laws, and leave trade to its natural freedom. When this great reform was accomplished, the only result was, to place things on the same footing as if legislators had never interfered at all. Precisely the same remark is applicable to another leading improvement in modern legislation, namely the decrease of religious persecution. This is unquestionably an immense boon ; though, unfortunately, it is still imperfect, even in the most civilized countries. But it is evident that the concession merely consists in this : that legislators have retraced their own steps, and undone their own work. If we examine the policy of the most humane and enlightened governments, we shall find this to be the course they have pursued. The whole scope and tendency of modern legislation is, to restore things to that natural channel from which the ignorance of preceding legislation has driven them. This is one of the great works of the present age ; and if legislators do it well, they will deserve the gratitude of mankind. But though we may thus be grateful to individual lawgivers, we owe no thanks to lawgivers considered as a class. For since the most valuable improvements in legislation are those which subvert preceding legislation, it is clear that the balance of good cannot be on their side. It is clear that the progress of civilization cannot be due to those who, on the most important subjects, have done so much harm, that their successors are considered benefactors simply because they reverse their policy, and thus restore affairs to the state in which they would have remained, if politicians had allowed them to run on in the course which the wants of society required.

Indeed, the extent to which the governing classes have interfered, and the mischiefs which that interference has produced, are so remarkable as to make thoughtful men wonder how civilization could advance, in the face of such repeated obstacles. In some of the European countries the obstacles have in fact proved insuperable, and the national progress is thereby stopped. Even in England, where, from causes which I shall presently relate, the higher ranks have for some centuries been less powerful than elsewhere, there has been inflicted an amount of evil which, though much smaller than that incurred in other countries, is sufficiently serious to form a melancholy chapter in the history of the human mind. To sum up these evils would be to write a history of English legislation; for it may be broadly stated that, with the exception of certain necessary enactments respecting the preservation of order, and the punishment of crime, nearly every thing which has been done, has been done amiss. Thus, to take only such conspicuous facts as do not admit of controversy, it is certain that all the most important interests have been grievously damaged by the attempts of legislators to aid them.* Among the accessories of modern civilization, there is none of greater moment than trade, the spread of which has probably done more than any other single agent to increase the comfort and happiness of man. But every European government which has legislated much respecting trade, has acted as if its main object were to suppress the trade, and ruin the traders. Instead of leaving the national industry to take its own course, it has been troubled by an interminable series of regulations, all intended for its good, and all inflicting serious harm. To such a height has this been carried, that the commercial reforms which have distinguished England during the last twenty years, have solely consisted in undoing this mischievous and intrusive legislation. The laws formerly enacted on this subject, and too many of which are still in force, are marvellous to contemplate. It is no exaggeration to say that the history of the commercial legislation of Europe presents every possible contrivance for hampering the energies of commerce. Indeed, a very high authority, who has maturely studied this subject, has recently declared that if it had not been for smuggling, trade could not have been conducted, but must have perished, in consequence of this incessant interference.[40] However paradoxical this assertion may appear, it will be denied by no one who knows how feeble trade once was, and how strong the obstacles were which opposed it. In every quarter, and at every moment, the hand of government was felt. Duties on importation, and duties on exportation; bounties to raise up a losing trade, and taxes to pull down a remunerative one; this branch of industry forbidden, and that branch of industry encouraged; one article of commerce must not be grown, because it was grown in the colonies, another article might be grown and bought, but not sold again, while a third article might be bought and sold, but not leave the country. Then, too, we find laws to regulate wages; laws to regulate prices; laws to regulate profits; laws to regulate the interest of money; custom-house arrangements of the most vexatious kind, aided by a complicated scheme, which was well called the sliding-scale,—a scheme of such perverse ingenuity, that the duties constantly varied on the same article, and no man could calculate beforehand what he would have to pay. To this uncertainty, itself the bane of all commerce, there was added a severity of exaction, felt by every class of consumers and producers. The tolls were so onerous as to double and often quadruple the cost of production. A system was organized, and strictly enforced, of interference with markets, interference with manufactories, interference with machinery,

[40] "C'est à la contrebande que le commerce doit de n'avoir pas péri sous l'influence du régime prohibitif; tandis que ce régime condamnait les peuples à s'approvisionner aux sources les plus éloignées, la contrebande rapprochait les distances, abaissait les prix, et neutralisait l'action funeste des monopoles." *Blanqui, Histoire de l'Économie Politique en Europe*, Paris, 1845, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

[* "Interests" being here distinguished from "classes"—*i.e.* "agriculture" and "commerce" as distinct from the landed or trading class.—Ed.]

interference even with shops. The towns were guarded by excisemen, and the ports swarmed with tide-waiters, whose sole business was to inspect nearly every process of domestic industry, peer into every package, and tax every article: while, that absurdity might be carried to its extreme height, a large part of all this was by way of protection: that is to say, the money was avowedly raised, and the inconvenience suffered, not for the use of the government, but for the benefit of the people; in other words, the industrious classes were robbed, in order that industry might thrive.

Such are some of the benefits which European trade owes to the paternal care of European legislators. But worse still remains behind. For the economical evils, great as they were, have been far surpassed by the moral evils which this system produced. The first inevitable consequence was that in every part of Europe there arose numerous and powerful gangs of armed smugglers, who lived by disobeying the laws which their ignorant rulers had imposed. These men, desperate from the fear of punishment,[41] and accustomed to the commission of every crime, contaminated the surrounding population; introduced into peaceful villages vices formerly unknown; caused the ruin of entire families; spread, wherever they came, drunkenness, theft, and dissoluteness; and familiarized their associates with those coarse and swinish debaucheries which were the natural habits of so vagrant and lawless a life.[42] The innumerable crimes arising from this[43] are directly chargeable upon the European governments by whom they were provoked. The offences were caused by the laws; and now that the laws are repealed, the offences have disappeared. But it will hardly be pretended that the interests of civilization have been advanced by such a policy as this. It will hardly be pretended that we owe much to a system which, having called into existence a new class of criminals, at length retraces its steps and, though it thus puts an end to the crime, only destroys what its own acts had created.

It is unnecessary to say that these remarks do not affect the real services rendered to society by every tolerably organized government. In all countries, a power of punishing crime, and of framing laws, must reside somewhere;

[41] The 19 Geo. II. c. 34, made "all forcible acts of smuggling, carried on in defiance of the laws, or *even in disguise to evade them*, felony without benefit of clergy." *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 155. Townsend, who travelled through France in 1786, says that when any of the numerous smugglers were taken, "some of them are hanged, some are broken upon the wheel, and some are burnt alive." *Townsend's Spain*, vol. i. p. 85, edit. 1792. On the general operation of the French laws against smugglers in the eighteenth century, compare *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 213, 214, with *Parliamentary History*, vol. ix. p. 1240.

[42] In a work of considerable ability, the following account is given of the state of things in England and France so late as the year 1824: "While this was going forward on the English coast, the smugglers on the opposite shore were engaged, with much more labour, risk, and expense, in introducing English woollens, by a vast system of fraud and lying, into the towns, past a series of custom-houses. In both countries, there was an utter dissoluteness of morals connected with these transactions. Cheating and lying were essential to the whole system; drunkenness accompanied it; contempt for all law grew up under it; honest industry perished beneath it: and it was crowned with murder." *Martineau's History of England during Thirty Years' Peace*, vol. i. p. 341, 8vo, 1849.

[43] For evidence of the extraordinary extent to which smuggling was formerly carried, and that not secretly, but by powerful bodies of armed men, see *Parliamentary History*, vol. ix. pp. 243, 247, 1290, 1345, vol. x. pp. 394, 405, 530, 532, vol. xi. p. 935. And on the number of persons engaged in it, compare *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. i. p. 359: see also *Sinclair's History of the Public Revenue*, vol. iii. p. 232; *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. i. p. 391. In France, the evil was equally great. M. Lemontey says, that early in the eighteenth century, "la contrebande devenait une profession ouverte, et des compagnies de cavalerie désertèrent tout entières leurs étendards pour suivre contre le fisc cette guerre populaire." *Lemontey, Essai sur l'Établissement monarchique de Louis XIV.*, p. 430. According to Townsend, there were in 1786 "more than 1500 smugglers in the Pyrenees." *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, vol. i. p. 84.

otherwise the nation is in a state of anarchy. But the accusation which the historian is bound to bring against every government which has hitherto existed is, that it has overstepped its proper functions, and at each step has done incalculable harm. The love of exercising power has been found to be so universal, that no class of men who have possessed authority have been able to avoid abusing it. To maintain order, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, and to adopt certain precautions respecting the public health, are the only services which any government can render to the interests of civilization. That these are services of immense value, no one will deny ; but it cannot be said that by them civilization is advanced, or the progress of Man accelerated. All that is done is to afford the opportunity of progress ; the progress itself must depend upon other matters. And that this is the sound view of legislation is moreover evident from the fact that as knowledge is becoming more diffused, and as an increasing experience is enabling each successive generation better to understand the complicated relations of life, just in the same proportion are men insisting upon the repeal of those protective laws, the enactment of which was deemed by politicians to be the greatest triumph of political foresight.

Seeing, therefore, that the efforts of government in favour of civilization are, when most successful, altogether negative ; and seeing too, that when those efforts are more than negative they become injurious,—it clearly follows that all speculations must be erroneous which ascribe the progress of Europe to the wisdom of its rulers. This is an inference which rests not only on the arguments already adduced, but on facts which might be multiplied from every page of history. For, no government having recognized its proper limits, the result is that every government has inflicted on its subjects great injuries ; and has done this nearly always with the best intentions. The effects of its protective policy in injuring trade, and, what is far worse, in increasing crime, have just been noticed ; and to these instances innumerable others might be added. Thus, during many centuries, every government thought it was its bounden duty to encourage religious truth, and discourage religious error. The mischief this has produced is incalculable. Putting aside all other considerations, it is enough to mention its two leading consequences ; which are, the increase of hypocrisy, and the increase of perjury. The increase of hypocrisy is the inevitable result of connecting any description of penalty with the profession of particular opinions. Whatever may be the case with individuals, it is certain that the majority of men find an extreme difficulty in long resisting constant temptation. And when the temptation comes to them in the shape of honour and emolument, they are too often ready to profess the dominant opinions, and abandon, not indeed their belief, but the external marks by which that belief is made public. Every man who takes this step is a hypocrite ; and every government which encourages this step to be taken, is an abettor of hypocrisy and a creator of hypocrites. Well, therefore, may we say, that when a government holds out as a bait, that those who profess certain opinions shall enjoy certain privileges, it plays the part of the tempter of old, and, like the Evil One, basely offers the good things of this world to him who will change his worship and deny his faith. At the same time, and as apart of this system, the increase of perjury has accompanied the increase of hypocrisy. For legislators, plainly seeing that proselytes thus obtained could not be relied upon, have met the danger by the most extraordinary precautions ; and compelling men to confirm their belief by repeated oaths, have thus sought to protect the old creed against the new converts. It is this suspicion as to the motives of others, which has given rise to oaths of every kind and in every direction. In England, even the boy at college is forced to swear about matters which he cannot understand, and which far riper minds are unable to master. If he afterwards goes into Parliament, he must again swear about his religion ; and at nearly every stage of political life he must take fresh oaths ; the solemnity of which is often strangely contrasted with the trivial functions to which they are the prelude. A solemn adjuration of the Deity being thus made at every turn, it has happened, as might have been expected, that oaths, enjoined as a matter of course, have at length degenerated into a matter of form. What is lightly taken is easily

broken. And the best observers of English society,—observers too whose characters are very different, and who hold the most opposite opinions,—are all agreed on this, that the perjury habitually practised in England, and of which government is the immediate creator, is so general, that it has become a source of national corruption, has diminished the value of human testimony, and shaken the confidence which men naturally place in the word of their fellow-creatures.[44]

The open vices, and, what is much more dangerous, the hidden corruption, thus generated in the midst of society by the ignorant interference of Christian rulers, is indeed a painful subject; but it is one which I could not omit in an analysis of the causes of civilization. It would be easy to push the inquiry still further, and to show how legislators, in every attempt they have made to protect some particular interests, and uphold some particular principles, have not only failed, but have brought about results diametrically opposite to those which they proposed. We have seen that their laws in favour of industry have injured industry; that their laws in favour of religion have increased hypocrisy; and that their laws to secure truth have encouraged perjury. Exactly in the same way, nearly every country has taken steps to prevent usury, and keep down the interest of money; and the invariable effect has been to increase usury, and raise the interest of money. For, since no prohibition, however stringent, can destroy the natural relation between demand and supply, it has followed, that when some men want to borrow, and other men want to lend, both parties are sure to find means of evading a law which interferes with their mutual rights.[45] If the two parties were left to adjust their own bargain undisturbed, the usury would depend on the circumstances of the loan; such as the amount of security, and the chance of repayment. But this natural arrangement has been complicated by the interference of government.[46] A certain risk being always incurred by those who disobey the law, the usurer, very properly, refuses to lend his money unless he is also compensated for the danger he is in from the penalty hanging over him. This compensation can only be made by the borrower, who is thus obliged to pay what in reality is a double interest: one interest for the natural risk on the loan, and another interest for the extra risk from the law. Such, then, is the position in which every

[44] Archbishop Whately says, what hardly any thinking man will now deny, "If Oaths were abolished—leaving the penalties for false witness (no unimportant part of our security) unaltered—I am convinced that, on the whole, Testimony would be more trustworthy than it is." *Whately's Elements of Rhetoric*, 8vo, 1850, p. 47. See also on the amount of perjury caused by English legislation, *Jeremy Bentham's Works*, edit. Bowring, vol. ii. p. 210, vol. v. pp. 191–229, 454–466, vol. vi. pp. 314, 315; *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 195; *Locke's Works*, vol. iv. p. 6; *Berkeley's Works*, vol. ii. p. 196; *Whiston's Memoirs*, pp. 33, 411–413; *Hamilton's Discussions on Philosophy and Literature*, pp. 454, 522, 527, 528. Sir W. Hamilton sums up: "But if the perjury of England stands pre-eminent in the world, the perjury of the English Universities, and of Oxford in particular, stands pre-eminent in England." p. 528. Compare *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 374; and *Baker's Life of Sir Thomas Bernard*, 1819, pp. 188, 189.

[45] "L'observation rigoureuse de ces loix seroit destructive de tout commerce; aussi ne sont-elles pas observées rigoureusement." *Mémoire sur les Prêts d'Argent*, sec. xiv., in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. v. pp. 278, 279. Compare *Ricardo's Works*, pp. 178, 179, with *Condorcet, Vie de Turgot*, pp. 53, 54, 228.

[46] Aided by the church. Ecclesiastical councils contain numerous regulations against usury; and, in 1179, Pope Alexander ordered that usurers were not to be buried: "Quia in omnibus ferè locis crimen usurarum invaluit; ut multi negotiis prætermissis quasi licitè usuras exerceant; et qualiter utriusque testamenti pagina condemnetur, non attendunt: ideò constituimus, ut usurarii manifesti nec ad communionem recipiantur altaris, nec Christianam, si in hoc peccato decesserint, accipiant sepulturam, sed nec oblationem eorum quisquam accipiat." *Rog. de Hoved. Annal. in Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 335, Lond. 1596, folio. In Spain, the Inquisition took cognizance of usury. See *Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. p. 339. Compare *Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 133.

European legislature has placed itself. By enactments against usury, it has increased what it wished to destroy ; it has passed laws which the imperative necessities of men compel them to violate : while, to wind up the whole, the penalty for such violation falls on the borrowers ; that is, on the very class in whose favour the legislators interfered.[47]

In the same meddling spirit, and with the same mistaken notions of protection, the great Christian governments have done other things still more injurious. They have made strenuous and repeated efforts to destroy the liberty of the press, and prevent men from expressing their sentiments on the most important questions in politics and religion. In nearly every country, they, with the aid of the church, have organized a vast system of literary police ; the sole object of which is to abrogate the undoubted right of every citizen to lay his opinions before his fellow-citizens. In the very few countries where they have stopped short of these extreme steps, they have had recourse to others less violent, but equally unwarrantable. For even where they have not openly forbidden the free dissemination of knowledge, they have done all that they could to check it. On all the implements of knowledge, and on all the means by which it is diffused, such as paper, books, political journals, and the like, they have imposed duties so heavy, that they could hardly have done worse if they had been the sworn advocates of popular ignorance. Indeed, looking at what they have actually accomplished, it may be emphatically said that they have taxed the human mind. They have made the very thoughts of men pay toll. Whoever wishes to communicate his ideas to others, and thus do what he can to increase the stock of our acquirements, must first pour his contributions into the imperial exchequer. That is the penalty inflicted on him for instructing his fellow-creatures. That is the blackmail which government extorts from literature ; and on receipt of which it accords its favour, and agrees to abstain from further demands. And what causes all this to be the more insufferable, is the use which is made of these and similar exactions, wrung from every kind of industry, both bodily and mental. It is truly a frightful consideration, that knowledge is to be hindered, and that the proceeds of honest labour, of patient thought, and sometimes of profound genius, are to be diminished, in order that a large part of their scanty earnings may go to swell the pomp of an idle and ignorant court, minister to the caprice of a few powerful individuals, and too often supply them with the means of turning against the people resources which the people called into existence.

These and the foregoing statements, respecting the effects produced on European society by political legislation, are not doubtful or hypothetical inferences, but are such as every reader of history may verify for himself. Indeed, some of them are still acting in England ; and, in one country or another, the whole of them may be seen in full force. When put together, they compose an aggregate so formidable, that we may well wonder how, in the face of them, civilization has been able to advance. That under such circumstances it has advanced, is a decisive proof of the extraordinary energy of Man ; and justifies a confident belief that as the pressure of legislation is diminished, and the human mind less hampered, the progress will continue with accelerated speed. But it is absurd, it would be a mockery of all sound reasoning, to ascribe to legislation any share in the progress, or to expect any benefit from future legislators, except that sort of benefit which consists in undoing the work of their predecessors. This is what the present generation claims at their hands ; and it should be remembered that what one generation solicits as a boon, the next generation demands as a right. And, when the right is pertinaciously refused, one of two things has always happened : either the nation has retrograded, or else the people have risen. Should the government remain firm,

[47] The whole subject of the usury laws has been treated by Bentham in so complete and exhaustive a manner, that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his admirable "Letters." A part only of the question is discussed, and that very imperfectly, in *Rey's Science Sociale*, vol. iii. pp. 64, 65. On the necessity of usury to mitigate the effects of a commercial panic, see *Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. ii. p. 185.

this is the cruel dilemma in which men are placed. If they submit, they injure their country; if they rebel, they may injure it still more. In the ancient monarchies of the East, their usual plan was to yield; in the monarchies of Europe, it has been to resist. Hence those insurrections and rebellions which occupy so large a space in modern history, and which are but repetitions of the old story, the undying struggle between oppressors and oppressed. It would, however, be unjust to deny that in one country the fatal crisis has now for several generations been successfully averted. In one European country, and in one alone, the people have been so strong, and the government so weak, that the history of legislation, taken as a whole, is, notwithstanding a few aberrations, the history of slow but constant concession: reforms which would have been refused to argument, have been yielded from fear; while, from the steady increase of democratic opinions, protection after protection, and privilege after privilege, have, even in our own time, been torn away; until the old institutions, though they retain their former name, have lost their former vigour, and there no longer remains a doubt as to what their fate must ultimately be. Nor need we add that in this same country, where, more than in any other of Europe, legislators are the exponents and the servants of the popular will, the progress has, on this account, been more undeviating than elsewhere; there has been neither anarchy nor revolution; and the world has been made familiar with the great truth, that one main condition of the prosperity of a people is, that its rulers shall have very little power, that they shall exercise that power very sparingly, and that they shall by no means presume to raise themselves into supreme judges of the national interests, or deem themselves authorized to defeat the wishes of those for whose benefit alone they occupy the post in trusted to them.

CHAPTER VI.

Origin of History, and State of Historical Literature during the Middle Ages.

I have now laid before the reader an examination of those conspicuous circumstances to which the progress of civilization is commonly ascribed ; and I have proved that such circumstances, so far from being the cause of civilization, are at best only its effects ; and that although religion, literature, and legislation do undoubtedly modify the condition of mankind, they are still more modified by it.* Indeed, as we have clearly seen, they, even in their most favourable position, can be but secondary agents ; because however beneficial their apparent influence may be, they are themselves the product of preceding changes, and their results will vary according to the variations of the society on which they work.

It is thus that, by each successive analysis, the field of the present inquiry has been narrowed, until we have found reason to believe that the growth of European civilization is solely due to the progress of knowledge, and that the progress of knowledge depends on the number of truths which the human intellect discovers, and on the extent to which they are diffused. In support of this proposition I have as yet only brought forward such general arguments as establish a very strong probability ; which to raise to a certainty will require an appeal to history in the widest sense of the term. Thus to verify speculative conclusions by an exhaustive enumeration of the most important particular facts, is the task which I purpose to execute so far as my powers will allow ; and in the preceding chapter I have briefly stated the method according to which the investigation will be conducted. Besides this, it has appeared to me that the principles which I have laid down may also be tested by a mode of proceeding which I have not yet mentioned, but which is intimately connected with the subject now before us. This is, to incorporate with an inquiry into the progress of the history of Man, another inquiry into the progress of History itself. By this means, great light will be thrown on the movements of society ; since there must always be a connexion between the way in which men contemplate the past, and the way in which they contemplate the present ; both views being in fact different forms of the same habits of thought, and therefore presenting, in each age, a certain sympathy and correspondence with each other. It will moreover be found that such an inquiry into what I call the history of history will establish two leading facts of considerable value. The first fact is, that during the last three centuries, historians, taken as a class, have shown a constantly increasing respect for the human intellect, and an aversion for those innumerable contrivances by which it was formerly shackled. The second fact is, that during the same period they have displayed a growing tendency

[* As the "condition of mankind" has been shown to be determined by knowledge, and knowledge *comes as literature* (by Buckle's definition), this formula must be regarded as inexact.—Ed.]

to neglect matters once deemed of paramount importance, and have been more willing to attend to subjects connected with the condition of the people and the diffusion of knowledge. These two facts will be decisively established in the present Introduction ; and it must be admitted that their existence corroborates the principles which I have propounded. If it can be ascertained that as society has improved, historical literature has constantly tended in one given direction, there arises a very strong probability in favour of the truth of those views towards which it is manifestly approaching. Indeed, it is a probability of this sort which makes it so important for the student of any particular science to be acquainted with its history ; because there is always a fair presumption that when general knowledge is advancing, any single department of it, if studied by competent men, is also advancing, even when the results may have been so small as to seem unworthy of attention. Hence it becomes highly important to observe the way in which, during successive ages, historians have shifted their ground ; since we shall find that such changes have in the long-run always pointed to the same quarter, and are in reality only part of that vast movement by which the human intellect, with infinite difficulty, has vindicated its own rights, and slowly emancipated itself from those inveterate prejudices which long impeded its action.

With a view to these considerations, it seems advisable that, when examining the different civilizations into which the great countries of Europe have diverged, I should also give an account of the way in which history has been commonly written in each country. In the employment of this resource I shall be mainly guided by a desire to illustrate the intimate connexion between the actual condition of a people and their opinions respecting the past ; and, in order to keep this connexion in sight, I shall treat the state of historical literature, not as a separate subject, but as forming part of the intellectual history of each nation. The present volume will contain a view of the principal characteristics of French civilization until the great Revolution ; and with that there will be incorporated an account of the French historians, and of the remarkable improvements they introduced into their own departments of knowledge. The relation which these improvements bore to the state of society from which they proceeded, is very striking, and will be examined at some length ; while, in the next volume, the civilization and the historical literature of the other leading countries will be treated in a similar manner.* Before, however, entering into these different subjects, it has occurred to me that a preliminary inquiry into the origin of European history would be interesting, as supplying information respecting matters which are little known, and also as enabling the reader to understand the extreme difficulty with which history has reached its present advanced, but still very imperfect, state. The materials for studying the earliest condition of Europe have long since perished ; but the extensive information we now possess concerning barbarous nations will supply us with a useful resource, because they have all much in common ; the opinions of extreme ignorance being, indeed, everywhere the same, except when modified by the differences which nature presents in various countries. I have therefore no hesitation in employing the evidence which has been collected by competent travellers, and drawing inferences from it respecting that period of the European mind, of which we have no direct knowledge. Such conclusions will of course be speculative ; but, during the last thousand years, we are quite independent of them, inasmuch as every great country has had chroniclers of its own since the ninth century, while the French have an uninterrupted series since the sixth century. In the present chapter I intend to give specimens of the way in which, until the sixteenth century, history was habitually written by the highest European authorities. Its subsequent improvement during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will be related under the separate heads of the countries where the progress was made ; and as history, previous to the improvement, was little else than a tissue of the grossest errors, I will, in the first place, examine the leading causes of its universal corruption, and indicate the steps by which it

[* This promise was not fulfilled.—Ed.]

was so disfigured that, during several centuries, Europe did not possess a single man who had critically studied the past, or who was even able to record with tolerable accuracy the events of his own time.

At a very early period in the progress of a people, and long before they are acquainted with the use of letters, they feel the want of some resource, which in peace may amuse their leisure, and in war may stimulate their courage. This is supplied to them by the invention of ballads; which form the ground-work of all historical knowledge, and which, in one shape or another, are found among some of the rudest tribes of the earth. They are, for the most part, sung by a class of men whose particular business it is thus to preserve the stock of traditions. Indeed, so natural is this curiosity as to past events, that there are few nations to whom these bards or minstrels are unknown. Thus, to select a few instances, it is they who have preserved the popular traditions, not only of Europe,[1] but also of China, Tibet, and Tartary;[2] likewise of India,[3] of Scinde,[4] of Belochistan,[5] of Western Asia,[6] of the islands of the Black Sea,[7] of Egypt,[8] of Western Africa,[9] of North America,[10] of South America,[11] and of the islands in the Pacific.[12]

[1] For an account of the ancient bards of Gaul, see the *Benedictine Hist. Lit. de la France*, vol. i. part i. pp. 25–28. Those of Scotland are noticed in *Barry's Hist. of the Orkney Islands*, p. 89; and for a modern instance in the island of Col, near Mull, see *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. i. p. 307. As to the Irish bards in the seventh century, see *Sharon Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 571. Spenser's account of them in the sixteenth century (*Somers Tracts*, vol. i. pp. 590, 591) shows that the order was then falling into contempt; and in the seventeenth century this is confirmed by Sir William Temple; *Essay on Poetry*, in *Temple's Works*, vol. iii. pp. 431, 432. But it was not till the eighteenth century that they became extinct; for Mr. Prior (*Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. pp. 36, 37) says that Carolan, "the last of the ancient Irish bards," died in 1738. Without them the memory of many events would have been entirely lost; since even at the end of the seventeenth century, there being no registers in Ireland, the ordinary means of recording facts were so little known, that parents often took the precaution of having the names and ages of children marked on their arms with gunpowder. See *Kirkman's Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, 8vo, 1799, vol. i. pp. 144, 145, a curious book. Compare, respecting Carolan, *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. vii. pp. 688–694.

[2] On these Toolholos, as they are called, see *Huc's Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, vol. i. pp. 65–67. Huc says, p. 67, "These poet-singers, who remind us of the minstrels and rhapsodists of Greece, are also very numerous in China; but they are, probably, nowhere so numerous or so popular as in Thibet."

[3] On the bards of the Deccan, see *Wilks's History of the South of India*, 4to, 1810, vol. i. pp. 20, 21, and *Transac. of the Bombay Soc.* vol. i. p. 162. For those of other parts of India, see *Heber's Journey*, vol. ii. pp. 452–455; *Burnes on the North-west Frontier of India*, in *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. iv. pp. 110, 111; *Prinsep*, in *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. viii. p. 395; *Forbes's Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 376, 377, 543; and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 78. They are mentioned in the oldest Veda, which is also the oldest of all the Indian books. See *Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. i. p. 158.

[4] See *Burton's Sindh*, p. 56, 8vo, 1851.

[5] *Burton's Sindh*, p. 59.

[6] *Burnes's Travels into Bokhara*, 8vo, 1834, vol. ii. pp. 107, 115, 116.

[7] *Clarke's Travels*, 8vo, 1816, vol. ii. p. 101.

[8] Compare *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 304, with *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 96, vol. ii. p. 92.

[9] I have mislaid my note on the bards of Western Africa, and can only refer to a hasty notice in *Mungo Park's Travels*, vol. i. p. 70, 8vo, 1817.

[10] *Buchanan's Sketches of the North-American Indians*, p. 337.

[11] *Prescott's History of Peru*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32, 117.

[12] *Ellis, Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. pp. 85, 199, 411; *Ellis, Tour through Hawaii*, p. 91. Compare *Cook's Voyages*, vol. v. p. 237, with *Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific*, vol. ii. p. 106. Some of these ballads have been collected, but, I believe, not published. See *Cheever's Sandwich Islands*, 8vo, 1851, p. 181.

In all these countries, letters were long unknown; and, as a people in that state have no means of perpetuating their history except by oral tradition, they select the form best calculated to assist their memory; and it will, I believe, be found that the first rudiments of knowledge consist always of poetry, and often of rhyme.[13] The jingle pleases the ear of the barbarian, and affords a security that he will hand it down to his children in the unimpaired state in which he received it.[14] This guarantee against error increases still further the value of these ballads; and instead of being considered as a mere amusement, they rise to the dignity of judicial authorities.[15] The allusions contained in them are satisfactory proofs to decide the merits of rival families, or even to fix the limits of those rude estates which such a society can possess. We therefore find that the professed reciters and composers of these songs are the recognized judges in all disputed matters; and as they are often priests, and believed to be inspired, it is probably in this way that the notion of the divine origin of poetry first arose.[16] These ballads will of course vary according to the cus-

[13] It is a singular proof of the carelessness with which the history of barbarous nations has been studied, that authors constantly assert rhyme to be a comparatively recent contrivance; and even Pinkerton, writing to Laing in 1799, says, "Rhyme was not known in Europe till about the ninth century." *Pinkerton's Literary Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 92. The truth is, that rhyme was not only known to the ancient Greeks and Romans, but was used, long before the date Pinkerton mentions, by the Anglo-Saxons, by the Irish, by the Welsh, and, I believe, by the Bretons. See *Mure's Hist. of the Literature of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 113; *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 31; *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires de la Bretagne*, vol. i. pp. lviii. lix. compared with *Souvestre, Les Derniers Bretons*, p. 143; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. pp. 383, 643, vol. vii. pp. 324, 328, 330. Rhyme is also used by the Fantees (*Bowdich, Mission to Ashantee*, p. 358); by the Persians (*Transac. of Bombay Soc.* vol. ii. p. 82); by the Chinese (*Transac. of Asiatic Soc.* vol. ii. pp. 407, 409, and *Davis's Chinese*, vol. ii. p. 269); by the Malays (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. pp. 176, 196); by the Javanese (*Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 20); and by the Siamese (*Transac. of Asiatic Soc.* vol. iii. p. 299).

[14] The habit thus acquired long survives the circumstances which made it necessary. During many centuries, the love of versification was so widely diffused, that works in rhyme were composed on nearly all subjects, even in Europe; and this practice, which marks the ascendency of the imagination, is, as I have shown, a characteristic of the great Indian civilization, where the understanding was always in abeyance. On early French historians who wrote in rhyme, see *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vi. p. 147. Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. i. p. 506) mentions a mathematical treatise, written in the thirteenth century, "en vers techniques." Compare the remarks of Matter (*Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. pp. 179–183) on the scientific poetry of Aratus; and on that of Hygin, p. 250. Thus, too, we find an Anglo-Norman writing "the Institutes of Justinian in verse"; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 307: and a Polish historian composing "his numerous works on genealogy and heraldry mostly in rhyme." *Talvi's Language and Literature of the Slavic Nations*, 8vo, 1850, p. 246. Compare *Origines du Droit Français*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 310.

[15] Mr. Ellis, a missionary in the South-Sea Islands, says of the inhabitants, "Their traditionary ballads were a kind of standard, or classical authority, to which they referred for the purpose of determining any disputed fact in their history." And when doubts arose, "as they had no records to which they could at such times refer, they could only oppose one oral tradition to another; which unavoidably involved the parties in protracted and often obstinate debates." *Ellis, Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. pp. 202, 203. Compare *Elphinstone's Hist. of India*, p. 66; *Laing's Heimskringla*, 8vo, 1844, vol. i. pp. 50, 51; *Twell's Life of Pocock*, edit. 1816, p. 143.

[16] The inspiration of poetry is sometimes explained by its spontaneousness (*Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. i. pp. 135, 136); and there can be no doubt that one cause of the reverence felt for great poets is the necessity they seem to experience of pouring out their thoughts without reference to their own wishes. Still, it will, I believe, be found that the notion of poetry being a divine art is most rife in those states of

toms and temperaments of the different nations, and according to the climate to which they are accustomed. In the south they assume a passionate and voluptuous form ; in the north they are rather remarkable for their tragic and warlike character.[17] But, notwithstanding these diversities, all such productions have one feature in common. They are not only founded on truth, but, making allowance for the colourings of poetry, they are all strictly true. Men who are constantly repeating songs which they constantly hear, and who appeal to the authorized singers of them as final umpires in disputed questions, are not likely to be mistaken on matters, in the accuracy of which they have so lively an interest.[18]

This is the earliest, and most simple, of the various stages through which history is obliged to pass. But in the course of time, unless unfavourable circumstances intervene, society advances, and, among other changes, there is one in particular of the greatest importance : I mean the introduction of the art of writing, which, before many generations are passed, must effect a complete alteration in the character of the national traditions. The manner in which this occurs has, so far as I am aware, never been pointed out ; and it will, therefore, be interesting to attempt to trace some of its details.

The first and perhaps the most obvious consideration is that the introduction of the art of writing gives permanence to the national knowledge, and thus lessens the utility of that oral information in which all the acquirements of an unlettered people must be contained. Hence it is that as a country advances, the influence of tradition diminishes, and traditions themselves become less trustworthy.[19] Besides this, the preservers of these traditions lose, in this stage of society, much of their former reputation. Among a perfectly unlettered people, the singers of ballads are, as we have already seen, the sole depositaries of those historical facts on which the fame, and often the property, of their chieftains principally depend. But when this same nation becomes acquainted with the art of writing, it grows unwilling to intrust these matters to the memory of itinerant singers, and avails itself of its new art to preserve

society in which knowledge is monopolized by the bards, and in which the bards are both priests and historians. On this combination of pursuits, compare a note in *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 90, with *Mure's Hist. of the Lit. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 148, vol. ii. p. 228, and Petrie's learned work, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, Dublin, 1845, p. 354. For evidence of the great respect paid to bards, see *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, pp. 234–236 ; *Wheaton's Hist. of the Northmen*, pp. 50, 51 ; *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. i. p. 3 ; *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, 1840, vol. i. pp. xxvi. xl. ; *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 182, 1st edit. ; and on their important duties, see the laws of Mœlmund, *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires de la Bretagne*, 1846, vol. i. pp. v. and vi. ; *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 229 ; and *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 372.

[17] *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires*, vol. i. p. lv. [This author is little to be trusted. His work has been described by Prof. York Powell (*Folk Lore*, March, 1903, p. 109) as "a brilliant forgery by a man of talent who amused himself by his artificial and romantic 'reconstruction' of a period he never knew."—Ed.]

[18] As to the general accuracy of the early ballads, which has been rashly attacked by several writers, and among others by Sir Walter Scott, see *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires*, vol. i. pp. xxv.-xxxi., and *Talvi's Slavic Nations*, p. 150. On the tenacity of oral tradition, compare *Niebuhr's History of Rome*, 1847, vol. i. p. 230, with *Laing's Denmark*, pp. 197, 198, 350 ; *Wheaton's Hist. of the Northmen*, pp. 38, 39, 57-59. Another curious illustration of this is, that several barbarous nations continue to repeat the old traditions in the old words, for so many generations, that at length the verv language becomes unintelligible to the majority of those who recite them. See *Mariner's Account of the Tonga Islands*, vol. i. p. 156, vol. ii. p. 217, and *Catlin's North-American Indians*, vol. i. p. 126.

[19] That the invention of letters would at first weaken the memory, is noticed in Plato's Phædrus, chap. 135 (*Platonis Opera*, vol. i. p. 187, edit. Bekker, Lond. 1826) where, however, the argument is pushed rather too far.

them in a fixed and material form. As soon as this is effected, the importance of those who repeat the national traditions is sensibly diminished. They gradually sink into an inferior class, which, having lost its old reputation, no longer consists of those superior men to whose abilities it owed its former fame.[20] Thus we see that although, without letters, there can be no knowledge of much importance, it is nevertheless true that their introduction is injurious to historical traditions in two distinct ways: first by weakening the traditions, and secondly by weakening the class of men whose occupation it is to preserve them.

But this is not all. Not only does the art of writing lessen the number of traditionary truths, but it directly encourages the propagation of falsehoods. This is effected by what may be termed a principle of accumulation, to which all systems of belief have been deeply indebted. In ancient times, for example, the name of Hercules was given to several of those great public robbers who scourged mankind, and who, if their crimes were successful as well as enormous, were sure after their death to be worshipped as heroes.[21] How this appellation originated is uncertain; but it was probably bestowed at first on a single man, and afterwards on those who resembled him in the character of their achievements.[22] This mode of extending the use of a single name is natural to a barbarous people;[23] and would cause little or no confusion, as long as the traditions of the country remained local and unconnected. But as soon as these traditions became fixed by a written language, the collectors of them, deceived by the similarity of name, assembled the scattered facts, and, ascribing to a single man these accumulated exploits, degraded history to the level of a miraculous mythology.[24] In the same way, soon after the use of letters was known in the North of Europe, there was drawn up by Saxo Grammaticus the life of the celebrated Ragnar Lodbrok. Either from accident or design, this great warrior of Scandinavia, who had taught England to tremble, had received the same name as another Ragnar, who was prince of Jutland about a hundred years earlier. This coincidence would have caused no confusion, as long as each district preserved a distinct and independent account of its own Ragnar. But, by possessing the resource of writing, men became able to

[20] This inevitable decline in the ability of the bards is noticed, though, as it appears to me, from a wrong point of view, in *Mure's Literat. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 230.

[21] Varro mentions forty-four of these vagabonds, who were all called Hercules. See a learned article in *Smith's Biog. and Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 401, 8vo, 1846. See also *Mackay's Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews*, vol. ii. pp. 71–79. On the relation between Hercules and Melcarth, compare *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 257, with *Heeren's Asiatic Nations*, vol. i. p. 295, 8vo, 1846. And as to the Hercules of Egypt, *Prichard's Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, 1838, pp. 109, 115–119. As to the confusion of the different Hercules by the Dorians, see *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 257; and compare p. 130. [Varro's words are: "*Omnes qui fecerant fortiter, Hercules vocabantur.*" They are cited by Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 564, with the addendum: "*Licet eos primo, xliii. enumeravit.*" Nothing is said as to their being robbers or vagabonds; and the "opinion of Frederick Schlegel," given in the next note, must be set aside as pre-scientific. Hercules (properly Herakles, the Latin Hercules being a Vegetation-God) is the name of an ancient Sun-God; and his legend is apparently evolved from the twelve signs of the zodiac, regarded as story-symbols. There is no reason whatever to suppose that it originates in the biography of a real hero.—ED.]

[22] This appears to be the opinion of Frederick Schlegel; *Schlegel's Lectures on the History of Literature*, Edinb. 1818, vol. i. p. 260.

[23] The habit of generalizing names precedes that more advanced state of society in which men generalize phenomena. If this proposition is universally true, which I take it to be, it will throw some light on the history of disputes between the nominalists and the realists.

[24] We may form an idea of the fertility of this source of error from the fact that in Egypt there were fifty-three cities bearing the same name: "L'auteur du Kamous nous apprend qu'il y a en Egypte cinquante-trois villes du nom de Schobra: en effet, j'ai retrouvé tous ces noms dans les deux dénombremens déjà cités." *Quatremère, Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte*, p. 199.

consolidate the separate trains of events, and, as it were, fuse two truths into one error. And this was what actually happened. The credulous Saxo put together the different exploits of both Ragnars, and, ascribing the whole of them to his favourite hero, has involved in obscurity one of the most interesting parts of the early history of Europe.[25]

The annals of the North afford another curious instance of this source of error. A tribe of Finns, called Quæns, occupied a considerable part of the eastern coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. Their country was known as Quænland; and this name gave rise to a belief that, to the north of the Baltic, there was a nation of Amazons. This would easily have been corrected by local knowledge; but, by the use of writing, the flying rumour was at once fixed; and the existence of such a people is positively affirmed in some of the earliest European histories.[26] Thus, too, Abo, the ancient capital of Finland, was called Turku, which in the Swedish language means a market-place. Adam of Bremen, having occasion to treat of the countries adjoining the Baltic,[27] was so misled by the word Turku, that this celebrated historian assures his readers that there were Turks in Finland.[28]

To these illustrations many others might be added, showing how mere names deceived the early historians, and gave rise to relations which were entirely false, and might have been rectified on the spot; but which, owing to the art of writing, were carried into distant countries, and thus placed beyond the reach of contradiction. Of such cases, one more may be mentioned, as it concerns the history of England. Richard I., the most barbarous of our princes, was known to his contemporaries as the Lion; an appellation conferred upon him on account of his fearlessness, and the ferocity of his temper.[29] Hence it was said that he had the heart of a lion; and the title Cœur de Lion not only became indissolubly connected with his name, but actually gave rise to a story, repeated by innumerable writers, according to which he slew a lion in single combat.[30] The name gave rise to the story; the story confirmed the name;

[25] On this confusion respecting Ragnar Lodbrok, see *Geijer's History of Sweden*, part i. pp. 13, 14; *Lappenberg's Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. ii. p. 31; *Wheaton's Hist. of the Northmen*, p. 150; *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 383; *Crichton's Scandinavia*, vol. i. p. 116. A comparison of these passages will justify the sarcastic remark of Koch on the history of Swedish and Danish heroes; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 571 note.

[26] *Prichard's Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 273. The Norwegians still give to the Finlanders the name of Quæner. See *Dillon's Lapland and Iceland*, 8vo, 1840, vol. ii. p. 221. Compare *Laing's Sweden*, pp. 45, 47. The Amazon river in South America owes its name to a similar fable. *Henderson's Hist. of Brazil*, p. 453; *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 112; *M'Culloh's Researches concerning America*, pp. 407, 408; and *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xv. p. 65, for an account of the wide diffusion of this error.

[27] Sharon Turner (*Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 30) calls him "the Strabo of the Baltic;" and it was from him that most of the geographers in the Middle Ages derived their knowledge of the North.

[28] "It was called in Finnish *Turku*, from the Swedish word *torg*, which signifies a market-place. The sound of this name misled Adam of Bremen into the belief that there were Turks in Finland." *Cooley's Hist. of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, London, 1830, vol. i. p. 211.

[29] The chronicler of his crusade says, that he was called Lion on account of his never pardoning an offence: "Nihil injuriarum reliquit inultum: unde et unus (i.e. the King of France) dictus est Agnus a Griffonibus, alter Leonis nomen accepit." *Chronicon Ricardi Divisiensis de Rebus gestis Ricardi Primi*, edit. Stevenson, Lond. 1838, p. 18. Some of the Egyptian kings received the name of Lion "from their heroic exploits." *Vyse on the Pyramids*, vol. iii. p. 116.

[30] See Price's learned Preface to *Warton's History of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 21; and on the similar story of Henry the Lion, see *Maury, Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 160. Compare the account of Duke Godfrey's conflict with a bear, in *Matthiæ Paris Historia Major*, p. 29, Lond. 1684, folio. I should not be surprised if the story of Alexander and the Lion (*Thirlwall's History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 305) were equally fabulous.

and another fiction was added to that long series of falsehoods of which history mainly consisted during the Middle Ages.

The corruptions of history, thus naturally brought about by the mere introduction of letters, were in Europe aided by an additional cause. With the art of writing, there was, in most cases, also communicated a knowledge of Christianity; and the new religion not only destroyed many of the Pagan traditions, but falsified the remainder, by amalgamating them with monastic legends. The extent to which this was carried would form a curious subject for inquiry; but one or two instances of it will perhaps be sufficient to satisfy the generality of readers.

Of the earliest state of the great Northern nations we have little positive evidence; but several of the lays in which the Scandinavian poets related the feats of their ancestors, or of their contemporaries, are still preserved; and, notwithstanding their subsequent corruption, it is admitted by the most competent judges that they embody real and historical events. But in the ninth and tenth centuries, Christian missionaries found their way across the Baltic, and introduced a knowledge of their religion among the inhabitants of Northern Europe.[31]

Scarcely was this effected, when the sources of history began to be poisoned. At the end of the eleventh century, Sæmund Sigfussen, a Christian priest, gathered the popular, and hitherto unwritten, histories of the North into what is called the Elder Edda; and he was satisfied with adding to his compilation the corrective of a Christian hymn.[32] A hundred years later, there was made another collection of the native histories; but the principle which I have mentioned, having had a longer time to operate, now displayed its effects still more clearly. In this second collection, which is known by the name of the Younger Edda, there is an agreeable mixture of Greek, Jewish, and Christian fables; and, for the first time in the Scandinavian annals, we meet with the widely diffused fiction of a Trojan descent.[33]

If, by way of further illustration, we turn to other parts of the world, we shall find a series of facts confirming this view. We shall find that, in those countries where there has been no change of religion, history is more trustworthy and connected than in those countries where such a change has taken place. In India, Brahmanism, which is still supreme, was established at so early a period, that its origin is lost in the remotest antiquity.[34] The consequence is that the native annals have never been corrupted by any new superstition; and the Hindus

[31] The first missionary was Ebbo, about the year 822. He was followed by Anschar, who afterwards pushed his enterprise as far as Sweden. The progress was however slow; and it was not till the latter half of the eleventh century that Christianity was established firmly in the North. See *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. v. pp. 373, 374, 379, 380, 400–402; *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 188, 215, 216; *Barry's Hist. of the Orkney Islands*, p. 125. It is often supposed that some of the Danes in Ireland were Christians as early as the reign of Ivar I.; but this is a mistake, into which Ledwich fell by relying on a coin, which in reality refers to Ivar II. *Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 225; and *Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 159.

[32] Mr. Wheaton (*History of Northmen*, p. 60) says, that Sæmund "merely added one song of his own composition, of a moral and Christian religious tendency; so as thereby to consecrate and leaven, as it were, the whole mass of Paganism."

[33] *Wheaton's Hist. of the Northmen*, pp. 89, 90; *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, pp. 377, 378, 485; *Schlegel's Lectures on the History of Literature*, vol. i. p. 265. Indeed, these interpolations are so numerous, that the earlier German antiquaries believed the Edda to be a forgery by the northern monks,—a paradox which Müller refuted more than forty years ago. *Note in Wheaton*, p. 61. Compare *Palgrave's English Commonwealth, Anglo-Saxon Period*, vol. i. p. 135.

[34] As is evident from the conflicting statements made by the best orientalists, each of whom has some favourite hypothesis of his own respecting its origin. It is enough to say that we have no account of India existing without Brahmanism; and as to its real history, nothing can be understood until more steps have been taken towards generalizing the laws which regulate the growth of religious opinions.

are possessed of historic traditions more ancient than can be found among any other Asiatic people.[35] In the same way, the Chinese have for upwards of 2000 years preserved the religion of Fo, which is a form of Buddhism.[36] In China, therefore, though the civilization has never been equal to that of India, there is a history, not, indeed, as old as the natives would wish us to believe, but still stretching back to several centuries before the Christian era, from whence it has been brought down to our own times in an uninterrupted succession.[37] On the other hand, the Persians, whose intellectual development was certainly superior to that of the Chinese,* are nevertheless without any authentic information respecting the early transactions of their ancient monarchy.[38] For this I can see no possible reason, except the fact that Persia, soon after the promulgation of the Koran, was conquered by the Mohammedans, who completely subverted the Parsee religion, and thus interrupted the stream of the national traditions.[39] Hence it is that, putting aside the myths of the Zendavesta, we

[35] Dr. Prichard (*Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. iv. pp. 101–105) thinks that the Hindus have a history beginning B.C. 1391. Compare *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. i. pp. 311, 312. Mr. Wilson says that even the genealogies in the Puranas are, "in all probability, much more authentic than has been sometimes supposed." Wilson's note in *Mill's Hist. of India*, vol. i. pp. 161, 162. See also his Preface to the *Vishnu Purana*, p. lxv.; and *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 244.

[36] *Journal of Asiatic Soc.* vol. vi. p. 251; *Herder, Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iv. p. 70; *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. i. p. 104. I learn from a note in *Erman's Siberia*, vol. ii., p. 306, that one of the missionaries gravely suggests "that Buddhism originated in the errors of the Manichæans, and is therefore but an imitation of Christianity." [Fo is the Chinese name for Buddha.—Ed.]

[37] M. Bunsen says, that the Chinese have "a regular chronology, extending back 3000 years B.C." *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. p. 240. See also *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 475, vol. iv. p. 455; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48; and the statements of Klaproth and Rémusat, in *Prichard's Physical Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 476, 477. The superior exactness of the Chinese annals is sometimes ascribed to their early knowledge of printing, with which they claim to have been acquainted in B.C. 1100. *Meidinger's Essay*, in *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. iii. p. 163. But the fact is, that printing was unknown in China till the ninth or tenth century after Christ, and movable types were not invented before 1041. *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 623; *Transac. of Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 7; *Journal Asiatique*, vol. i. p. 137, Paris, 1822; *Davis's Chinese*, vol. i. pp. 174, 178, vol. iii. p. 1. There are some interesting papers on the early history of China in *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. i. pp. 57–86, 213–222, vol. ii. pp. 166–171, 276–287.

[38] "From the death of Alexander (323 B.C.) to the reign of Ardeshir Babegan (Artaxerxes), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty (200 A.D.), a period of more than five centuries, is almost a blank in the Persian history." *Troyer's Preliminary Discourse to the Dabistan*, 8vo, 1843, vol. i. pp. lv. lvi. See to the same effect *Erskine on the Zend-Avesta*, in *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. ii. pp. 303–305; and *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 68. The ancient Persian traditions are said to have been Pehlvi; *Malcolm*, vol. i. pp. 501–505; but if so, they have all perished, p. 555: compare Rawlinson's note in *Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. x. p. 82.

[39] On the antagonism between Mohammedanism and the old Persian history, see a note in *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 623. Even at present, or, at all events, during this century, the best education in Persia consisted in learning the elements of Arabic grammar, "logic, jurisprudence, the traditions of their prophet, and the commentaries on the Koran." *Vans Kennedy on Persian Literature*, in *Transac. of Bombay Society*, vol. ii. p. 62. In the same way, the Mohammedans neglected the old history of India, and would, no doubt, have destroyed or corrupted it; but they never had anything like the hold of India that they had of Persia, and, above all, they were unable to displace the native religion. However, their influence, so far as it went, was unfavourable; and

[* This judgment does not appear to be based on any study of Chinese literature. There is no old Persian literature that can be compared for intellectual power with the writings of Lao-Tsze, Confucius, and Mencius.—Ed.]

have no native authorities for Persian history of any value, until the appearance, in the eleventh century, of the Shah Nameh ; in which, however, Ferdousi has mingled the miraculous relations of those two religions by which his country had been successively subjected.[40] The result is, that if it were not for the various discoveries which have been made, of monuments, inscriptions, and coins, we should be compelled to rely on the scanty and inaccurate details in the Greek writers for our knowledge of the history of one of the most important of the Asiatic monarchies.[41]

Even among more barbarous nations, we see the same principle at work. The Malayo-Polynesian race is well known to ethnologists, as covering an immense series of islands, extending from Madagascar to within 2000 miles of the western coast of America.[42] The religion of these widely scattered people was originally Polytheism, of which the purest forms were long preserved in the Philippine Islands.[43] But in the fifteenth century, many of the Polynesian nations were converted to Mohammedanism ;[44] and this was followed by a

Mr. Elphinstone (*Hist. of India*, p. 468) says that till the sixteenth century there was no instance of a Mussulman carefully studying Hindu literature.

[40] On the Shah Nameh, see *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iv. pp. 544, 545, vol. v. p. 594 ; *Mill's Hist. of India*, vol. ii. pp. 64, 65 ; *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 225. It is supposed by a very high authority that the Persian cuneiform inscriptions "will enable us, in the end, to introduce something like chronological accuracy and order into the myths and traditions embodied in the Shah Nameh." *Rawlinson on the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia*, in *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. xii. p. 446.

[41] On the ignorance of the Greeks respecting Persian history, see Vans Kennedy, in *Transac. of Soc. of Bombay*, vol. ii. pp. 119, 127–129, 136. Indeed, this learned writer says (p. 138) he is "inclined to suspect that no Greek author ever derived his information from any native of Persia proper, that is, of the country to the east of the Euphrates." See also on the perplexities in Persian chronology, *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 496, vol. ix. p. 3, vol. x. p. 405 and *Donaldson's New Cratylus*, 1839, p. 87 note. As to the foolish stories which the Greeks relate respecting Achæmenes, compare *Malcolm's Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 18, with *Heeren's Asiatic Nations*, vol. i. p. 243. Even Herodotus, who is invaluable in regard to Egypt, is not to be relied upon for Persia ; as was noticed long ago by Sir W. Jones, in the Preface to his *Nader Shah* (*Jones's Works*, vol. v. p. 540), and is partly admitted by Mr. Mure (*History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, vol. iv. p. 338, 8vo, 1853). [As to Herodotus and Egypt, see ed. note above, p. 51.—ED.]

[42] That is, to Easter Island, which appears to be its furthest boundary (*Prichard's Phys. Hist.* vol. v. p. 6) ; and of which there is a good account in *Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific*, vol. i. pp. 43–58, and a notice in *Jour. of Geog. Society*, vol. i. p. 195. The language of Easter Island has been long known to be Malayo-Polynesian ; for it was understood by a native of the Society Islands, who accompanied Cook (*Cook's Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 294, 308 ; and *Prichard*, vol. v. p. 147 : compare *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, p. 164). Ethnologists have not usually paid sufficient honour to this great navigator, who was the first to remark the similarity between the different languages in Polynesia proper. *Cook's Voyages*, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61, vol. iii. pp. 230, 280, 290, vol iv. p. 305, vol. vi. p. 230, vol. vii. p. 115. As to Madagascar being the western limit of this vast race of people, see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 222 ; *Reports on Ethnology by Brit. Assoc. for* 1847, pp. 154, 216, 250 ; and *Ellis's Hist. of Madagascar*, vol. i. p. 133.

[43] Also the seat of the Tagala language ; which, according to William Humboldt, is the most perfect of all the forms of the Malayo-Polynesian. *Prichard's Physical Hist.* vol. v. pp. 36, 51, 52.

[44] *Marsden's History of Sumatra*, p. 281. De Thou (*Hist. Univ.* vol. xiii. p. 59) supposes that the Javanese did not become Mohammedans till late in the sixteenth century ; but it is now known that their conversion took place at least a hundred years earlier, the old religion being finally abolished in 1478. See *Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. p. 312 ; *Low's Sarawak*, p. 96 ; and *Raffles' Hist. of Java*, vol. i. pp. 309, 349, vol. ii. pp. 1, 66, 254. The doctrines of Mohammed spread quickly ; and the Malay pilgrims enjoy the reputation, in modern times, of being among the most scrupulously religious of those who go to the Hadj. *Burckhardt's Arabia*, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97.

process precisely the same as that which I have pointed out in other countries. The new religion, by changing the current of the national thoughts, corrupted the purity of the national history. Of all the islands in the Indian Archipelago, Java was the one which reached the highest civilization.[45] Now, however, the Javanese have not only lost their historical traditions, but even those lists of their kings which are extant are interpolated with the names of Mohammedan saints.[46] On the other hand, we find that in the adjacent island of Bali, where the old religion is still preserved,[47] the legends of Java are remembered and cherished by the people.[48]

It would be useless to adduce further evidence respecting the manner in which, among an imperfectly civilized people, the establishment of a new religion will always affect the accuracy of their early history. I need only observe that in this way the Christian priests have obscured the annals of every European people they converted, and have destroyed or corrupted the traditions of the Gauls,[49] of the Welsh, of the Irish,[50] of the Anglo-Saxons,[51] of the Sclavonic nations,[52] of the Finns,[53] and even of the Icelanders.[54]

Besides all this, there occurred other circumstances tending in the same direction. Owing to events which I shall hereafter explain, the literature of Europe, shortly before the final dissolution of the Roman Empire, fell entirely into the hands of the clergy, who were long venerated as the sole instructors of mankind.* For several centuries, it was extremely rare to meet with a layman

[45] The Javanese civilization is examined at great length by William Humboldt, in his celebrated work, *Ueber die Kawi Sprache*, Berlin, 1836. From the evidence supplied by some early Chinese writings, which have only recently been published, there are good grounds for believing that the Indian colonies were established in Java in the first century after Christ. See *Wilson on the Foe Kue Ki*, in *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. v. p. 137 ; compare vol. vi. p. 320.

[46] *Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. p. 297. Compare with this the exactness with which, even in the island of Celebes, the dates were preserved " before the introduction of Mahometanism." *Crawfurd*, vol. i. p. 306. For similar instances of royal genealogies being obscured by the introduction into them of the names of gods, see *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 27, 335.

[47] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. p. 191, vol. xiii. p. 128. In the Appendix to *Raffles' Hist. of Java*, vol. ii. p. cxlii., it is said, that " in Bali not more than one in two hundred, if so many, are Mahometans." See also p. 65, and vol. i. p. 530.

[48] Indeed, the Javanese appear to have no other means of acquiring the old Kawi traditions than by learning them from natives of Bali. See note to an Essay on the Island of Bali, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii. p. 162, Calcutta, 1820, 4to. Sir Stamford Raffles (*Hist. of Java*, vol. i. p. 400) says, " It is chiefly to Bali that we must look for illustrations of the ancient state of the Javans." See also p. 414.

[49] Respecting the corruption of Druidical traditions in Gaul by Christian priests, see *Villemarqué, Chants Populaires de la Bretagne*, Paris, 1846, vol. i. pp. xviii. xix.

[50] The injury done to the traditions handed down by Welsh and Irish bards, is noticed in Dr. Prichard's valuable work, *Physical Hist. of Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 184, 8vo, 1841. See also *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. xxxvii. note.

[51] See the remarks on Beowulf, in *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. i. p. 7, 8vo, 1842. See also pp. 13, 14 : and compare *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 331.

[52] *Talvi's Language and Literature of the Slavic Nations*, 8vo, 1850, p. 231. The Pagan songs of the Slovaks, in the north-west of Hungary, were for a time preserved ; but even they are now lost. *Talvi*, p. 216.

[53] The monkish chroniclers neglected the old Finnish traditions ; and allowing them to perish, preferred the inventions of Saxo and Johannes Magnus. *Prichard's Physical Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 284, 285.

[54] For an instance in which the monks have falsified the old Icelandic traditions, see Mr. Keightley's learned book on *Fairy Mythology*, 8vo, 1850, p. 159.

[* This is an overstatement. After the fall of the Western Empire came Boethius, Cassiodorus, Priscian (writing at Constantinople, but in Latin), and Jordanis (Jornandes). The next sentence overlooks the class of jurists, who never died out in Italy.—Ed.]

who could read or write; and of course it was still rarer to meet with one able to compose a work. Literature, being thus monopolized by a single class, assumed the peculiarities natural to its new masters.[55] And as the clergy, taken as a body, have always looked on it as their business to enforce belief, rather than encourage inquiry, it is no wonder if they displayed in their writings the spirit incidental to the habits of their profession. Hence, as I have already observed, literature, during many ages, instead of benefiting society, injured it, by increasing credulity, and thus stopping the progress of knowledge. Indeed, the aptitude for falsehood became so great, that there was nothing men were unwilling to believe. Nothing came amiss to their greedy and credulous ears. Histories of omens, prodigies, apparitions, strange portents, monstrous appearances in the heavens, the wildest and most incoherent absurdities, were repeated from mouth to mouth, and copied from book to book, with as much care as if they were the choicest treasures of human wisdom.[56] That Europe should have ever emerged from such a state, is the most decisive proof of the extraordinary energy of Man, since we cannot even conceive a condition of society more unfavourable to his progress. But it is evident that until the emancipation was effected, the credulity and looseness of thought which were universal, unfitted men for habits of investigation, and made it impossible for them to engage in a successful study of past affairs, or even record with accuracy what was taking place around them.[57]

If, therefore, we recur to the facts just cited, we may say that, omitting several circumstances altogether subordinate, there were three leading causes of the corruption of the history of Europe in the Middle Ages. The first cause was, the sudden introduction of the art of writing, and the consequent fusion of different local traditions, which, when separate, were accurate, but when united were false. The second cause was the change of religion; which acted in two ways, producing not merely an interruption of the old traditions, but also an interpolation of them. And the third cause, probably the most powerful of all, was that history became monopolized by a class of men whose professional habits made them quick to believe, and who, moreover, had a direct interest in increasing the general credulity, since it was the basis upon which their own authority was built.

By the operation of these causes, the history of Europe became corrupted to an extent for which we can find no parallel in any other period. That there was,

[55] The Rev. Mr. Dowling, who looks back with great regret to this happy period, says, "Writers were almost universally ecclesiastics. Literature was scarcely anything but a religious exercise; for everything that was studied, was studied with a reference to religion. The men, therefore, who wrote history, wrote ecclesiastical history." *Dowling's Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History*, 8vo, 1838, p. 56; a work of some talent, but chiefly interesting as a manifesto by an active party.

[56] Thus, for instance, a celebrated historian, who wrote at the end of the twelfth century, says of the reign of William Rufus: "Ejusdem regis tempore, ut ex parte supradictum est, in sole, luna, et stellis, multa signa visa sunt, mare quoque littus persæpe egredieba-tur, et homines et animalia submersit, villas, et domos quamplures subvertit. In pago qui Barukeshire nominatur, ante occisionem regis sanguis de fonte tribus septimanis emanavit. Multis etiam Normannis diabolus in horribili specie se frequenter in silvis ostendens, plura cum eis de rege et Ranulfo, et quibusdam aliis locutus est. Nec mirum, nam illorum tempore ferè omnis legum siluit justitia, causisque justitiæ subpositis, sola in principibus imperabat pecunia." *Rog. de Hoveden Annal.* in *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 268. See also the same work, pp. 356–358; and compare *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. pp. 266, 289, part ii. p. 298. [A good view of the general credulity of the Dark and Middle Ages may be had from the learned work of Mr. G. F. Fort, *Medical Economy during the Middle Ages*, New York, 1883.—Ed.]

[57] Even the descriptions of natural objects which historians attempted in the Middle Ages, were marked by the same carelessness. See some good observations by Dr. Arnold, on Bede's account of the Solent Sea. *Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, pp. 102, 103.

properly speaking, no history, was the smallest part of the inconvenience; but unhappily men, not satisfied with the absence of truth, supplied its place by the invention of falsehood. Among innumerable instances of this, there is one species of inventions worth noticing, because they evince that love of antiquity which is a marked characteristic of those classes by whom history was then written. I allude to fictions regarding the origin of different nations, in all of which the spirit of the Middle Ages is very discernible. During many centuries it was believed by every people that they were directly descended from ancestors who had been present at the siege of Troy. That was a proposition which no one thought of doubting.[58] The only question was, as to the details of so illustrious a lineage. On this, however, there was a certain unanimity of opinion; since, not to mention inferior countries, it was admitted that the French were descended from Francus, whom everybody knew to be the son of Hector; and it was also known that the Britons came from Brutus, whose father was no other than Æneas himself.[59]

Touching the origin of particular places, the great historians of the Middle Ages are equally communicative. In the accounts they give of them, as well as in the lives they write of eminent men, the history usually begins at a very remote period; and the events relating to their subject are often traced back, in an unbroken series, from the moment when Noah left the ark, or even when Adam passed the gates of Paradise.[60] On other occasions, the antiquity they assign is somewhat less; but the range of their information is always extraordinary. They say that the capital of France is called after Paris, the son of

[58] In *Le Long's Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. p. 3, it is said that the descent of the kings of France from the Trojans was universally believed before the sixteenth century: "Cette descendance a été crue véritable près de huit cent ans, et soutenue par tous les écrivains de notre histoire; la fausseté n'en a été reconnue qu'au commencement du seizième siècle." Polydore Vergil, who died in the middle of the sixteenth century, attacked this opinion in regard to England, and thereby made his history unpopular. See *Ellis's Preface to Polydore Vergil*, p. xx. 4to, 1844, published by the Camden Society. "He discarded Brute, as an unreal personage." In 1128, Henry I., king of England, inquired from a learned man respecting the early history of France. The answer is preserved by an historian of the thirteenth century: "Regum potentissime, inquiens, sicut pleræque gentes Europæ, ita Franci a Trojanis originem duxerunt." *Matthæi Paris Hist. Major*, p. 59. See also *Rog. de Hov.* in *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 274. On the descent of the Britons from Priam and Æneas, see *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 66. Indeed, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, their Trojan origin was stated as a notorious fact, in a letter written to Pope Boniface by Edward I., and signed by the English nobility. See *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132; and *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 185.

[59] The general opinion was that Brutus, or Brute, was the son of Æneas; but some historians affirmed that he was the great-grandson. See *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 63, vol. vii. p. 220.

[60] In the *Notes to a Chronicle of London from* 1089 *to* 1483, pp. 183–187, edit. 4to, 1827, there is a pedigree in which the history of the bishops of London is traced back, not only to the migration of Brutus from Troy, but also to Noah and Adam. Thus, too, Goropius, in his history of Antwerp, written in the sixteenth century: "Vond zoowel de Nederlandsche taal als de Wysbegeerte van Orpheus in de ark van Noach." *Van Kampen, Geschiedenis der Letteren*, 8vo, 1821, vol. i. p. 91; see also p. 86. In the thirteenth century, Mathew Paris (*Historia Major*, p. 352) says of Alfred, "Hujus genealogia in Anglorum historiis perducitur usque ad Adam primum parentem." See, to the same effect, *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. pp. 323, 324, 415. In William of Malmesbury's Chronicle (*Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 22 rev.) the genealogy of the Saxon kings is traced back to Adam. For other and similar instances, see a note in *Lingard's History of England*, vol. i. p. 403. And Mr. Ticknor (*History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 509) mentions that the Spanish chroniclers present "an uninterrupted succession of Spanish kings from Tubal, a grandson of Noah."

Priam, because he fled there when Troy was overthrown.[61] They also mention that Tours owed its name to being the burial-place of Turonus, one of the Trojans;[62] while the city of Troyes was actually built by the Trojans, as its etymology clearly proves.[63] It was well ascertained that Nuremberg was called after the Emperor Nero:[64] and Jerusalem after King Jebus,[65] a man of vast celebrity in the Middle Ages, but whose existence later historians have not been able to verify. The river Humber received its name because, in ancient times, a king of the Huns had been drowned in it.[66] The Gauls derived their origin, according to some, from Galathia, a female descendant of Japhet; according to others, from Gomer, the son of Japhet.[67] Prussia was called after Prussus, a brother of Augustus.[68] This was remarkably modern; but Silesia had its name from the prophet Elisha,—from whom, indeed, the Silesians descended;[69] while as to the city of Zurich, its exact date was a matter of dispute, but it was unquestionably built in the time of Abraham.[70] It was likewise from Abraham and Sarah that the gipsies immediately sprung.[71] The blood of the Saracens was less pure, since they were only descended from Sarah,—in what

[61] Monteil, in his curious book, *Histoire des divers États*, vol. v. p. 70, mentions the old belief "que les Parisiens sont du sang des rois des anciens Troyens, par Pâris, fils de Priam." Even in the seventeenth century this idea was not extinct; and Coryat, who travelled in France in 1608, gives another version of it. He says, "As for her name of Paris, she hath it (as some write) from Paris, the eighteenth king of Gallia Celtica, whom some write to have been lineally descended from Japhet, one of the three sons of Noah, and to have founded this city." *Coryat's Crudities*, 1611, reprinted 1776, vol. i. pp. 27, 28.

[62] "Erat ibi quidam Tros nomine Turonus Bruti nepos. . . . . De nomine ipsius prædicta civitas Turonis vocabulum nacta est; quia ibidem sepultus fuit." *Galfredi Monument. Hist. Britan.* lib. i. cap. xv. p. 19. And Matthew of Westminster, who wrote in the fourteenth century, says (*Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 17): "Tros nomine Turnus. . . . . De nomine veró ipsius Turonorum civitas vocabulum traxit, quia ibidem, ut testatur Homerus, sepultus fuit."

[63] "On convient bien que les Troyens de notre Troyes sont du sang des anciens Troyens." *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. v. p. 69.

[64] Monconys, who was in Nuremberg in 1663, found this opinion still held there; and he seems himself half inclined to believe it; for, in visiting a castle, he observes, "Mais je ne sçai si c'est un ouvrage de Néron, comme l'on le dit, et que même le nom de Nuremberg en vient." *Voyages de Monconys*, vol. iv. p. 141, edit. Paris, 1695.

[65] "Deinceps regnante in ea Jebusæo, dicta Jebus, et sic ex Jebus et Salem dicta est Jebussalem. Unde post dempta *b* littera et addita *r*, dicta est Hierusalem." *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 43. This reminds me of another great writer, who was one of the fathers, and was moreover a saint, and who, says M. Matter, "dérive les Samaritains du roi Samarius, fils de Canaan." *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 41.

[66] "Humber rex Hunnorum . . . . . ad flumen diffugiens, submersus est intra ipsum, et nomen suum flumini reliquit." *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 19.

[67] These two opinions, which long divided the learned world, are stated in *Le Long. Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 49.

[68] See a curious allusion to this in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. viii. p. 160; where, however, it is erroneously supposed to be a Russian invention.

[69] "The Silesians are not without voluminous writers upon their antiquities; and one of them gravely derives the name and descent of his country from the prophet Elisha." *Adams's Letters on Silesia*, p. 267, Lond. 8vo, 1804.

[70] In 1608, Coryat, when in Zurich, was "told by the learned Hospinian that their city was founded in the time of Abraham." *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. i. Epistle to the Reader, sig. D. I always give the most recent instance I have met with, because, in the history of the European intellect, it is important to know how long the spirit of the Middle Ages survived in different countries.

[71] They were "seuls enfants légitimes" of Abraham and Sarah. *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. v. p. 19.

way is not mentioned ; but she probably had them by another marriage, or, may be, as the fruit of an Egyptian intrigue.[72] At all events, the Scotch certainly came from Egypt : for they were originally the issue of Scota, who was a daughter of Pharaoh, and who bequeathed to them her name.[73] On sundry similar matters, the Middle Ages possessed information equally valuable. It was well known that the city of Naples was founded on eggs ; [74] and it was also known, that the order of St. Michael was instituted in person by the archangel, who was himself the first knight, and to whom, in fact, chivalry owes its origin.[75] In regard to the Tartars, that people, of course, proceeded from Tartarus ; which some theologians said was an inferior kind of hell, but others declared to be hell itself.[76] However this might be, the fact of their birth-place being from below was indisputable, and was proved by many circumstances which showed the fatal and mysterious influence they were able to exercise. For the Turks were identical with the Tartars ; and it was notorious that since the Cross had fallen into Turkish hands, all Christian children had ten teeth less than formerly ; an universal calamity, which there seemed to be no means of repairing.[77]

[72] Matthew Paris, who is apprehensive lest the reputation of Sarah should suffer, says : " Saraceni perversè se putant ex Sara dici ; sed veriùs Agareni dicuntur ab Agar ; et Ismaelitæ, ab Ismaele filio Abrahæ." *Hist. Major*, p. 357. Compare a similar passage in *Mezeray, Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 127 : " Sarrasins, ou de la ville de Sarai, ou de Sara femme d'Abraham, duquel ils se disent faussement légitimes héritiers." After this, the idea, or the fear of the idea, soon died away ; and Beausobre (*Histoire Critique de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 24) says : " On dérive vulgairement le nom de Sarasins du mot arabe Sarah, ou Sarak, qui signifie effectivement voleur." A good example of a secular turn given to a theological etymology. For a similar case in northern history, see *Whitelocke's Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. pp. 190, 191.

[73] Early in the fourteenth century, this was stated, in a letter to the Pope, as a well-known historical fact. See *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 187 : " They are sprung from Scota the daughter of Pharaoh, who landed in Ireland, and whose descendants wrested, by force of arms, the northern half of Britain from the progeny of Brute."

[74] Mr. Wright (*Narratives of Sorcery*, 8vo, 1851, vol. i. p. 115) says, " The foundation of the city of Naples upon eggs, and the egg on which its fate depended, seem to have been legends generally current in the Middle Ages ; " and he refers to *Montfaucon, Monumens de la Mon. Fr.* vol. ii. p. 329, for proof, that by the statutes of the order of the Saint Esprit, " a chapter of the knights was appointed to be held annually in castello ovi incantati in mirabili periculo."

[75] " The order of Saint Michael, in France, pretends to the possession of a regular descent from Michael the Archangel, who, according to the enlightened judgment of French antiquarians, was the premier chevalier in the world ; and it was he, they say, who established the earliest chivalric order in Paradise itself." *Mills's Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. pp. 363, 364.

[76] The etymology of Tartars from Tartarus is ascribed to the piety of Saint Louis in *Prichard's Physical History*, vol. iv. p. 278 ; but I think that I have met with it before his time, though I cannot now recover the passage. The earliest instance I remember is in 1241, when the saint was twenty-six years old. See a letter from the Emperor Frederick, in *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 497 : " Pervenissent dicti Tartari (imo Tartarei)," etc. ; and on the expression of Louis, see p. 496 : " Quos vocamus Tartaros ad suas Tartareas sedes." Since the thirteenth century, the subject has attracted the attention of English divines ; and the celebrated theologian Whiston mentions " my last famous discovery, or rather my revival of Dr. Giles Fletcher's famous discovery, that the Tartars are no other than the ten tribes of Israel, which have been so long sought for in vain." *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Whiston*, p. 575. Compare, on the opinions held respecting the Tartars, *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. vi. p. 374, Paris, 1825.

[77] Peignot (*Dict. des Livres*, vol. ii. p. 69, Paris, 1806) says that Rigord, in his history of Philip Augustus, assures his readers " que depuis que la vraie croix a été prise par les Turcs, les enfans n'ont plus que 20 ou 23 dents, au lieu qu'ils en avaient 30 ou 32 auparavant." Even in the fifteenth century, it was believed that the number of teeth had diminished from 32 to 22, or at most 24. See *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii.

Other points relating to the history of past events were cleared up with equal facility. In Europe, during many centuries, the only animal food in general use was pork; beef, veal, and mutton, being comparatively unknown.[78] It was therefore with no small astonishment that the crusaders, on returning from the East, told their countrymen that they had been among a people who, like the Jews, thought pork unclean, and refused to eat it. But the feelings of lively wonder which this intelligence excited, were destroyed as soon as the cause of the fact was explained. The subject was taken up by Mathew Paris, the most eminent historian during the thirteenth century, and one of the most eminent during the Middle Ages.[79] This celebrated writer informs us that the Mohammedans refuse to eat pork on account of a singular circumstance which happened to their prophet. It appears that Mohammed, having on one occasion gorged himself with food and drink till he was in a state of insensibility, fell asleep on a dunghill, and, in this disgraceful condition, was seen by a litter of pigs. The pigs attacked the fallen prophet, and suffocated him to death; for which reason his followers abominate pigs, and refuse to partake of their flesh.[80] This striking fact explains one great peculiarity of the Mohammedans;[81] and another fact, equally striking, explains how it was that

pp. 481, 482, Paris, 1815. Compare *Hecker on the Black Death*, pp. 31, 32, in his learned work, *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, published by the Sydenham Society.

[78] In the sacred books of the Scandinavians, pork is represented as the principal food, even in heaven. See *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 105. It was the chief food of the Irish in the twelfth century: *Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1804, p. 370; and also of the Anglo-Saxons at an earlier period. *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 22. In France it was equally common, and Charlemagne kept in his forests immense droves of pigs. *Note in Esprit des Lois*, in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 513. In Spain, those who did not like pork were tried by the Inquisition as suspected Jews. *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. pp. 269, 442, 445. Late in the sixteenth century, there was a particular disease, said to be caused by the quantity of it eaten in Hungary. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 93; and even at present, the barbarous Lettes are passionately fond of it. *Kohl's Russia*, pp. 386, 387. In the middle of the sixteenth century, I find that Philip II., when in England, generally dined on bacon; of which he ate so much, as frequently to make himself very ill. See *Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre*, vol. v. pp. 240, 241, edit. 1763. The ambassador writes that Philip was "grand mangeur oultre mesure," and used to consume large quantities "de lard, dont il faict le plus souvent son principal repas." In the Middle Ages, "les Thuringiens payaient leur tribut en porcs, la denrée la plus précieuse de leur pays." *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 389.

[79] Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. vii. pp. 325, 326) passes a high eulogy upon him; and Mosheim (*Ecclesiast. History*, vol. i. p. 313) says: "Among the historians (of the thirteenth century), the first place is due to Mathew Paris; a writer of the highest merit, both in point of knowledge and prudence."

[80] *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 362. He concludes his account by saying, "Unde adhuc Saraceni sues præ cæteris animalibus exosas habent et abominabiles." Mathew Paris obtained his information from a clergyman, "quendam magni nominis celebrem prædicatorem," p. 360. According to Mathew of Westminster, the pigs not only suffocated Mohammed, but actually ate the greater part of him: "In maxima parte a porcis corrosum invenerunt." *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 215.

[81] By a singular contradiction, the African Mohammedans now "believe that a great enmity subsists between hogs and Christians." *Mungo Park's Travels*, vol. i. p. 185. Many medical authors have supposed that pork is peculiarly unwholesome in hot countries; but this requires confirmation: and it is certain that it is recommended by Arabian physicians, and is more generally eaten both in Asia and in Africa than is usually believed. Comp. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 323; *Volney, Voyage en Syrie*, vol. i. p. 449; *Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore*, vol. ii. p. 88, vol. iii. p. 57; *Raffles' Hist. of Java*, vol. ii. p. 5; *Ellis's Hist. of Madagascar*, vol. i. pp. 201, 403, 416; *Cook's Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 265; *Burnes's Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 141. As facts of this sort are important physiologically and socially, it is advisable that they

their sect came into existence. For it was well known that Mohammed was originally a cardinal, and only became a heretic because he failed in his design of being elected pope.[82]

In regard to the early history of Christianity, the great writers of the Middle Ages were particularly inquisitive ; and they preserved the memory of events of which otherwise we should have been entirely ignorant. After Froissart, the most celebrated historian of the fourteenth century was certainly Mathew of Westminster, with whose name, at least, most readers are familiar. This eminent man directed his attention, among other matters, to the history of Judas, in order to discover the circumstances under which the character of that arch-apostate was formed. His researches seem to have been very extensive ; but their principal results were, that Judas, when an infant, was deserted by his parents, and exposed on an island called Scarioth, from whence he received the name of Judas Iscariot. To this the historian adds, that after Judas grew up he, among other enormities, slew his own father, and then married his own mother.[83] The same writer, in another part of his history, mentions a fact interesting to those who study the antiquities of the Holy See. Some questions had been raised as to the propriety of kissing the pope's toe, and even theologians had their doubts touching so singular a ceremony. But this difficulty also was set at rest by Mathew of Westminster, who explains the true origin of the custom. He says that formerly it was usual to kiss the hand of his holiness ; but that towards the end of the eighth century, a certain lewd woman, in making an offering to the pope, not only kissed his hand, but also pressed it. The pope—his name was Leo—seeing the danger, cut off his hand, and thus escaped the contamination to which he had been exposed. Since that time, the precaution has been taken of kissing the pope's toe instead of his hand ; and lest any one should doubt the accuracy of this account, the historian assures us that the hand, which had been cut off five or six hundred years before, still existed in Rome, and was indeed a standing miracle, since it was preserved in the Lateran in its original state, free from corruption.[84] And as some readers might wish to be informed respecting the Lateran itself, where the hand was kept, this also is considered by the historian, in another part of his great work, where he traces it back to the Emperor Nero. For it is said that this wicked persecutor of the faith, on one occasion, vomited a frog covered with blood, which he believed to be his own progeny, and therefore caused to be shut up in a vault, where it remained hidden for some time. Now, in the Latin language, *latente* means hidden, and *rana* means a frog ; so that, by putting these two words together, we have the origin of the Lateran, which, in fact, was built where the frog was found.[85]

should be collected ; and I therefore add, that the North-American Indians are said to have " a disgust for pork," *Journal of the Geog. Society*, vol. xv. p. 30 ; and that Dobell (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 260, 8vo, 1830) says, " I believe there is more pork eaten in China than in all the rest of the world put together."

[82] This idea, which was a favourite one in the Middle Ages, is said to have been a Rabbinical invention. See *Lettres de Gui Patin*, vol. iii. p. 127 : " que Mahomet, le faux prophète, avait été cardinal ; et que, par dépit de n'avoir été pape, il s'étoit fait hérésiarque."

[83] See the ample details in *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. pp. 86, 87 ; and at p. 88, " Judas matrem suam uxorem duxerat, et quòd patrem suum occiderat."

[84] This took place in the year 798. *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 293. The historian thus concludes his relation : " Et statutum est nunc quòd num quam extunc manus Papæ ab offerentibus deoscularetur, sed pes. Cùm ante fuerat consuetudo quòd manus, non pes, deoscularetur. In hujus miraculi memoriam reservatur adhuc manus abscissa in thesauro lateranensi, quam dominus custodit incorruptam ad laudem matris suæ."

[85] ". . . Ita ut Nero se puero gravidum existimaret. . . . . Tandem dolore nimio vexatus, medicis ait : Accelerate tempus partus, quia languore vix anhelitum habeo respirandi. Tunc ipsum ad vomitum impotionaverunt, et ranam visu terribilem,

It would be easy to fill volumes with similar notions; all of which were devoutly believed in those ages of darkness, or, as they have been well called, Ages of Faith. Those, indeed, were golden days for the ecclesiastical profession, since the credulity of men had reached a height which seemed to ensure to the clergy a long and universal dominion. How the prospects of the church were subsequently darkened, and how the human reason began to rebel, will be related in another part of this Introduction, where I shall endeavour to trace the rise of that secular and sceptical spirit to which European civilization owes its origin. But, before closing the present chapter, it may be well to give a few more illustrations of the opinions held in the Middle Ages; and for this purpose I will select the two historical accounts which, of all others, were the most popular, exercised most influence, and were most universally believed.

The histories to which I refer are those of Arthur and Charlemagne; both of which bear the names of dignitaries of the church, and were received with the respect due to their illustrious authors. That concerning Charlemagne is called the Chronicle of Turpin, and purports to be written by Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, a friend of the emperor, and his companion in war.[86] From some passages it contains, there is reason to think that it was really composed at the beginning of the twelfth century;[87] but in the Middle Ages men were not nice in these matters, and no one was likely to dispute its authenticity. Indeed, the name of an archbishop of Rheims was sufficient recommendation; and we find accordingly that in the year 1122 it received the formal approbation of the pope;[88] and that Vincent de Beauvais, one of the most celebrated writers in the thirteenth century, and tutor to the sons of Louis IX., mentions it as a work of value, and as being the principal authority for the reign of Charlemagne.[89]

A book thus generally read, and sanctioned by such competent judges, must be a tolerable standard for testing the knowledge and opinions of those times. On this account, a short notice of it will be useful for our present purpose, as it will enable us to understand the extreme slowness with which history has improved, and the almost imperceptible steps by which it advanced, until fresh life was breathed into it by the great thinkers of the eighteenth century.

In the Chronicle of Turpin, we are informed that the invasion of Spain by Charlemagne took place in consequence of the direct instigation of St. James, the brother of St. John.[90] The apostle, being the cause of the attack, adopted measures to secure its success. When Charlemagne besieged Pamplona, that city made an obstinate resistance; but as soon as prayers were offered up by

humoribus infectam, et sanguine edidit cruentatam. . . . . Unde et pars illa civitatis, ut aliqui dicunt, ubi rana latuerat, Lateranum à latente rana, nomen accepit." *Matthæi Westmonast.* part i. p. 98. Compare the account given by Roger of Hoveden, of a woman who vomited two toads. *Script. post Bedam*, p. 457 rev. In the Middle Ages there were many superstitions respecting these animals, and they appear to have been used by heralds as marks of degradation. See *Lankester's Memorials of Ray*, p. 197.

[86] ". . . . . Ego Turpinus in valle Caroli loco præfato, astante rege," etc. *De Vita Caroli Magni*, p. 74, edit. Ciampi.

[87] Turner (*History of England*, vol. vii. pp. 256–268) has attempted to prove that it was written by Calixtus II.; but his arguments, though ingenious and learned, are not decisive. Warton (*Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 128) says it was composed about 1110.

[88] The pope "statuit historiam Sancti Caroli descriptam a beato Turpino Remensi Archiepiscopo esse authenticam." *Note in Turner*, vol. vii. p. 250.

[89] In his famous Speculum, "il recommande spécialement les études historiques, dont il paraît que la plupart de ses contemporains méconnaissaient l'utilité; mais lorsqu'il indique les sources où il puisera ce genre d'instruction, c'est Turpin qu'il désigne comme le principal historien de Charlemagne." *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. xviii. p. 474, Paris, 1835, 4to; see also p. 517; and on its influence in Spain, see *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 222, 223.

[90] *Caroli Magni Historia*, edit. Ciampi, pp. 3–5.

the invaders, the walls suddenly fell to the ground.[91] After this, the emperor rapidly overran the whole country, almost annihilated the Mohammedans, and built innumerable churches.[92] But the resources of Satan are inexhaustible. On the side of the enemy a giant now appeared, whose name was Fenacute, and who was descended from Goliath of old.[93] This Fenacute was the most formidable opponent the Christians had yet encountered. His strength was equal to that of forty men ;[94] his face measured one cubit ; his arms and legs four cubits ; his total height was twenty cubits. Against him Charlemagne sent the most eminent warriors ; but they were easily discomfited by the giant ; of whose prodigious force some idea may be formed from the fact, that the length even of his fingers was three palms.[95] The Christians were filled with consternation. In vain did more than twenty chosen men advance against the giant ; not one returned from the field ; Fenacute took them all under his arms, and carried them off into captivity.[96] At length the celebrated Orlando came forward, and challenged him to mortal combat. An obstinate fight ensued ; and the Christian, not meeting with the success he expected, engaged his adversary in a theological discussion.[97] Here the Pagan was easily defeated, and Orlando, warmed by the controversy, pressed on his enemy, smote the giant with his sword, and dealt him a fatal wound. After this, the last hope of the Mohammedans was extinct; the Christian arms had finally triumphed, and Charlemagne divided Spain among those gallant followers who had aided him in effecting its conquest.[98]

On the history of Arthur, the Middle Ages possessed information equally authentic. Different accounts had been circulated respecting this celebrated king ;[99] but their comparative value was still unsettled, when, early in the twelfth century, the subject attracted the attention of Geoffrey, the well-known Archdeacon of Monmouth. This eminent man, in A.D. 1147, published the result of his inquiries, in a work which he called *History of the Britons*.[100] In this book he takes a comprehensive view of the whole question ; and not only relates the life of Arthur, but also traces the circumstances which prepared the way for the appearance of that great conqueror. In regard to the actions of Arthur, the historian was singularly fortunate, inasmuch as the materials necessary for that part of his subject were collected by Walter Archdeacon of Oxford, who was a friend of Geoffrey, and who, like him, took great interest

[91] ". . . Muri collapsi funditus corruerunt." *De Vita Caroli*, p. 5. On this, Ciampi, in his notes on Turpin, gravely says (pp. 94, 95) : " Questo fatto della presa di Pamplona è reso maravigliosо per la subitanea caduta delle mura, a somiglianza delle mura di Gerico." This reminds me of a circumstance mentioned by Monconys, who, on visiting Oxford in 1663, was shown a horn which was preserved in that ancient city, because it was said to be made in the same way as that by which the walls of Jericho were blown down : " Les Juifs tiennent que leurs ancêtres se servirent de pareilles pour abbattre les murailles de Jérico." *Voyages de Monconys*, vol. iii. p. 95, edit. Paris, 1695.

[92] *De Vita Caroli*, cap v. pp. 11, 12 ; is headed " De ecclesiis quas Carolus fecit."

[93] " Gigas nomine Ferracutus, qui fuit de genere Goliat." *De Vita Caroli*, p. 39.

[94] " Vim xl. fortium possidebat." p. 39.

[95] " Erat enim statura ejus quasi cubitis xx., facies erat longa quasi unius cubiti, et nasus illius unius palmi mensurati, et brachia et crura ejus quatuor cubitorum erant, et digiti ejus tribus palmis." p. 40.

[96] *De Vita Caroli*, p. 40.

[97] Ibid. pp. 43–47.

[98] Ibid. p. 52. On the twelve peers of Charlemagne, in connexion with Turpin, see *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. v. pp. 246, 537, 538, vol. vi. p. 534.

[99] The Welsh, however, accused Gildas of having thrown his history " into the sea." *Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 453. The industrious Sharon Turner (*Hist. of England*, vol. i. pp. 282–295) has collected a great deal of evidence respecting Arthur ; of whose existence he, of course, entertains no doubt. Indeed, at p. 292, he gives us an account of the discovery, in the twelfth century, of Arthur's body !

[100] In *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vii. pp. 269, 270, it is said to have appeared in 1128 ; but Mr. Wright (*Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 144) seems to have proved that the real date is 1147.

in the study of history.[101] The work is, therefore, the joint composition of the two archdeacons; and is entitled to respect, not only on this account, but also because it was one of the most popular of all the productions of the Middle Ages.

The earlier part of this great history is occupied with the result of those researches which the Archdeacon of Monmouth had made into the state of Britain before the accession of Arthur. With this we are not so much concerned; though it may be mentioned that the archdeacon ascertained that, after the capture of Troy, Ascanius fled from the city, and begat a son, who became father to Brutus.[102] In those days England was peopled by giants, all of whom were slain by Brutus; who, having extirpated the entire race, built London, settled the affairs of the country, and called it, after himself, by the name of Britain.[103] The archdeacon proceeds to relate the actions of a long line of kings who succeeded Brutus, most of whom were remarkable for their abilities, and some were famous for the prodigies which occurred in their time. Thus, during the government of Rivallo, it rained blood for three consecutive days;[104] and when Morvidus was on the throne, the coasts were infested by a horrid sea-monster, which, having devoured innumerable persons, at length swallowed the king himself.[105]

These and similar matters are related by the Archdeacon of Monmouth as the fruit of his own inquiries; but in the subsequent account of Arthur, he was aided by his friend the Archdeacon of Oxford. The two archdeacons inform their readers that King Arthur owed his existence to a magical contrivance of Merlin, the celebrated wizard: the particulars of which they relate with a minuteness which, considering the sacred character of the historians, is rather remarkable.[106] The subsequent actions of Arthur did not belie his supernatural origin. His might nothing was able to withstand. He slew an immense number of Saxons; he overran Norway, invaded Gaul, fixed his court at Paris, and made preparations to effect the conquest of all Europe.[107] He engaged two giants in single combat, and killed them both. One of these giants, who inhabited the Mount of St. Michael, was the terror of the whole country, and destroyed all the soldiers sent against him, except those he took prisoners in order to eat them while they were yet alive.[108] But he fell a victim to the prowess of Arthur; as also did another giant, named Ritho, who was, if possible, still more formidable. For Ritho, not content with warring on men of the meaner sort, actually clothed

[101] Geoffrey says, "A Gualtero Oxinefordensi in multis historiis peritissimo viro audivit" (*i.e. ille* Geoffrey) "vili licet stylo, breviter tamen propalabit, quæ prœlia inclytus ille rex post victoriam istam, in Britanniam reversus, cum nepote suo commiserit." *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum*, lib. xi. sec. i. p. 200. And in the dedication to the Earl of Gloucester, p. 1, he says, "Walterus Oxinefordensis archidiaconus, vir in oratoria arte atque in exoticis historiis eruditus." Compare *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. p. 248.

[102] *Galfredi Historia Britonum*, pp. 3, 4.

[103] "Erat tunc nomen insulæ Albion, quæ a nemine, exceptis paucis gigantibus, inhabitabatur. . . . . Denique Brutus de nomine suo insulam Britanniam, sociosque suos Britones appellat." *Galf. Hist. Britonum*, p. 20.

[104] "In tempore ejus tribus diebus cecidit pluvia sanguinea, et muscarum affluentia; quibus homines moriebantur." *Hist. Brit.* p. 36.

[105] "Advenerat namque ex partibus Hibernici maris inauditæ feritatis bellua, quæ incolas maritimos sine intermissione devorabat. Cumque fama aures ejus attigisset, accessit ipse ad illam, et solus cum sola congressus est. At cum omnia tela sua in illam in vanum consumpsisset, acceleravit monstrum illud, et apertis faucibus ipsum velut pisciculum devoravit." *Hist. Brit.* p. 51.

[106] The particulars of the intrigue are in *Galf. Hist. Brit.* pp. 151, 152. For information respecting Merlin, see also *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, part i. pp. 161, 162; and *Naudé, Apologie pour les Grands Hommes*, pp. 308, 309, 318, 319, edit. Amsterdam, 1712.

[107] *Hist. Britonum*, pp. 167–170; a brilliant chapter.

[108] "Sed et plures capiebat quos semivivos devorabat." *Hist. Brit.* p. 181.

himself in furs which were entirely made of the beards of the kings he had killed.[109]

Such were the statements which, under the name of history, were laid before the world in the twelfth century; and that, too, not by obscure writers, but by high dignitaries of the church. Nor was anything wanting by which the success of the work might be ensured. Its vouchers were the Archdeacon of Monmouth and the Archdeacon of Oxford; it was dedicated to Robert Earl of Gloucester, the son of Henry I.; and it was considered so important a contribution to the national literature, that its principal author was raised to the bishopric of Asaph—a preferment which he is said to owe to his success in investigating the annals of English history.[110] A book thus stamped with every possible mark of approbation is surely no bad measure of the age in which it was admired. Indeed, the feeling was so universal that, during several centuries, there are not more than two or three instances of any critic suspecting its accuracy.[111] A Latin abridgment of it was published by the well-known historian, Alfred of Beverley;[112] and, in order that it might be more generally known, it was translated into English by Layamon,[113] and into Anglo-Norman,

[109] "Hic namque ex barbis regum quos peremerat, fecerat sibi pelles, et mandaverat Arturo ut barbam suam diligenter excoriaret, atque excoriatam sibi dirigeret: ut quemadmodum ipse ceteris præerat regibus, ita quoque in honorem ejus ceteris barbis ipsam superponeret." *Galf. Hist. Brit* p. 184.

[110] "It was partly, perhaps, the reputation of this book, which procured its author the bishopric of St. Asaph." *Life of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, in *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 144, 8vo, 1846. According to the Welsh writers, he was Bishop of Llandaff. See *Stephens's Literature of the Kymry*, 8vo, 1849, p. 323.

[111] Mr. Wright (*Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 146) says: "Within a century after its first publication, it was generally adopted by writers on English history; and during several centuries, only one or two rare instances occur of persons who ventured to speak against its veracity." And Sir Henry Ellis says of Polydore Vergil, who wrote early in the sixteenth century, "For the repudiation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, Polydore Vergil was considered almost as a man deprived of reason. Such were the prejudices of the time." *Polydore Vergil's English Hist.* vol. i. p. x. edit. Ellis, 1846, 4to. See also, on its popularity, *Lappenberg's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i. p. 102. In the seventeenth century, which was the first sceptical century in Europe, men began to open their eyes on these matters; and Boyle, for example, classes together "the fabulous labours of Hercules, and exploits of Arthur of Britain." *Boyle's Works*, vol. iv. p. 425. ["First sceptical century" is to be understood loosely, as pointing to the *more general* diffusion of scepticism. See above, p. 119, *note*. So early as the year 1376 we find a number of the students of Paris publishing theses denying the chief Christian dogmas, and suggesting that there are fables and falsehoods in the gospels as in other books (John of Goch, *De libertate Christiana*, l. i. cc. 17, 18: cited by Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation*, Eng. tr. i. 37. There had been a great growth of new scepticism in the sixteenth century, signalized at length in literature by Sanchez and Montaigne. In the seventeenth century the literary development went much further. But Boyle himself remained uncritical at many points; and even in his own field remained credulous on the subject of the transmutation of the precious metals. See *Fox Bourne's Life of Locke*, 1876, ii. 223–5. And see below, ch. xiii., at note 43 sq., for cases of reversion, late in the seventeenth century, to medieval credulity.—Ed.]

[112] *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 156; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 282.

[113] According to Mr. Wright (*Biog. Brit.* vol. ii. p. 439), it was translated through the medium of Wace. But it would be more correct to say, that Layamon made the absurdities of Geoffrey the basis of his work, rather than translated them; for he amplifies 15,000 lines of Wace's *Brut* into 32,000 of his own jargon. See *Sir F. Madden's Preface to Layamon's Brut*, 8vo, 1847, vol. i. p. xiii. I cannot refrain from bearing testimony to the great philological value of this work of Layamon's, by the publication of which its accomplished editor has made an important contribution towards the study of the history of the English language. So far, however, as Layamon is concerned, we can only contemplate with wonder an age of which he was considered an ornament.

first by Gaimar, and afterwards by Wace ;[114] zealous men, who were anxious that the important truths it contained should be diffused as widely as circumstances would allow.

It will hardly be necessary that I should adduce further evidence of the way in which history was written during the Middle Ages ; for the preceding specimens have not been taken at random, but have been selected from the ablest and most celebrated authors ; and as such present a very favourable type of the knowledge and judgment of Europe in those days. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there appeared, for the first time, faint signs of an approaching change ;[115] but this improvement was not very marked until late in the sixteenth century, or even early in the seventeenth. The principal steps of this interesting movement will be traced in another part of the Introduction, when I shall show, that although in the seventeenth century the progress was unmistakeable, there was no attempt to take a comprehensive view of history until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century ; when the subject was studied, first by the great French thinkers, then by one or two of the Scotch, and, some years later, by the Germans. This reformation of history was connected, as I shall point out, with other intellectual changes, which corresponded to it, and which affected the social relations of all the principal countries of Europe. But without anticipating what will be found in another part of this volume, it is sufficient to say that not only was no history written before the end of the sixteenth century, but that the state of society was such as to make it impossible for one to be written. The knowledge of Europe was not yet ripe enough to enable it to be successfully applied to the study of past events. For we are not to suppose that the deficiencies of the early historians were caused by a lack of natural abilities. The average intellect of men is probably always the same* ; but the pressure exercised on them by society is constantly varying. It was, therefore, the general condition of society which, in former days, compelled even the ablest writers to believe the most childish absurdities. Until that condition was altered, the existence of history was impossible, because it was impossible to find any one who knew what was most important to relate, what to reject, and what to believe.

The consequence was, that even when history was studied by men of such eminent abilities as Machiavelli and Bodin, they could turn it to no better account than to use it as a vehicle for political speculations ; and in none of their works do we find the least attempt to rise to generalizations large enough to include all the social phenomena.† The same remark applies to Comines, who, though inferior to Machiavelli and Bodin, was an observer of no ordinary acuteness, and certainly displays a rare sagacity in his estimation of particular characters. But this was due to his own intellect ; while the age in which he lived made him superstitious, and, for the larger purposes of history, miserably shortsighted. His shortsightedness is strikingly shown in his utter ignorance

[114] *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. pp. 151, 207 ; *Hallam's Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 35.

[115] Of which Froissart is the earliest instance ; since he is the first who took a secular view of affairs, all the preceding historians being essentially theological. In Spain, too, we find, late in the fourteenth century, a political spirit beginning to appear among historians. See the remarks on Ayala, in *Ticknor's Hist. of Spanish Lit.* vol. i. pp. 165, 166 ; where, however, Mr. Ticknor represents Froissart as more unworldly than he really was.

[* See above, ch. iv. *note* 12.—Ed.]

[† The meaning of this objection is not clear. Buckle's own work might as fairly as those of Machiavelli and Bodin be described as making history "a vehicle for political speculations." That charge has no relevance to the preceding exposition. Machiavelli and Bodin read *ancient* history to very good purpose, and were *not* mere victims of medieval myth-mongering. To say that they made no attempt to rise to generalizations including all the social phenomena, is again to bring a charge that might lie against all subsequent works of sociology, including Buckle's.—Ed.]

of that great intellectual movement which, in his own time, was rapidly overthrowing the feudal institutions of the Middle Ages; but to which he never once alludes, reserving his attention for those trivial political intrigues in the relation of which he believed history to consist.[116] As to his superstition, it would be idle to give many instances of that; since no man could live in the fifteenth century without having his mind enfeebled by the universal credulity. It may, however, be observed that though he was personally acquainted with statesmen and diplomatists, and had therefore the fullest opportunity of seeing how enterprises of the fairest promise are constantly ruined, merely by the incapacity of those who undertake them, he on all important occasions ascribes such failure, not to the real cause, but to the immediate interference of the Deity. So marked, and so irresistible, was the tendency of the fifteenth century, that this eminent politician, a man of the world, and well skilled in the arts of life, deliberately asserts that battles are lost, not because the army is ill supplied, nor because the campaign is ill conceived, nor because the general is incompetent; but because the people or their prince are wicked, and Providence seeks to punish them. For, says Comines, war is a great mystery; and being used by God as the means of accomplishing his wishes, He gives victory, sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other.[117] Hence, too, disturbances occur in the state, solely by divine disposition; and they never would happen, except that princes or kingdoms, having become prosperous, forget the source from which their prosperity proceeded.[118]

Such attempts as these to make politics a mere branch of theology,[119] are characteristic of the time; and they are the more interesting, as the work of a man of great ability, and of one, too, who had grown old in the experience of

[116] On this, Arnold says, truly enough, "Comines's Memoirs are striking from their perfect unconsciousness: the knell of the Middle Ages had been already sounded, yet Comines has no other notions than such as they had tended to foster; he describes their events, their characters, their relations, as if they were to continue for centuries." *Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, p. 118. To this I may add, that whenever Comines has occasion to mention the lower classes, which is very rarely the case, he speaks of them with great contempt. See two striking instances in *Mémoires de Philippe de Comines*, vol. ii. pp. 277, 287, edit. Paris, 1826.

[117] He says that a field of battle is "un des accomplissemens des œuvres que Dieu a commencées aucunes fois par petites mouvetez et occasions, et en donnant la victoire aucunes fois à l'un, et aucunes fois à l'autre: et est cecy mystère si grand, que les royaumes et grandes seigneuries en prennent aucunes fois fins et désolations, et les autres accroissement, et commencement de régner." *Mém. de Comines*, vol. i. pp. 361, 362. Respecting the wanton invasion of Italy, he says that the expedition might have been easily ruined if the enemy had thought of poisoning the wells or the food: "mais ils n'y eussent point failly, s'ils y eussent voulu essayer; mais il est de croire que nostre sauveur et rédempteur Jésus-Christ leur ostoit leur vouloir." vol. iii. p. 154. So, he adds, p. 155, "pour conclure l'article, semble que nostre seigneur Jésus-Christ ait voulu que toute la gloire du voyage ait esté attribuée à luy." Compare the *Institutes of Timour*, p. 7; an instructive combination of superstition and ferocity.

[118] "Mais mon advis est que cela ne se fait que par disposition divine; car quand les princes ou royaumes ont esté en grande prospérité ou richesses, et ils ont mesconnoissance dont procède telle grâce, Dieu leur dresse un ennemi ou ennemie, dont nul ne se douteroit, comme vous pouvez voir par les rois nommez en la Bible, et par ce que puis peu d'années en avez veu en cette Angleterre, et en cette maison de Bourgogne et autres lieux que avez veu et voyez tous les jours." *Mém. de Comines*, vol. i. pp. 388, 389. See also his remarks on the Duke of Burgundy, vol. ii. p. 179; and in particular his extraordinary digression, livre v. chap. xviii. vol. ii. pp. 290–298.

[119] Dr. Lingard (*Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 357) says, "From the doctrine of a superintending providence, the piety of our ancestors had drawn a rash but very convenient inference, that success is an indication of the Divine will, and that, of course, to resist a victorious competitor is to resist the judgment of heaven:" see also p. 114. The last vestige of this once universal opinion is the expression, which is gradually falling into disuse, of "appealing to the God of Battles."

public life. When views of this sort were advocated, not by a monk in his cloister, but by a distinguished statesman, well versed in public affairs, we may easily imagine what was the average intellectual condition of those who were every way his inferiors. It is but too evident that from them nothing could be expected; and that many steps had yet to be taken before Europe could emerge from the superstition in which it was sunk, and break through those grievous impediments which hindered its future progress.

But though much remained to be done, there can be no doubt that the movement onward was uninterrupted, and that even while Comines was writing there were unequivocal symptoms of a great and decisive change. Still, they were only indications of what was approaching; and about a hundred years elapsed, after his death, before the progress was apparent in the whole of its results. For though the Protestant Reformation was a consequence of this progress, it was for some time unfavourable to it, by encouraging the ablest men in the discussion of questions inaccessible to human reason, and thus diverting them from subjects in which their efforts would have been available for the general purposes of civilization. Hence we find that little was really accomplished until the end of the sixteenth century, when, as we shall see in the next two chapters, the theological fervour began to subside in England and France, and the way was prepared for that purely secular philosophy of which Bacon and Descartes were the exponents, but by no means the creators.[120] This epoch belongs to the seventeenth century, and from it we may date the intellectual regeneration of Europe; just as from the eighteenth century we may date its social regeneration. But during the greater part of the sixteenth century, the credulity was still universal, since it affected not merely the lowest and most ignorant classes, but even those who were best educated. Of this innumerable proofs might be given; though, for the sake of brevity, I will confine myself to two instances, which are particularly striking, from the circumstances attending them, and from the influence they exercised over men who might be supposed little liable to similar delusions.

[120] See *Guizot, Civilisation en Europe*, p. 166; the best passage in that able, but rather unequal work: "Parcourez l'histoire du v^e^ au xvi^e^ siècle; c'est la théologie qui possède et dirige l'esprit humain; toutes les opinions sont empreintes de théologie; les questions philosophiques, politiques, historiques, sont toujours considérées sous un point de vue théologique. L'église est tellement souveraine dans l'ordre intellectuel, que même les sciences mathématiques et physiques sont tenues de se soumettre à ses doctrines. L'esprit théologique est en quelque sort le sang qui a couleé dans les veines du monde européen jusqu'à Bacon et Descartes. Pour la première fois, Bacon en Angleterre, et Descartes en France, ont jeté l'intelligence hors des voies de la théologie." A noble passage, and perfectly true: but what would have been the effect produced by Bacon and Descartes if, instead of living in the seventeenth century, they had lived in the seventh? Would their philosophy have been equally secular; or, being equally secular, would it have been equally successful? [As regards historiography, Guizot's summary does not justly describe Machiavelli, Guicciardini, More, and Bodin in the sixteenth century; and Buckle had just before admitted the secularity even of Froissart (above, *note* 115). Neither, however, does it truly classify Roger Bacon, or Bishop Pecock (1395–1460), or such a scholar as Joseph Scaliger. Above all, it makes no account whatever of Montaigne, to whose rationalistic importance Buckle later bears testimony. But even as regards the scholastic philosophy of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, it is a mistake to assume that theology was always dominant, there being many evidences that the bolder thinkers proceeded only formally on its premisses. Intellectual progress, in short, has not been so "all of a piece" as Guizot represents. As Buckle admits, Bacon and Descartes were "by no means the creators" of a purely secular philosophy (see also Buckle's *note* 13 on ch. v.). There had been progress before them, and they themselves were neither completely delivered from theology nor even successful in bringing the mind of the seventeenth century as a whole to their own level. It is therefore misleading to speak of dating the "regeneration" from "the seventeenth century." In terms of this style of generalization, intellectual history is a mere series of new-births.—Ed.]

At the end of the fifteenth, and early in the sixteenth century, Stœffler, the celebrated astronomer, was professor of mathematics at Tubingen. This eminent man rendered great services to astronomy, and was one of the first who pointed out the way of remedying the errors in the Julian calendar, according to which time was then computed.[121] But neither his abilities nor his knowledge could protect him against the spirit of his age. In 1524 he published the result of some abstruse calculations, in which he had been long engaged, and by which he had ascertained the remarkable fact, that in that same year the world would again be destroyed by a deluge. This announcement, made by a man of such eminence, and made, too, with the utmost confidence, caused a lively and universal alarm.[122] News of the approaching event was rapidly circulated, and Europe was filled with consternation. To avoid the first shock, those who had houses by the sea, or on rivers, abandoned them;[123] while others, perceiving that such measures could only be temporary, adopted more active precautions. It was suggested that, as a preliminary step, the Emperor Charles V. should appoint inspectors to survey the country, and mark those places which, being least exposed to the coming flood, would be most likely to afford a shelter. That this should be done was the wish of the imperial general, who was then stationed at Florence, and by whose desire a work was written recommending it.[124] But the minds of men were too distracted for so deliberate a plan; and besides, as the height of the flood was uncertain, it was impossible to say whether it would not reach the top of the most elevated mountains. In the midst of these and similar schemes, the fatal day drew near, and nothing had yet been contrived on a scale large enough to meet the evil. To enumerate the different proposals which were made and rejected, would fill a long chapter. One proposal is, however, worth noticing, because it was carried into effect with great zeal, and is moreover very characteristic of the age. An ecclesiastic of the name of Auriol, who was then professor of canon law at the University of Toulouse, revolved in his own mind various expedients by which this universal disaster might be mitigated. At length it occurred to him that it was practicable to imitate the course which, on a similar emergency, Noah had adopted with eminent success. Scarcely was the idea conceived, when it was put into execution. The inhabitants of Toulouse lent their aid; and an ark was built, in the hope that some part, at least, of the human species might be preserved, to continue their race, and repeople the earth, after the waters should have subsided, and the land again become dry.[125]

About seventy years after this alarm had passed away, there happened another circumstance, which for a time afforded occupation to the most celebrated men in one of the principal countries of Europe. At the end of the sixteenth century terrible excitement was caused by a report that a golden tooth had appeared in the jaw of a child born in Silesia. The rumour, on being investigated, turned

[121] Compare *Biog. Univ.* vol. xliii. p. 577, with *Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. i. p. 678.

[122] Naudé mentions that in France it drove many persons almost mad: "In Gallia parum afuit quin ad insaniam homines non paucos periculi metu (diluvium) adegerit." *Bayle*, in voce *Stofflerus*, note B.

[123] "Nam Petrus Cirvellus Hispanorum omnium sui temporis doctissimus, cum theologiæ, in almo Complutensi gymnasio, lectoris munere fungeretur, et vero multos, ut ipsemet inquit, fluviis vel mari finitimos populos, jam stupido metu perculsos, domicilia ac sedes mutare vidisset, ac prædia, supellectilem, bonaque omnia, contra justum valorem sub actione distrahere, ac alia loca vel altitudine, vel siccitate magis secura requirere, sui officii esse putavit, in publica illa consternatione, quam de nihilo excitare persuasum non habebat," etc. *Bayle*, note B.

[124] Ibid.

[125] In addition to the account in Bayle, the reader may refer to *Biog. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 88, vol. xxxi. p. 283, vol. xliii. pp. 577, 578; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 251; *Delambre, Hist. de l'Astronomie du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1819, 4to, p. 376; *Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. i. p. 622; *Dict. Philosoph.*, article *Astrologie*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxvii. pp. 148, 149.

out to be too true. It became impossible to conceal it from the public ; and the miracle was soon known all over Germany, where, being looked on as a mysterious omen, universal anxiety was felt as to what this new thing might mean. Its real import was first unfolded by Dr. Horst. In 1595, this eminent physician published the result of his researches, by which it appears that, at the birth of the child, the sun was in conjunction with Saturn, at the sign Aries. The event, therefore, though supernatural, was by no means alarming. The golden tooth was the precursor of a golden age, in which the emperor would drive the Turks from Christendom and lay the foundations of an empire that would last for thousands of years. And this, says Horst, is clearly alluded to by Daniel, in his well-known second chapter, where the prophet speaks of a statue with a golden head.[126]

[126] This history of the golden tooth is partly related by De Thou : see his *Hist. Univ.* vol. xi. pp. 634, 635. And on the controversy to which it gave rise, compare *Hist. des Oracles*, chap. iv. in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220. ed. Paris, 1766 ; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. pp. 247–249 ; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. p. 579.

CHAPTER VII

Outline of the History of the English Intellect from the Middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century

It is difficult for an ordinary reader, living in the middle of the nineteenth century, to understand that only three hundred years before he was born the public mind was in the benighted state disclosed in the preceding chapter. It is still more difficult for him to understand that the darkness was shared not merely by men of an average education, but by men of considerable ability, men in every respect among the foremost of their age. A reader of this sort may satisfy himself that the evidence is indisputable; he may verify the statements I have brought forward, and admit that there is no possible doubt about them; but even then he will find it hard to conceive that there ever was a state of society in which such miserable absurdities were welcomed as sober and important truths, and were supposed to form an essential part of the general stock of European knowledge.

But a more careful examination will do much to dissipate this natural astonishment. In point of fact, so far from its being wonderful that such things were believed, the wonder would have been if they were rejected. For in those times, as in all others, everything was of a piece. Not only in historical literature, but in all kinds of literature, on every subject,—in science, in religion, in legislation,—the presiding principle was a blind and unhesitating credulity. The more the history of Europe anterior to the seventeenth century is studied, the more completely will this fact be verified. Now and then a great man arose, who had his doubts respecting the universal belief; who whispered a suspicion as to the existence of giants thirty feet high, of dragons with wings, and of armies flying through the air; who thought that astrology might be a cheat, and necromancy a bubble; and who even went so far as to raise a question respecting the propriety of drowning every witch and burning every heretic. A few such men there undoubtedly were; but they were despised as mere theorists, idle visionaries, who, unacquainted with the practice of life, arrogantly opposed their own reason to the wisdom of their ancestors. In the state of society in which they were born it was impossible that they should make any permanent impression. Indeed, they had enough to do to look to themselves, and provide for their own security; for, until the latter part of the sixteenth century, there was no country in which a man was not in great personal peril if he expressed open doubts respecting the belief of his contemporaries.

Yet it is evident that until doubt began, progress was impossible. For, as we have clearly seen, the advance of civilization solely depends on the acquisitions made by the human intellect, and on the extent to which those acquisitions are diffused. But men who are perfectly satisfied with their own knowledge will never attempt to increase it. Men who are perfectly convinced of the accuracy of their opinions will never take the pains of examining the basis on which they are built. They look always with wonder, and often with horror, on

views contrary to those which they inherited from their fathers; and while they are in this state of mind, it is impossible that they should receive any new truth which interferes with their foregone conclusions.

On this account it is, that although the acquisition of fresh knowledge is the necessary precursor of every step in social progress, such acquisition must itself be preceded by a love of inquiry, and therefore by a spirit of doubt; because without doubt there will be no inquiry, and without inquiry there will be no knowledge. For knowledge is not an inert and passive principle which comes to us whether we will or no; but it must be sought before it can be won; it is the product of great labour and therefore of great sacrifice. And it is absurd to suppose that men will incur the labour, and make the sacrifice, for subjects respecting which they are already perfectly content. They who do not feel the darkness, will never look for the light. If on any point we have attained to certainty, we make no further inquiry on that point; because inquiry would be useless, or perhaps dangerous. The doubt must intervene, before the investigation can begin. Here, then, we have the act of doubting as the originator, or, at all events, the necessary antecedent, of all progress. Here we have that scepticism, the very name of which is an abomination to the ignorant; because it disturbs their lazy and complacent minds; because it troubles their cherished superstitions; because it imposes on them the fatigue of inquiry; and because it rouses even sluggish understandings to ask if things are as they are commonly supposed, and if all is really true which they from their childhood have been taught to believe.

The more we examine this great principle of scepticism, the more distinctly shall we see the immense part it has played in the progress of European civilization. To state in general terms what in this Introduction will be fully proved, it may be said, that to scepticism we owe that spirit of inquiry, which, during the last two centuries, has gradually encroached on every possible subject; has reformed every department of practical and speculative knowledge; has weakened the authority of the privileged classes, and thus placed liberty on a surer foundation; has chastized the despotism of princes; has restrained the arrogance of the nobles, and has even diminished the prejudices of the clergy. In a word, it is this which has remedied the three fundamental errors of the olden time: errors which made the people, in politics too confiding; in science too credulous; in religion too intolerant.

This rapid summary of what has actually been effected may perhaps startle those readers to whom such large investigations are not familiar. The importance, however, of the principle at issue is so great, that I purpose in this Introduction to verify it by an examination of all the prominent forms of European civilization. Such an inquiry will lead to the remarkable conclusion, that no single fact has so extensively affected the different nations as the duration, the amount, and above all the diffusion, of their scepticism. In Spain, the church, aided by the Inquisition, has always been strong enough to punish sceptical writers, and prevent, not indeed the existence, but the promulgation of sceptical opinions.[1] By this means the spirit of doubt being quenched, knowledge has for several centuries remained almost stationary; and civilization, which is the fruit of knowledge, has also been stationary. But in England and France, which, as we shall presently see, are the countries where scepticism first openly appeared, and where it has been most diffused, the results are altogether different; and the love of inquiry being encouraged, there has arisen that constantly-progressive knowledge to which these two great nations owe their prosperity. In the remaining part

[1] On the influence of the French literature, which, late in the eighteenth century, crept into Spain in spite of the church, and diffused a considerable amount of scepticism among the most educated classes, compare *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. p. 322, vol ii. p. 543, vol. iv. pp. 98, 99, 102, 148; *Doblado's Letters from Spain*, pp. 115, 119, 120, 133, 231, 232; *Lord Holland's Foreign Reminiscences*, edit. 1850, p. 76; *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, vol. iii. p. 607; and an imperfect statement of the same fact in *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. x. p. 8. In regard to the Spanish colonies, compare *Humboldt, Nouv. Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 818, with *Ward's Mexico*, vol. i. p. 83.

of this volume, I shall trace the history of this principle in France and England, and examine the different forms under which it has appeared, and the way in which those forms have affected the national interests. In the order of the investigation, I shall give the precedence to England ; because, for the reasons already stated, its civilization must be deemed more normal * than that of France ; and therefore, notwithstanding its numerous deficiencies, it approaches the natural type more closely than its great neighbour has been able to do. But as the fullest details respecting English civilization will be found in the body of the present work, I intend in the Introduction to devote merely a single chapter to it, and to consider our national history simply in reference to the immediate consequences of the sceptical movement ; reserving for a future occasion those subsidiary matters which, though less comprehensive, are still of great value. And as the growth of religious toleration is undoubtedly the most important of all, I will, in the first place, state the circumstances under which it appeared in England in the sixteenth century ; and I will then point out how other events, which immediately followed, were part of the same progress, and were indeed merely the same principles acting in different directions.

A careful study of the history of religious toleration will prove that in every Christian country where it has been adopted, it has been forced upon the clergy by the authority of the secular classes.[2] At the present day, it is still unknown to those nations among whom the ecclesiastical power is stronger than the temporal power ; and as this, during many centuries, was the general condition, it is not wonderful that in the early history of Europe we should find scarcely a trace of so wise and benevolent an opinion. But at the moment when Elizabeth mounted the throne of England, our country was about equally divided between two hostile creeds ; and the queen, with remarkable ability, contrived during some time so to balance the rival powers as to allow to neither a decisive preponderance. This was the first instance which had been seen in Europe of a government successfully carried on without the active participation of the spiritual authority ; and the consequence was that for several years the principle of toleration, though still most imperfectly understood, was pushed to an extent which is truly surprising for so barbarous an age.[3] Unhappily, after a time, various circumstances, which I shall relate in their proper place, induced Elizabeth to change a policy which she, even with all her wisdom, perhaps considered to be a dangerous experiment, and for which the knowledge of the country was as yet hardly ripe. But although she now allowed the Protestants to gratify their hatred against the Catholics, there was, in the midst of the sanguinary scenes which followed, one circumstance very worthy of remark. Although many persons were most unquestionably executed merely for their religion no one ventured to state their religion as the cause of their execution.[4] The most bar-

[2] Nearly two hundred years ago, Sir William Temple observed that in Holland the clergy possessed less power than in other countries ; and that therefore there existed an unusual amount of toleration. *Observations upon the United Provinces*, in *Temple's Works*, vol. i. pp. 157–162. About seventy years later, the same inference was drawn by another acute observer, Le Blanc, who, after mentioning the liberality which the different sects displayed towards each other in Holland, adds, "La grande raison d'une harmonie si parfaite est que tout s'y régle par les séculiers de chacune de ces religions, et qu'on n'y souffriroit pas des ministres, dont le zèle imprudent pourroit détruire cette heureuse correspondance." *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un Français*, vol. i. p. 73. I merely give these as illustrations of an important principle, which I shall hereafter prove.

[3] "In the first eleven years of her reign, not one Roman Catholic was prosecuted capitally for religion." *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 444 ; and the same remark in *Collier's Eccles. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 252, edit. 1840.

[4] Without quoting the impudent defence which Chief Justice Popham made, in 1606, for the barbarous treatment of the Catholics (*Campbell's Chief Justices*, vol. i. p. 225), I

[*Read "more simple."—Ed.]

barous punishments were inflicted upon them ; but they were told that they might escape the punishment by renouncing certain principles which were said to be injurious to the safety of the state.[5] It is true that many of these principles were such as no Catholic could abandon without at the same time abandoning his religion, of which they formed an essential part. But the mere fact that the spirit of persecution was driven to such a subterfuge, showed that a great progress had been made by the age. A most important point, indeed, was gained when the bigot became a hypocrite; and when the clergy, though willing to burn men for the good of their souls, were obliged to justify their cruelty by alleging considerations of a more temporal, and, as they considered, a less important character.[6]

A remarkable evidence of the change that was then taking place is found in the two most important theological works which appeared in England during the reign of Elizabeth. *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity* was published at the end of the sixteenth century,[7] and is still considered one of the greatest bulwarks of our national church. If we compare this work with *Jewel's Apology for the Church of England*, which was written thirty years before it,[8] we shall at once be struck by the different methods these eminent writers employed. Both Hooker and Jewel were men of learning and genius. Both of them were familiar with the Bible, the Fathers,

will give the words of the two immediate successors of Elizabeth. James I. says : "The trewth is, according to my owne knowledge, the late queene of famous memory never punished any Papist for religion." *Works of King James*, London, 1616, folio, p. 252. And Charles I. says : "I am informed, neither Queen Elizabeth nor my father did ever avow that any priest in their times was executed merely for religion." *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 713.

[5] This was the defence set up in 1583, in a work called *The Execution of Justice in England*, and ascribed to Burleigh. See *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 146, 147 ; and *Somers Tracts*, vol. i. pp. 189–208 : "a number of persons whom they term as martyrs," p. 195 ; and at p. 202, the writer attacks those who have "entitled certain that have suffered for treason to be martyrs for religion." In the same way, the opponents of Catholic Emancipation in our time, found themselves compelled to abandon the old theological ground, and to defend the persecution of the Catholics rather by political arguments than by religious ones. Lord Eldon, who was by far the most influential leader of the intolerant party, said, in a speech in the House of Lords, in 1810, that "the enactments against the Catholics were meant to guard, not against the abstract opinions of their religion, but against the political dangers of a faith which acknowledged a foreign supremacy." *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. i. p. 435 ; see also pp. 483, 501, 577–580. Compare *Alison's Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 379 seq., a summary of the debate in 1805.

[6] Mr. Sewell seems to have this change in view in his *Christian Politics*, 8vo, 1844, p. 277. Compare *Coleridge's note* in *Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 270. An able writer says of the persecutions which, in the seventeenth century, the Church of England directed against her opponents : "This is the stale pretence of the clergy in all countries, after they have solicited the government to make penal laws against those they call heretics or schismaticks, and prompted the magistrates to a vigorous execution, then they lay all the odium on the civil power ; for whom they have no excuse to allege, but that such men suffered, not for religion, but for disobedience to the laws." *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 534. See also *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. i. p. 389, and vol. ii. pp. 44–46.

[7] The first four books, which are in every point of view the most important, were published in 1594. *Walton's Life of Hooker*, in *Wordsworth's Ecclesiast. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 509. The sixth book is said not to be authentic : and doubts have been thrown upon the seventh and eighth books ; but Mr. Hallam thinks thaty the are certainly genuine. *Literature of Europe*, vol ii. pp. 24, 25.

[8] *Jewel's Apology* was written in 1561 or 1562. See *Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 313. This work, the Bible, and *Fox's Martyrs*, were ordered, in the reign of Elizabeth, "to be fixed in all parish churches, to be read by the people." *Aubrey's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 42. The order, in regard to Jewel's *Defence*, was repeated by James I. and Charles I. *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. iv. p. 413.

and the Councils. Both of them wrote with the avowed object of defending the Church of England ; and both of them were well acquainted with the ordinary weapons of theological controversy. But here the resemblance stops. The men were very similar ; their works are entirely different. During the thirty years which had elapsed, the English intellect had made immense progress ; and the arguments which in the time of Jewel were found perfectly satisfactory, would not have been listened to in the time of Hooker. The work of Jewel is full of quotations from the Fathers and the Councils, whose mere assertions, when they are uncontradicted by Scripture, he seems to regard as positive proofs. Hooker, though he shows much respect to the Councils, lays little stress upon the Fathers, and evidently considered that his readers would not pay much attention to their unsupported opinions. Jewel inculcates the importance of faith ; Hooker insists upon the exercise of reason.[9] The first employs all his talents in collecting the decisions of antiquity, and in deciding upon the meaning which they may be supposed to bear. The other quotes the ancients, not so much from respect for their authority, as with the view of illustrating his own arguments. Thus, for instance, both Hooker and Jewel assert the undoubted right of the sovereign to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. Jewel, however, fancied that he had proved the right when he had pointed out that it was exercised by Moses, by Joshua, by David, and by Solomon.[10] On the other hand, Hooker lays down that this right exists, not because it is ancient, but because it is advisable ; and because it is unjust to suppose that men who are not ecclesiastics will consent to be bound

[9] "Wherefore the natural measure whereby to judge our doings is, the sentence of Reason determining and setting down what is good to be done." *Eccl. Polity*, book i. sec. viii. in *Hooker's Works*, vol. i. p. 99. He requires of his opponents, "not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of some place of Scripture out of which we stand bound to deduce it, as by divers testimonies they seek to enforce ; but rather, as the truth is, so to acknowledge, that *it sufficeth if such actions be framed according to the law of reason.*" Book ii. sec. i. *Works*, vol. i. p. 151. "For men to be tied and led by authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and, though there be reason to the contrary, not to listen unto it, but to follow, like beasts, the first in the herd, they know not nor care not whither : this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevail with men, either against or above Reason, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men, be they never so great and reverend, are to yield unto Reason." Book ii. sec. vii. vol. i. pp. 182, 183. In book v. sec. viii. vol. ii. p. 23, he says, that even "the voice of the church" is to be held inferior to reason. See also a long passage in book vii. sec. xi. vol. iii. p. 152 ; and on the application of reason to the general theory of religion, see vol. i. pp. 220–223, book iii. sec. viii. Again, at p. 226 : "Theology, what is it, but the science of things divine ? What science can be attained unto, without the help of natural discourse and Reason ? " And he indignantly asks those who insist on the supremacy of faith, "May we cause our faith without Reason to appear reasonable in the eyes of men ? " vol. i. p. 230.

[10] After referring to Isaiah, he adds : "Præter inquam, hæc omnia, ex historiis et optimorum temporum exemplis videmus pios principes procurationem ecclesiarum ab officio suo nunquam putasse alienam.

"Moses civilis magistratus, ac ductor populi omnem religionis, et sacrorum rationem, et accepit a Deo, et populo tradidit, et Aaronem episcopum de aureo vitulo, et de violata religione, vehementer et graviter castigavit. Josue, etsi non aliud erat, quàm magistratus civilis, tamen cùm primùm inauguraretur et præficeretur populo, accepit mandata nominatim de religione, deque colendo Deo.

"David rex, cùm omnis jam religio, ab impio rege Saule prorsus esset dissipata, reduxit arcam Dei, hoc est, religionem restituit : nec tantùm adfuit ut admonitor aut hortator operis, sed etiam psalmos et hymnos dedit, et classes disposuit, et pompam instituit, et quodammodo præfuit sacerdotibus.

"Salomon rex ædificavit templum Domino, quod ejus pater David animo tantùm destinaverat : at postremo orationem egregiam habuit ad populum de religione, et cultu Dei ; et Abiatharum episcopum postea summovit, et in ejus locum Sadocum surrogavit." *Apolog. Eccles. Anglic.* pp. 161, 162.

by laws which ecclesiastics alone have framed.[11] In the same opposite spirit do these great writers conduct their defence of their own church. Jewel, like all the authors of his time, had exercised his memory more than his reason ; and he thinks to settle the whole dispute by crowding together texts from the Bible, with the opinions of the commentators upon them.[12] But Hooker, who lived in the age of Shakespeare and Bacon, found himself constrained to take views of a far more comprehensive character. His defence rests neither upon tradition nor upon commentators, nor even upon revelation ; but he is content that the pretensions of the hostile parties shall be decided by their applicability to the great exigencies of society, and by the ease with which they adapt themselves to the general purposes of ordinary life.[13]

It requires but little penetration to see the immense importance of the change

[11] He says that although the clergy may be supposed more competent than laymen to regulate ecclesiastical matters, this will practically avail them nothing : "It were unnatural not to think the pastors and bishops of our souls a great deal more fit than men of secular trades and callings ; howbeit, when all which the wisdom of all sorts can do is done, for the devising of laws in the church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of laws ; without which they could be no more unto us than the counsels of physicians to the sick." *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book viii. sec. vi. vol. iii. p. 303. He adds, p. 326 : "Till it be proved that some special law of Christ hath for ever annexed unto the clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it a thing most *consonant with equity and reason*, that no ecclesiastical laws be made in a Christian commonwealth, without consent as well of the laity as of the clergy, but least of all without consent of the highest power."

[12] "Quòd si docemus sacrosanctum Dei evangelium, et veteres episcopos, atque ecclesiam primitivam nobiscum facere." If this be so, then, indeed, "speramus, neminem illorum" (his opponents) "ita negligentem fore salutis suæ, quin ut velit aliquando cogitationem suscipere, ad utros potiùs se adjungat." *Apolog. Eccles. Anglic.* p. 17. At p. 53, he indignantly asks if any one will dare to impeach the Fathers : "Ergo Origenes, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Gelasius, Theodoretus erant desertores fidei catholicæ ? Ergo tot veterum episcoporum et doctorum virorum tanta consensio nihil aliud erat quàm conspiratio hæreticorum ? Aut quod tum laudabatur in illis, id nunc damnatur in nobis ? Quodque in illis erat catholicum, id nunc mutatis tantùm hominum voluntatibus, repentè factum est schismaticum ? Aut quod olim erat verum, nunc statim, quia istis non placet, erit falsum ?" His work is full of this sort of eloquent, but, as it appears to our age, pointless declamation.

[13] This large view underlies the whole of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. I can only afford room for a few extracts, which will be illustrations rather than proofs : the proof will be obvious to every competent reader of the work itself. "True it is, the ancienter the better ceremonies of religion are ; howbeit not absolutely true and without exception ; *but true only so far forth as those different ages do agree* in the state of those things for which, at the first, those rites, orders, and ceremonies were instituted." vol. i. p. 36. "We count those things perfect, which want nothing requisite for the end whereto they were instituted." vol. i. p. 191. "Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous." And even of the laws of God, he boldly adds : "Notwithstanding the authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made doth also make them changeable." vol. i. p. 236. "And therefore laws, though both ordained of God himself, and the end for which they were ordained continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alteration of persons or times they be found unsufficient to attain unto that end." vol. i. p. 238. At p. 240. "I therefore conclude, that neither God's being Author of laws for government of his church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient wherefore all churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change." See, too, vol. iii. p. 169, on "the exigence of necessity." Compare pp. 182, 183, and vol. i. p. 323, vol. ii. pp. 273, 424. Not a vestige of such arguments can be found in Jewel ; who, on the contrary, says (*Apologia*, p. 114), "Certè in religionem Dei nihil gravius dici potest, quàm si ea accusetur novitatis. Ut enim in Deo ipso, ita in ejus cultu nihil oportet esse novum."

which these two great works represent. As long as an opinion in theology was defended by the old dogmatic method, it was impossible to assail it without incurring the imputation of heresy. But when it was chiefly defended by human reasoning, its support was seriously weakened. For by this means the element of uncertainty was let in. It might be alleged that the arguments of one sect are as good as those of another ; and that we cannot be sure of the truth of our principles until we have heard what is to be said on the opposite side. According to the old theological theory, it was easy to justify the most barbarous persecution. If a man knew that the only true religion was the one which he professed, and if he also knew that those who died in a contrary opinion were doomed to everlasting perdition,—if he knew these things beyond the remotest possibility of a doubt, he might fairly argue that it is merciful to punish the body in order to save the soul, and secure to immortal beings their future salvation, even though he employed so sharp a remedy as the halter or the stake.[14] But if this same man is taught to think that questions of religion are to be settled by reason as well as by faith, he can scarcely avoid the reflection that the reason even of the strongest minds is not infallible, since it has led the ablest men to the most opposite conclusions. When this idea is once diffused among a people, it cannot fail to influence their conduct. No one of common sense and common honesty will dare to levy upon another, on account of his religion, the extreme penalty of the law, when he knows it possible that his own opinions may be wrong, and that those of the man he has punished may be right. From the moment when questions of religion begin to evade the jurisdiction of faith, and submit to the jurisdiction of reason, persecution becomes a crime of the deepest dye. Thus it was in England in the seventeenth century. As theology became more reasonable it became less confident, and therefore more merciful. Seventeen years after the publication of the great work of Hooker, two men were publicly burned by the English bishops for holding heretical opinions.[15] But this was the last gasp of expiring bigotry ; and since that memorable day, the soil of England has never been stained by the blood of a man who has suffered for his religious creed.[16]

We have thus seen the rise of that scepticism which in physics must always be the beginning of science, and in religion must always be the beginning of toleration. There is, indeed, no doubt that in both cases individual thinkers may, by a great effort of original genius, emancipate themselves from the operation of this law. But in the progress of nations no such emancipation is possible. As long as men refer the movements of the comets to the immediate finger of God, and as long as they believe that an eclipse is one of the modes by which the Deity expresses his anger, they will never be guilty of the blasphemous presumption of attempting to predict such supernatural appearances. Before they could dare to investigate the causes of these mysterious phenomena, it is necessary that they should believe, or at all events that they should suspect, that the phenomena themselves were capable of being explained by the human mind. In the same way, until men are content in some degree to bring their religion before the bar of their own reason, they never can understand how it is that there

[14] Archbishop Whately has made some very good remarks on this. See his *Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature*, pp. 237, 238.

[15] Their names were Legat and Wightman, and they suffered in 1611 : see the contemporary account in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ii. pp. 400–408. Compare *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. iv. p. 49 ; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. i. pp. 143, 144 ; and note in *Burton's Diary*, vol. i. p. 118. Of these martyrs to their opinions, Mr. Hallam says : "The first was burned by King, Bishop of London ; the second by Neyle, of Litchfield." *Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 611, 612.

[16] It should be mentioned to the honour of the Court of Chancery, that late in the sixteenth, and early in the seventeenth century, its powers were exerted against the execution of those cruel laws by which the Church of England was allowed to persecute men who differed from its own views. See *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. ii. pp. 135, 176, 231.

should be a diversity of creeds, or how any one can differ from themselves without being guilty of the most enormous and unpardonable crime.[17]

If we now continue to trace the progress of opinions in England, we shall see the full force of these remarks. A general spirit of inquiry, of doubt, and even of insubordination, began to occupy the minds of men. In physics, it enabled them, almost at a blow, to throw off the shackles of antiquity, and give birth to sciences founded not on notions of old, but on individual observations and individual experiments.[18] In politics, it stimulated them to rise against the government, and eventually bring their king to the scaffold. In religion, it vented itself in a thousand sects, each of which proclaimed, and often exaggerated, the efficiency of private judgment.[19] The details of this vast movement form one of the most interesting parts of the history of England: but without anticipating what I must hereafter relate, I will at present mention only one instance, which, from the circumstances attending it, is very characteristic of the age. The celebrated work by Chillingworth on the *Religion of Protestants* is generally admitted to be the best defence which the Reformers have been able to make against the church of Rome.[20] It was published in 1637,[21] and the position of the author would induce us to look for the fullest display of bigotry that was consistent with the spirit of his time. Chillingworth had recently abandoned the

[17] "To tax any one, therefore, with want of reverence, because he pays no respect to what we venerate, is either irrelevant, or is a mere confusion. The fact, so far as it is true, is no reproach, but an honour; because to reverence all persons and all things is absolutely wrong: reverence shown to that which does not deserve it, is no virtue; no, nor even an amiable weakness, but a plain folly and sin. But if it be meant that he is wanting in proper reverence, not respecting what is really to be respected, that is assuming the whole question at issue, because what we call divine, he calls an idol; and as, supposing that we are in the right, we are bound to fall down and worship, so, supposing him to be in the right, he is no less bound to pull it to the ground and destroy it." *Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, pp. 210, 211. Considering the ability of Dr. Arnold, considering his great influence, and considering his profession, his antecedents, and the character of the university in which he was speaking, it must be allowed that this is a remarkable passage, and one well worthy the notice of those who wish to study the tendencies of the English mind during the present generation.

[18] On the connexion between the rise of the Baconian philosophy and the change in the spirit of theologians, compare *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. v. p. 701, with *Whately on Dangers to Christian Faith*, pp. 148, 149. It favoured, as Tennemann (*Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. p. 14) says, the "Belebung der selbstthätigen Kraft des menschlichen Geistes;" and hence the attack on the inductive philosophy in *Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 179–183. But Mr. Newman does not seem to be aware how irrevocably we are now pledged to the movement which he seeks to reverse.

[19] The rapid increase of heresy in the middle of the seventeenth century is very remarkable, and it greatly aided civilization in England by encouraging habits of independent thought. In Feb. 1646–7, Boyle writes from London, "There are few days pass here, that may not justly be accused of the brewing or broaching of some new opinion. Nay, some are so studiously changing in that particular, they esteem an opinion as a diurnal, after a day or two scarce worth the keeping. If any man have lost his religion, let him repair to London, and I'll warrant him he shall find it: I had almost said too, and if any man has a religion, let him but come hither now, and he shall go near to lose it." *Birch's Life of Boyle*, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. i. pp. 20, 21. See also *Bate's Account of the late Troubles*, edit. 1685, part ii. p. 219, on "that unbridled licentiousness of hereticks which grew greater and greater daily." Compare to the same effect *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 289; *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 608; and *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 203: "sectaries began to swarm."

[20] Not to quote the opinions of inferior men respecting Chillingworth, it is enough to mention that Lord Mansfield said he was "a perfect model of argumentation." *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 126. Compare a letter from Warburton, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 849.

[21] *Des Maizeaux, Life of Chillingworth*, p. 141.

creed which he now came forward to attack ; and he therefore might be expected to have that natural inclination to dogmatize with which apostasy is usually accompanied. Besides this, he was the godson and the intimate friend of Laud,[22] whose memory is still loathed, as that of the meanest, the most cruel, and the most narrow-minded man who ever sat on the episcopal bench.[23] He was moreover a fellow of Oxford, and was a constant resident at that ancient university, which has always been esteemed as the refuge of superstition, and which has preserved to our own day its unenviable fame.[24] If now we turn to the work that was written under these auspices, we can scarcely believe that it was produced in the same generation, and in the same country, where, only twenty-six years before, two men had been publicly burned because they advocated opinions different to those of the established church. It is, indeed, a most remarkable proof of the prodigious energy of that great movement which was now going on, that its pressure should be felt under circumstances the most hostile to it which can possibly be conceived ; and that a friend of Laud, and a fellow of Oxford, should, in a grave theological treatise, lay down principles utterly subversive of that theological spirit which for many centuries had enslaved the whole of Europe.

In this great work, all authority in matters of religion is openly set at defiance. Hooker, indeed, had appealed from the jurisdiction of the Fathers to the jurisdiction of reason ; he had, however, been careful to add that the reason of individuals ought to bow before that of the church, as we find it expressed in great Councils, and in the general voice of ecclesiastical tradition.[25] But Chillingworth would hear of none of these things. He would admit of no reservations which tended to limit the sacred right of private judgment. He not only went far beyond Hooker in neglecting the Fathers,[26] but he even ventured to despise the Councils. Although the sole object of his work was to decide on the conflicting claims of the two greatest sects into which the Christian Church has broken, he never quotes as authorities the Councils of that very church respecting which the disputes were agitated.[27] His strong and subtle intellect, penetrating the depths of the subject, despised that sort of controversy which had long busied the minds

[22] *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. p. 285 ; *Des Maizeaux, Life of Chillingworth*, pp. 2–9. The correspondence between Laud and Chillingworth is supposed to be lost. *Des Maizeaux*, p. 12. Carwithen (*Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 214) says, "Laud was the godfather of Chillingworth."

[23] The character of Laud is now well understood and generally known. His odious cruelties made him so hated by his contemporaries, that after his condemnation many persons shut up their shops, and refused to open them till he was executed. This is mentioned by Walton, an eye-witness. See *Walton's Life of Sanderson*, in *Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 429.

[24] A modern writer suggests, with exquisite simplicity, that Chillingworth derived his liberal principles *from* Oxford : "the very same college which nursed the high intellect and tolerant principles of Chillingworth." *Bowles's Life of Bishop Ken*, vol. i. p. xxi.

[25] Hooker's undue respect for the Councils of the Church is noticed by Mr. Hallam, *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 213. Compare the hesitating remarks in *Coleridge's Literary Remains*, vol. iii. pp. 35, 36.

[26] Reading the Fathers he contemptuously calls travelling on a "north-west discovery." *Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants*, p. 366. Even to Augustine, who was probably the ablest of them, Chillingworth pays no deference. See what he says at pp. 196, 333, 376 ; and as to the authority of the Fathers in general, see pp. 252, 346. Chillingworth observed, happily enough, that churchmen, "account them fathers when they are for them, and children when they are against them." *Calamy's Life*, vol. i. p. 253.

[27] As to the supposed authority of Councils, see *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 132, 463. It affords curious evidence of the slow progress of theologians, to observe the different spirit in which some of our clergy consider these matters. See, for instance, *Palmer on the Church*, 1839, vol. ii. pp. 150–171. In no other branch of inquiry do we find this obstinate determination to adhere to theories which all thinking men have rejected for the last two centuries.

of men. In discussing the points upon which the Catholics and Protestants were at issue, he does not inquire whether the doctrines in question met the approval of the early church, but he asks if they are in accordance with human reason; and he does not hesitate to say that, however true they may be, no man is bound to believe them if he finds that they are repugnant to the dictates of his own understanding. Nor will he consent that faith should supply the absence of authority. Even this favourite principle of theologians is by Chillingworth made to yield to the supremacy of the human reason.[28] Reason, he says, gives us knowledge; while faith only gives us belief, which is a part of knowledge, and is therefore inferior to it. It is by reason, and not by faith, that we must discriminate in religious matters; and it is by reason alone that we can distinguish truth from falsehood. Finally, he solemnly reminds his readers that in religious matters no one ought to be expected to draw strong conclusions from imperfect premises, or to credit improbable statements upon scanty evidence; still less, he says, was it ever intended that men should so prostitute their reason as to believe with infallible faith that which they are unable to prove with infallible arguments.[29]

No one of ordinary reflection can fail to perceive the manifest tendency of these opinions. But what is more important to observe is the process through which, in the march of civilization, the human mind had been obliged to pass, before it could reach such elevated views. The Reformation, by destroying the dogma of an infallible church, had of course weakened the reverence which was paid to ecclesiastical antiquity. Still, such was the force of old associations, that our countrymen long continued to respect what they had ceased to venerate. Thus it was that Jewel, though recognizing the supreme authority of the Bible, had, in cases where it was silent or ambiguous, anxiously appealed to the early church, by whose decision he supposed all difficulties could be easily cleared. He therefore only used his reason to ascertain the discrepancies which existed between Scripture and tradition; but when they did not clash, he paid what is now considered a superstitious deference to antiquity. Thirty years after him came Hooker;[30] who made a step in advance, and laying down principles from which Jewel would have shrunk with fear, did much to weaken that which it was reserved for Chillingworth utterly to destroy. Thus it is that these three

[28] Indeed, he attempts to fasten the same doctrine upon the Catholics; which, if he could have done, would of course have ended the controversy. He says, rather unfairly, "Your church you admit, because you think you have reason to do so; so that by you, as well as Protestants, all is finally resolved into your own reason." *Relig. of Protest.* p. 134.

[29] "God desires only that we believe the conclusion as much as the premises deserve; that the strength of our faith be equal or proportionable to the credibility of the motives to it." *Relig. of Protest.* p. 66. "For my part, I am certain that God hath given us our reason to discern between truth and falsehood; and he that makes not this use of it, but believes things he knows not why, I say it is by chance that he believes the truth, and not by choice; and I cannot but fear that God will not accept of this sacrifice of fools." p. 133. "God's spirit, if he please, may work more,—a certainty of adherence beyond a certainty of evidence; but neither God doth, nor man may, require of us, as our duty, to give a greater assent to the conclusion than the premises deserve; to build an infallible faith upon motives that are only highly credible and not infallible; as it were a great and heavy building upon a foundation that hath not strength proportionate." p. 149. "For faith is not knowledge no more than three is four, but eminently contained in it; so that he that knows, believes, and something more; but he that believes many times does not know—nay, if he doth barely and merely believe, he doth never know." p 412. See also p. 417.

[30] On the connexion between the Reformation and the views advocated in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, compare *Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 47, with some able remarks by Locke, in *King's Life of Locke*, vol ii. pp. 99–101. Locke, who was anything but a friend to the church, was a great admirer of Hooker, and in one place calls him "the arch-philosopher." *Essay on Government*, in *Locke's Works*, vol. iv. p. 380.

great men represent the three distinct epochs of the three successive generations in which they respectively lived. In Jewel, reason is, if I may so say, the superstructure of the system ; but authority is the basis upon which the superstructure is built. In Hooker, authority is only the superstructure, and reason is the basis.[31] But in Chillingworth, whose writings were harbingers of the coming storm, authority entirely disappears, and the whole fabric of religion is made to rest upon the way in which the unaided reason of man shall interpret the decrees of an omnipotent God.*

The immense success of this great work of Chillingworth must have aided that movement of which it is itself an evidence.[32] It formed a decisive vindication of religious dissent ; [33] and thus justified the breaking-up of the Anglican church, which the same generation lived to witness. Its fundamental principle was adopted by the most influential writers of the seventeenth century,—such as Hales, Owen, Taylor, Burnet, Tillotson, Locke, and even the cautious and time-serving Temple ; all of whom insisted upon the authority of private judgment, as forming a tribunal from which no one had the power of appeal. The inference to be drawn from this seems obvious.[34] If the ultimate test of truth is individual judgment, and if no one can affirm that the judgments of men, which are often contradictory, can ever be infallible, it follows of necessity that there is no decisive criterion of religious truth. This is a melancholy, and, as I firmly believe, a most inaccurate conclusion ; but it is one which every nation must entertain, before it can achieve that great work of toleration, which, even in our own country, and in our own time, is not yet consummated. It is necessary that men should learn to doubt, before they begin to tolerate ; and that they should recognize the fallibility of their own opinions, before they respect the opinions of their opponents.[35] This great process is far from being yet completed

[31] The opposition between Jewel and Hooker was so marked, that some of the opponents of Hooker quoted against him Jewel's Apology. See *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 513. Dr. Wordsworth calls this " curious ; " but it would be much more curious if it had not happened. Compare the remarks made by the Bishop of Limerick (*Parr's Works*, vol. ii. p. 470, *Notes on the Spital Sermon*), who says, that Hooker " opened that fountain of reason," etc. ; language which will hardly be considered too strong by those who have compared the *Ecclesiastical Polity* with the theological works previously produced by the English church.

[32] Des Maizeaux (*Life of Chillingworth*, pp. 220, 221) says : " His book was received with a general applause ; and, what perhaps never happened to any other controversial work of that bulk, two editions of it were published within less than five months. . . . The quick sale of a book, and especially of a book of controversy, in folio, is a good proof that the author hit the taste of his time." See also *Biographia Britannica*, edit. Kippis, vol. iii. pp. 511, 512.

[33] Or, as Calamy cautiously puts it, Chillingworth's work " appeared to me to go a great way towards the justifying of moderate conformity." *Calamy's Life*, vol. i. p. 234. Compare *Palmer on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 267, 268 ; and what is probably an allusion to Chillingworth in *Doddridge's Correspond. and Diary*, vol. ii. p. 81. See also the opinion of Hobbes, in *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. pp. 288, 629.

[34] A short but able view of the aspect which the English mind now began to assume, will be found in *Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. pp. 95 seq.

[35] In *Whately's Dangers to Christian Faith*, pp. 188–198, there is a perspicuous statement of the arguments now commonly received against coercing men for their religious opinions. But the most powerful of these arguments are based entirely upon expediency, which would have insured their rejection in an age of strong religious convictions. Some, and only some, of the theological difficulties respecting toleration are noticed in *Coleridge's Lit. Remains*, vol. i. pp. 312–315 ; and in another work (*The Friend*, vol. i. p. 73), he mentions, what is the real fact, " that same indifference which makes toleration so

[* The last sentence fails to disguise the collapse of the proposition. The differences among the three writers are only of degree in the application of reason on authoritarian premisses. Authority could not " entirely disappear " from the argument of a Protestant theologian.—Ed.]

in any country ; and the European mind, barely emerged from its early credulity, and from an overweening confidence in its own belief, is still in a middle, and, so to say, a probationary stage. When that stage shall be finally passed, when we shall have learned to estimate men solely by their character and their acts, and not at all by their theological dogmas, we shall then be able to form our religious opinions by that purely transcendental process, of which in every age glimpses have been granted to a few gifted minds.* That this is the direction in which things are now hastening, must be clear to every one who has studied the progress of modern civilization. Within the short space of three centuries, the old theological spirit has been compelled not only to descend from its long-established supremacy, but to abandon those strongholds to which, in the face of advancing knowledge, it has vainly attempted to secure a retreat. All its most cherished pretensions it has been forced gradually to relinquish.[36] And although in England a temporary prominence has recently been given to certain religious controversies, still the circumstances attending them show the alteration in the character of the age. Disputes which, a century ago, would have set the whole kingdom in a flame, are now regarded with indifference by the vast majority of educated men. The complications of modern society, and the immense variety of interests into which it is divided, have done much to distract the intellect, and to prevent it from dwelling upon subjects which a less-occupied people would deem of paramount importance. Besides this, the accumulations of science are far superior to those of any former age, and offer suggestions of such surpassing interest, that nearly all our greatest thinkers devote to them the whole of their time, and refuse to busy themselves with matters of mere speculative belief. The consequence is that what used to be considered the most important of all questions is now abandoned to inferior men, who mimic the zeal without possessing the influence of those really great divines whose works are among the glories of our early literature. These turbulent polemics have, indeed, distracted the church by their clamour, but they have not made the slightest impression upon the great body of English intellect ; and an overwhelming majority of the nation is notoriously opposed to that monastic and ascetic religion which it is now vainly attempted to reconstruct. The truth is that the time for these things has gone by. Theological interests have long ceased to be supreme ; and the affairs of nations are no longer regulated according to ecclesiastical views.[37] In England, where the march has been more rapid

easy a virtue with us." See also *Archdeacon Hare's Guesses at Truth*, 2nd series, 1848, p. 278 ; and *Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. Hist.* vol. v. p. 817 : " a spirit of mutual toleration and forbearance has appeared (at least one good consequence of religious indifference)."

[36] It would be idle to offer proofs of so notorious a fact ; but the reader will be interested by some striking remarks in *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. i. pp. 228, 229.

[37] A writer intimately acquainted with the social condition of the great European countries, says : " Ecclesiastical power is almost extinct as an active element in the political or social affairs of nations or of individuals, in the cabinet or in the family circle ; and a new element, literary power, is taking its place in the government of the world." *Laing's Denmark*, 1852, p. 82. On this natural tendency in regard to legislation, see *Meyer, Esprit des Institut. Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. 267 note ; and a good summary in *Stäudlin, Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. pp. 304, 305. It is not surprising to find that many of the clergy complain of a movement so subversive of their own power. Compare *Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, pp. 40, 108–111, 388 ; *Sewell's Christian Politics*, pp. 276, 277, 279 ; *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. p. 361. It is thus that everything is tending to confirm the remarkable prediction of Sir James Mackintosh,

[* In this surprising passage, which cannot be made to consist with Buckle's general doctrine, the logical collapse must be admitted to be complete. The following sentences point only to a *rejection* of current theological dogmas. Those which precede promise an arrival at " infallible " opinions, reached on transcendental lines. That is to say, the European mind is again to reach " an overweening confidence in its own belief "—an absolute reversion to the theological method, and to the " most cherished pretension " of the " old theological spirit."—Ed.]

than elsewhere, this change is very observable. In every other department we have had a series of great and powerful thinkers, who have done honour to their country, and have won the admiration of mankind. But for more than a century we have not produced a single original work in the whole field of controversial theology. For more than a century the apathy on this subject has been so marked, that there has been made no addition of value to that immense mass of divinity which, among thinking men, is in every successive generation losing something of its former interest.[38]

These are only some of the innumerable signs, which must be discerned by every man who is not blinded by the prejudices of an imperfect education. An

that "church-power (unless some revolution, auspicious to priestcraft, should replunge Europe in ignorance) will certainly not survive the nineteenth century." *Mem. of Mackintosh*, vol. i. p. 67.

[38] "The 'divines' in England at the present day, her bishops, professors, and prebendaries, are not theologians. They are logicians, chemists, skilled in the mathematics, historians, poor commentators upon Greek poets." *Theodore Parker's Critical and Miscellaneous Writings*, 1848, p. 302. At p. 33, the same high authority says: "But within the present century, what has been written in the English tongue, in any department of theological scholarship, which is of value and makes a mark on the age? The *Bridgewater Treatises*, and the new edition of *Paley*,—we blush to confess it,—are the best things." Sir William Hamilton (*Discussions on Philosophy*, 1852, p. 699) notices the decline of "British theology," though he appears ignorant of the cause of it. The Rev. Mr. Ward (*Ideal of a Christian Church*, p. 405) remarks, that "we cannot wonder, however keenly we may mourn, at the decline and fall of dogmatic theology." See also *Lord Jeffrey's Essays*, vol. iv. p. 337: "Warburton, we think, was the last of our great divines. . . . The days of the Cudworths and Barrows, the Hookers and Taylors, are long gone by." Dr. Parr was the only English theologian since Warburton who possessed sufficient learning to retrieve this position; but he always refused to do so, being, unconsciously to himself, held back by the spirit of his age. Thus, we find him writing to Archbishop Magee, in 1823: "As to myself, I long ago determined not to take any active part in polemical theology." *Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 11. [Since Parker and Buckle wrote, the movement has been in the same direction. The most distinguished prelates since their day have been Bishops Colenso, Stubbs, Lightfoot, and Creighton, and Archbishops Thomson and Temple. The first was famous as a mathematician and as a rationalistic critic of the Pentateuch; the next three were eminent as scholars and historians, not as theologians; the fifth as a metaphysician; and the sixth is known to readers chiefly as the author of a paper in the *Essays and Reviews*.—ED.]

In the same way, since the early part of the eighteenth century, hardly any one has carefully read the Fathers, except for mere historical and secular purposes. The first step was taken about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the custom of quoting them in sermons began to be abandoned. *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 329, 330; *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 184. After this they rapidly fell into contempt; and the Rev. Mr. Dowling (*Study of Ecclesiast. History*, p. 195) asserts that "Waterland, who died in 1740, was the last of our great patristical scholars." To this I may add that nine years subsequent to the death of Waterland, the obvious decay of professional learning struck Warburton, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, so much, that he wrote to Jortin, somewhat roughly, "anything makes a divine among our parsons." See his *Letter*, written in 1749, in *Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 173; and for other evidence of the neglect by the clergy of their ancient studies, see *Jones's Memoirs of Horne, Bishop of Norwich*, pp. 68, 184; and the complaint of Dr. Knowler, in 1766, in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. p. 130. Since then, attempts have been made at Oxford to remedy this tendency; but such attempts, being opposed by the general march of affairs, have been, and must be, futile. Indeed, so manifest is the inferiority of these recent efforts, that one of the most active cultivators in that field frankly admits that in point of knowledge his own party has effected nothing; and he even asserts, with great bitterness, that "it is melancholy to say it, but the chief, perhaps the only, English writer who has any claim to be considered an ecclesiastical historian, is the infidel Gibbon." *Newman on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 5.

immense majority of the clergy—some from ambitious feelings, but the greater part, I believe, from conscientious motives—are striving to check the progress of that scepticism which is now gathering in upon us from every quarter.[39] It is time that these well-intentioned though mistaken men should see the delusion under which they labour. That by which they are so much alarmed, is the intermediate step which leads from superstition to toleration. The higher order of minds have passed through this stage, and are approaching what is probably the ultimate form of the religious history of the human race. But the people at large, and even some of those who are commonly called educated men, are only now entering that earlier epoch in which scepticism [40] is the leading feature of the mind. So far, therefore, from our apprehensions being excited by this rapidly-increasing spirit, we ought rather to do everything in our power to encourage that which, though painful to some, is salutary to all; because by it alone can religious bigotry be effectually destroyed. Nor ought we to be surprised that, before this can be done, a certain degree of suffering must first intervene.[41] If one age believes too much, it is but a natural reaction that another

[39] As some writers, moved by their wishes rather than by their knowledge, seek to deny this, it may be well to observe that the increase of scepticism since the latter part of the eighteenth century is attested by an immense mass of evidence, as will appear to whoever will compare the following authorities: *Whately's Dangers to Christian Faith*, p. 87; *Kay's Social Condition of the People*, vol. ii. p. 506; *Tocqueville, de la Démocratie*, vol. iii. p. 72; *J. H. Newman on Development*, pp. 28, 29; *F. W. Newman's Natural History of the Soul*, p. 197; *Parr's Works*, vol. ii. p. 5, vol. iii. pp. 688, 689; *Felkin's Moral Statistics*, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. i. p. 541; *Watson's Observations on the Life of Wesley*, pp. 155, 194; *Matter, Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. ii. p. 485; *Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, pp. 266, 267, 404; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 129, 142, vol. iii. p. 509; *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 127, 128, 446, vol. ii. p. 751; *Cappe's Memoirs*, p. 367; *Nichols's Lit. Anec. of Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. p. 671, vol. viii. p. 473; *Nichols's Illust. of Lit. Hist.* vol. v. p. 640; *Combe's Notes on the United States*, vol. ii. pp. 171, 172 183.

[40] It has been suggested to me by an able friend, that there is a class of persons who will misunderstand this expression; and that there is another class who, without misunderstanding it, will intentionally misrepresent its meaning. Hence, it may be well to state distinctly what I wish to convey by the word "scepticism." By scepticism I merely mean hardness of belief; so that an increased scepticism is an increased perception of the difficulty of proving assertions; or, in other words, it is an increased application, and an increased diffusion, of the rules of reasoning, and of the laws of evidence. This feeling of hesitation and of suspended judgment has, in every department of thought, been the invariable preliminary to all the intellectual revolutions through which the human mind has passed; and without it there could be no progress, no change, no civilization. In physics, it is the necessary precursor of science; in politics, of liberty; in theology, of toleration. These are the three leading forms of scepticism; it is, therefore, clear, that in religion the sceptic steers a middle course between atheism and orthodoxy, rejecting both extremes, because he sees that both are incapable of proof. [Atheism being strictly the same thing as "agnosticism"—a negative attitude towards certain positive propositions, and not a substantive affirmation—the question of affirmative "proof" cannot arise in regard to it. Buckle himself had just taken up (above, p. 200) a position avowedly "incapable of proof." But the intermediate position here vaguely hinted at is necessarily in the same case.—Ed.]

[41] What a learned historian has said of the effect which the method of Socrates produced on a very few Greek minds, is applicable to that state through which a great part of Europe is now passing: "The Socratic dialectics, clearing away from the mind its mist of fancied knowledge, and laying bare the real ignorance, produced an immediate effect, like the touch of the torpedo. The newly-created consciousness of ignorance was alike unexpected, painful, and humiliating,—a season of doubt and discomfort, yet combined with an internal working and yearning after truth, never before experienced. Such intellectual quickening, which could never commence until the mind had been disabused of its original illusion of false knowledge, was considered by Socrates not merely as the index and precursor, but as the indispensable conditions of future progress."

age should believe too little. Such are the imperfections of our nature, that we are compelled, by the very laws of its progress, to pass through those crises of scepticism and of mental distress, which to a vulgar eye are states of national decline and national shame; but which are only as the fire by which the gold must be purged before it can leave its dross in the pot of the refiner. To apply the imagery of the great allegorist, it is necessary that the poor pilgrim, laden with the weight of accumulated superstitions, should struggle through the Slough of Despond and the Valley of Death, before he can reach that glorious city, glittering with gold and with jewels, of which the first sight is sufficient recompense for his toils and his fears.

During the whole of the seventeenth century, this double movement of scepticism and of toleration continued to advance; though its progress was constantly checked by the two successors of Elizabeth, who in everything reversed the enlightened policy of the great queen. These princes exhausted their strength in struggling against the tendencies* of an age they were unable to understand; but happily the spirit which they wished to quench had reached a height that mocked their control. At the same time, the march of the English mind was still further aided by the nature of those disputes which, during half a century, divided the country. In the reign of Elizabeth, the great contest had been between the church and its opponents; between those who were orthodox and those who were heretical. But in the reigns of James and Charles theology was for the first time merged in politics. It was no longer a struggle of creeds and dogmas; but it was a struggle between those who favoured the crown and those who supported the parliament. The minds of men, thus fixed upon matters of real importance, neglected those inferior pursuits that had engrossed the attention of their fathers.[42] When, at length,

Grote's Hist. of Greece, vol. viii. pp. 614, 615, 8vo. 1851. Compare *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 572, 577: "So ist der Skeptizismus ein Ruheplatz für die menschliche Vernunft, da sie sich über ihre dogmatische Wanderung besinnen und den Entwurf von der Gegend machen kann, wo sie sich befindet, um ihren Weg fernerhin mit mehrerer Sicherheit wählen zu können, aber nicht ein Wohnplatz zum beständigen Aufenthalte. . . . So ist das skeptische Verfahren zwar an sich selbst für die Vernunftfragen nicht befriedigend, aber doch vorübend, um ihre Vorsichtigkeit zu erwecken und auf gründliche Mittel zu weisen, die sie in ihren rechtmässigen Besitzen sichern können."

[42] Dr. Arnold, whose keen eye noted this change, says (*Lectures on Modern History*, p. 232), "What strikes us predominantly is, that what in Elizabeth's time was a controversy between divines, was now a great political contest between the crown and the parliament." The ordinary compilers, such as Sir A. Alison (*Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 51), and others, have entirely misrepresented this movement; an error the more singular, because the eminently political character of the struggle was recognized by several contemporaries. Even Cromwell, notwithstanding the difficult game he had to play, distinctly stated in 1655 that the origin of the war was not religious. See *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. iii. p. 103; and corroborative evidence in *Walker's History of Independency*, part i. p. 132. James I. also saw that the Puritans were more dangerous to the state than to the church: "do not so far differ from us in points of religion, as in their confused form of policy and parity; being ever discontented with the present government, and impatient to suffer any superiority; which maketh their sects insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth." *Speech of James I.*, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. i.

[* It is important to remember that the Puritans were no more disposed to toleration than the Laudians. Eliot was zealous to persecute the Arminians and despoil the Catholics. *Gardiner, History of England, 1603–1642*, small ed. v. 191; vii. 42–43. As to the earlier Cartwright, whose "bigotry was that of a medieval inquisitor," compare *Green, Short History of the English People*, ed. 1881, pp. 455–6. During the Civil War the Presbyterian corporation of London petitioned Parliament to suppress "all sects without toleration," and their clergy of course abetted them. "We detest and abhor the much endeavoured Toleration," they declared in 1645. Toleration began with Cromwell in the interests of his own sect, the Independents.—Ed.]

public affairs had reached their crisis, the hard fate of the king, which eventually advanced the interests of the throne, was most injurious to those of the church. There can indeed be no doubt that the circumstances connected with the execution of Charles inflicted a blow upon the whole system of ecclesiastical authority from which, in this country, it has never been able to recover. The violent death of the king excited the sympathies of the people; and by thus strengthening the hands of the royalists, hastened the restoration of the monarchy.[43] But the mere name of that great party which had risen to power was suggestive of the change that, in a religious point of view, was taking place in the national mind. It was indeed no light thing that England should be ruled by men who called themselves Independents; and who, under that title, not only beat back the pretensions of the clergy, but professed an unbounded contempt for all those rites and dogmas which the clergy had, during many centuries, continued to amass.[44] True it is, that the Independents did not always push to their full extent the consequences of their own doctrines.[45] Still, it was

p. 982. See also the observations ascribed to De Foe, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 572: "The king and parliament fell out about matters of civil right; . . . the first difference between the king and the English parliament did not respect religion, but civil property."

[This overlooks the strife with Laud, which deepened the temper of resistance. Compare *Green*, p. 512; *Gardiner, Student's History of England*, pp. 511–519. It is true that "revolutions are not caused by grievances felt only by religious or high-minded people" (*Gardiner, Student's History*, p. 521) and that "to stir men to resistance there is required a grievance which touches their pockets as well;" but the latter was not the "first difference." And, as Dr. Gardiner has summed up (*History, 1603–1642*, x. 101), "For the mass of Englishmen, religion was their only intellectual food." They certainly did not "neglect" religious questions as "inferior pursuits."—ED.]

[43] See *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 716. Sir W. Temple, in his *Memoirs*, observes that the throne of Charles II. was strengthened by "what had passed in the last reign." *Temple's Works*, vol. ii. p. 344. This may be illustrated by the remarks of M. Lamartine on the execution of Louis XVI. *Hist. des Girondins*, vol. v. pp. 86–7 "Sa mort, au contraire, aliénait de la cause française cette partie immense des populations qui ne juge les événements humains que par le cœur. La nature humaine est pathétique; la république l'oublia, elle donna à la royauté quelque chose du martyre, à la liberté quelque chose de la vengeance. Elle prépara ainsi une réaction contre la cause républicaine, et mit du côté de la royauté la sensibilité, l'intérêt, les larmes d'une partie des peuples."

[44] The energy with which the House of Commons, in 1646, repelled the pretensions of "the Assembly of Divines," is one of many proofs of the determination of the predominant party not to allow ecclesiastical encroachments. See the remarkable details in *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 459–463; see also p. 1305. As a natural consequence, the Independents were the first sect which, when possessed of power, advocated toleration. Compare *Orme's Life of Owen*, pp. 63–75, 102–111; *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 542; *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part ii. pp. 50, 157, part iii. p. 22; *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, pp. 610, 640. Some writers ascribe great merit to Jeremy Taylor for his advocacy of toleration (*Heber's Life of Taylor*, p. xxvii.; and *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. p. 417); but the truth is, that when he wrote the famous *Liberty of Prophesying*, his enemies were in power; so that he was pleading for his own interests. When, however, the Church of England again obtained the upper hand, Taylor withdrew the concessions which he had made in the season of adversity. See the indignant remarks of Coleridge (*Lit. Remains*, vol. iii. p. 250), who, though a great admirer of Taylor, expresses himself strongly on this dereliction: see also a recently published *Letter to Percy, Bishop of Dromore*, in *Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. History*, vol. vii. p. 464.

[45] However, Bishop Short (*History of the Church of England*, 8vo, 1847, pp. 452, 458) says, what is undoubtedly true, that the hostility of Cromwell to the church was not theological, but political. The same remark is made by Bishop Kennet. *Note* in *Burton's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 479. See also *Vaughan's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. xcvii.; and on the generally tolerant spirit of this great man, see *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 14; and the evidence in *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. pp. 37–47. But the most distinct recognition of the principle is in a *Letter from Cromwell to Major-General Crawford*, recently

a great matter to have those doctrines recognized by the constituted authorities of the state. Besides this, it is important to remark that the Puritans were more fanatical than superstitious.[46] They were so ignorant of the real principles of government as to direct penal laws against private vices, and to suppose that immorality could be stemmed by legislation.[47] But notwithstanding this serious error, they always resisted the aggressions even of their own clergy; and the destruction of the old episcopal hierarchy, though perhaps too hastily effected, must have produced many beneficial results. When the great party by whom these things were accomplished was at length overthrown, the progress of events still continued to tend in the same direction. After the Restoration, the church, though reinstated in her ancient pomp, had evidently lost her ancient power.[48] At the same time, the new king, from levity, rather than from reason, despised the disputes of theologians, and treated questions of religion with what he considered a philosophic indifference.[49] The courtiers followed his example, and thought they could not err in imitating him, whom they regarded as the Lord's anointed. The results were such as must be familiar even to the most superficial readers of English literature. That grave and measured scepticism by which the Independents had been characterized, lost all its decorum when it was transplanted into the ungenial atmosphere of a court. The men by whom the king was surrounded were unequal to the difficulties of suspense; and they attempted to fortify their doubts by the blasphemous expression of a wild and desperate infidelity. With scarcely an exception, all those writers who were most favoured by Charles, exhausted the devices of their ribald spirit in mocking a religion of the nature of which they were profoundly ignorant. These impious buffooneries would, by themselves, have left no permanent impression on the age; but they

printed in *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 201, 202, 8vo, 1846. In it Cromwell writes, "Sir, the state, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it—that satisfies." See additional proof in *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. pp. 245, 249.

[46] No one can understand the real history of the Puritans, who does not take this into consideration. In the present Introduction, it is impossible to discuss so large a subject; and I must reserve it for the future part of this work, in which the history of England will be specially treated. In the meantime, I may mention that the distinction between fanaticism and superstition is clearly indicated, but not analyzed, by Archbishop Whately, in his *Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature*, p. 49. This should be compared with *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. pp. 81–89, Edinb. 1826, on the difference between enthusiasm and superstition; a difference which is noticed, but, as it appears to me, misunderstood, by Maclaine, in his *Additions to Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 38.

[47] Compare *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, p. 143, with *Burton's Diary of the Parliaments of Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. xcviii. 145, 392, vol. ii. pp. 35, 229. In 1650, a second conviction of fornication was made felony, without benefit of clergy: but after the Restoration, Charles II. and his friends found this law rather inconvenient; so it was repealed. See *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 65.

[48] See *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, edit. 1854, vol. i. p. 51. At p. 129, the same writer says, with sorrow, "The church recovered much of her temporal possessions, but not her spiritual rule." The power of the bishops was abridged "by the destruction of the court of high-commission." *Short's Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 595. See also, on the diminished influence of the church-of-England clergy after the Restoration, *Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 278, 279; and *Watson's Observations on the Life of Wesley* pp. 129–131.

[49] Buckingham and Halifax, the two men who were perhaps best acquainted with Charles II., both declared that he was a deist. Compare *Lingard's Hist. of Engl.* vol. viii. p. 127, with *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. p. 55. His subsequent conversion to Catholicism is exactly analogous to the increased devotion of Louis XIV. during the latter years of his life. In both cases, superstition was the natural refuge of a worn-out and discontented libertine, who had exhausted all the resources of the lowest and most grovelling pleasures.

deserve attention, because they were the corrupt and exaggerated representatives of a more general tendency. They were the unwholesome offspring of that spirit of disbelief, and of that daring revolt against authority, which characterized the most eminent Englishmen during the seventeenth century. It was this which caused Locke to be an innovator in his philosophy, and an Unitarian in his creed. It was this which made Newton a Socinian; which forced Milton to be the great enemy of the church; and which not only turned the poet into a rebel, but tainted with Arianism the *Paradise Lost*. In a word, it was the same contempt for tradition, and the same resolution to spurn the yoke, which, being first carried into philosophy by Bacon, was afterwards carried into politics by Cromwell; and which, during that very generation, was enforced in theology by Chillingworth, Owen, and Hales; in metaphysics by Hobbes and Glanvil; and in the theory of government by Harrington, Sydney, and Locke.

The progress which the English intellect was now making towards shaking off ancient superstitions,[50] was still further aided by the extraordinary zeal displayed in the cultivation of the physical sciences. This, like all great social movements, is clearly traceable to the events by which it was preceded. It was partly cause, and partly effect, of the increasing incredulity of the age. The scepticism of the educated classes made them dissatisfied with those long-established opinions which only rested on unsupported authority; and this gave

[50] One of the most curious instances of this may be seen in the destruction of the old notions respecting witchcraft. This important revolution in our opinions was effected, so far as the educated classes are concerned, between the Restoration and the Revolution: that is to say, in 1660 the majority of educated men still believed in witchcraft; while in 1688 the majority disbelieved it. In 1665, the old orthodox view was stated by Chief-Baron Hale, who, on a trial of two women for witchcraft, said to the jury: "That there are such creatures as witches, I make no doubt at all; for, first, the Scriptures have affirmed so much; secondly, the wisdom of all nations hath provided laws against such persons, which is an argument of their confidence of such a crime." *Campbell's Lives of the Chief-Justices*, vol. i. pp. 565, 566. This reasoning was irresistible, and the witches were hung; but the change in public opinion began to affect even the judges, and after this melancholy exhibition of the Chief-Baron such scenes became gradually rarer: though Lord Campbell is mistaken in supposing (p. 563) that this was "the last capital conviction in England for the crime of bewitching." So far from this, three persons were executed at Exeter for witchcraft in 1682. See *Hutchinson's Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, 1720, pp. 56, 57. Hutchinson says: "I suppose these are the last three that have been hanged in England." If, however, one may rely upon a statement made by Dr. Parr, two witches were hung at Northampton in 1705; and in "1712, five other witches suffered the same fate at the same place." *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. p. 182, 8vo, 1828. This is the more shameful because, as I shall hereafter prove from the literature of that time, a disbelief in the existence of witches had become almost universal among educated men; though the old superstition was still defended on the judgment-seat and in the pulpit. As to the opinions of the clergy, compare *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. iii. pp. 345, 348; *Vernon Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 302, 303; *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 220, 221; *Wesley's Journals*, pp. 602, 713. Wesley, who had more influence than all the bishops put together, says: "It is true, likewise, that the English in general, and, indeed, most of the men of learning in Europe, have given up all accounts of witches and apparitions as mere old wives' fables. I am sorry for it. . . . The giving up witchcraft is, in effect, giving up the Bible. . . . But I cannot give up, to all the Deists in Great Britain, the existence of witchcraft, till I give up the credit of all history, sacred and profane."

However all was in vain. Every year diminished the old belief; and in 1736, a generation before Wesley had recorded these opinions, the laws against witchcraft were repealed, and another vestige of superstition effaced from the English statute-book. See *Barrington on the Statutes*, p. 407; *Note* in *Burton's Diary*, vol. i. p. 26; *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. i. p. 307.

To this it may be interesting to add that in Spain a witch was burned so late as 1781. *Ticknor's Hist. of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 238.

rise to a desire to ascertain how far such notions might be verified or refuted by the real condition of things. A curious instance of the rapid progress of this spirit may be found in the works of an author who was one of the most eminent among the mere literary men of his time. While the Civil War was barely decided, and three years before the execution of the king, Sir Thomas Browne published his celebrated work, called *Inquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*.[51] This able and learned production has the merit of anticipating some of those results which more modern inquirers have obtained ;[52] but it is chiefly remarkable as being the first systematic and deliberate onslaught ever made in England upon those superstitious fancies which were then prevalent respecting the external world. And what is still more interesting is that the circumstances under which it appeared made it evident that while the learning and genius of the author belong to himself, the scepticism which he displayed respecting popular belief was forced on him by the pressure of the age.

In or about 1633, when the throne was still occupied by a superstitious prince ; when the Church of England was at the height of her apparent power ; and when men were incessantly persecuted for their religious opinions, this same Sir Thomas Browne wrote his *Religio Medici*,[53] in which we find all the qualities of his later work, except the scepticism. Indeed, in the *Religio Medici*, there is shown a credulity that must have secured the sympathy of those classes which were then dominant. Of all the prejudices which at that time were deemed an essential part of the popular creed, there was not one which Browne ventured to deny. He announces his belief in the philosopher's stone ;[54] in spirits, and tutelary angels :[55] and in palmistry.[56] He not only peremptorily affirms the reality of witches, but he says that those who deny their existence are not merely infidels, but atheists.[57] He carefully tells us that he reckons his nativity, not from his birth, but from his baptism ; for before he was baptized he could not be said to exist.[58] To these touches of wisdom he moreover adds, that the more improbable any proposition is, the greater his willingness to assent to it ; but that when a thing is actually impossible, he is on that very account prepared to believe it.[59]

Such were the opinions put forth by Sir Thomas Browne in the first of the two great works he presented to the world. But in his *Inquiries into Vulgar Errors*, there is displayed a spirit so entirely different, that if it were not for the most decisive evidence we could hardly believe it to be written by the same man. The truth, however, is that during the twelve years which elapsed between the two works,

[51] The first edition was published in 1646. *Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, vol. ii. p. 163.

[52] See the notes in Mr. Wilkin's edition of *Browne's Works*, Lond. 1836, vol. ii. pp. 284, 360, 361.

[53] The precise date is unknown ; but Mr. Wilkin supposes that it was written "between the years 1633 and 1635." Preface to *Religio Medici*, in *Browne's Works*, vol. ii. p. iv.

[54] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 58.

[55] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 47.

[56] Or, as he calls it, "chiromancy." Ibid. vol. ii. p. 89.

[57] "For my part, I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches. They that doubt of these, do not only deny them, but spirits ; and are obliquely, and upon consequence, a sort, not of infidels, but atheists." Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 43, 44.

[58] "From this I do compute or calculate my nativity." Ibid. vol. ii. p. 64.

[59] *Religio Medici*, sec. ix. in *Browne's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14 ; unfortunately too long to extract. This is the "credo quia impossibile est," originally one of Tertullian's absurdities, and once quoted in the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyle as "the ancient religious maxim." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 802. Compare the sarcastic remark on this maxim in the *Fssay concerning Human Understanding*, book iv. ch. xviii. *Locke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 271. It was the spirit embodied in this sentence which supplied Celsus with some formidable arguments against the Fathers. *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. pp. 227, 228.

there was completed that vast social and intellectual revolution, of which the overthrow of the church and the execution of the king were but minor incidents. We know from the literature, from the private correspondence, and from the public acts of that time, how impossible it was, even for the strongest minds, to escape the effects of the general intoxication. No wonder, then, that Browne, who certainly was inferior to several of his contemporaries, should have been affected by a movement which they were unable to resist. It would have been strange indeed if he alone had remained uninfluenced by that sceptical spirit, which, because it had been arbitrarily repressed, had now broken all bounds, and in the reaction soon swept away those institutions which vainly attempted to stop its course.

It is in this point of view that a comparison of the two works becomes highly interesting, and, indeed, very important. In this, his later production, we hear no more about believing things because they are impossible; but we are told of "the two great pillars of truth, experience and solid reason."[60] We are also reminded that one main cause of error is "adherence unto authority;"[61] that another is "neglect of inquiry;"[62] and, strange to say, that a third is "credulity."[63] All this was not very consistent with the old theological spirit; and we need not, therefore, be surprised that Browne not only exposes some of the innumerable blunders of the Fathers,[64] but, after speaking of errors in general, curtly adds: "Many others there are, which we resign unto divinity, and perhaps deserve not controversy."[65]

The difference between these two works is no bad measure of the rapidity of that vast movement which, in the middle of the seventeenth century, was seen in every branch of practical and speculative life. After the death of Bacon, one of the most distinguished Englishmen was certainly Boyle, who, if compared with his contemporaries, may be said to rank immediately below Newton, though, of course, very inferior to him as an original thinker.[66] With the additions he made to our knowledge we are not immediately concerned; but it may be mentioned that he was the first who instituted exact experiments into the relation between colour and heat,[67] and by this means not only ascertained some very important facts, but laid a foundation for that union between optics and thermotics which, though not yet completed, now merely waits for some great philosopher to strike out a generalization large enough to cover both, and thus fuse the two sciences into a single study. It is also to Boyle, more than to any other Englishman, that we owe the science of hydrostatics, in the state in which we now possess it.[68] He is the original discoverer of that beautiful

[60] *Inquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*, book iii. chap. xxviii. in *Browne's Works*, vol. ii. p. 534.

[61] Ibid. book i. chap. vii. vol. ii. p. 225.

[62] "A supinity, or neglect of inquiry." Ibid. book i. chap. v. vol. ii. p. 211.

[63] "A third cause of common errors is the credulity of men." Book i. chap. v. vol. ii. p. 208.

[64] See two amusing instances in vol. ii. pp. 267, 438.

[65] *Vulgar and Common Errors*, book vii. chap. xi., in *Browne's Works*, vol. iii. p. 326.

[66] Monk (*Life of Bentley*, vol. i. p. 37) says that Boyle's discoveries "have placed his name in a rank second only to that of Newton;" and this, I believe, is true, notwithstanding the immense superiority of Newton.

[67] Compare *Powell on Radiant Heat* (*Brit. Assoc.* vol. i.), p. 287, with *Lloyd's Report on Physical Optics*, 1834, p. 338. For the remarks on colours, see *Boyle's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 1–40; and for the account of his experiments, pp. 41–80; and a slight notice in *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. i. pp. 155, 156, 236. It is, I think, not generally known, that Power is said to be indebted to Boyle for originating some of his experiments on colours. See a letter from Hooke, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. v. p. 533.

[68] Dr. Whewell (*Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 266) well observes, that Boyle and Pascal are to hydrostatics what Galileo is to mechanics, and Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton to astronomy. See also on Boyle, as the founder of hydrostatics, *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, pp. 397, 398; and his *Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 204.

law, so fertile in valuable results, according to which the elasticity of air varies as its density.[69] And, in the opinion of one of the most eminent modern naturalists, it was Boyle who opened up those chemical inquiries which went on accumulating until, a century later, they supplied the means by which Lavoisier and his contemporaries fixed the real basis of chemistry, and enabled it for the first time to take its proper stand among those sciences that deal with the external world.[70]

The application of these discoveries to the happiness of Man, and particularly to what may be called the material interests of civilization, will be traced in another part of this work; but what I now wish to observe is the way in which such investigations harmonized with the movement I am attempting to describe. In the whole of his physical inquiries, Boyle constantly insists upon two fundamental principles: namely, the importance of individual experiments, and the comparative unimportance of the facts which, on these subjects, antiquity has handed down.[71] These are the two great keys to his method; they are the views which he inherited from Bacon, and they are also the views which have been held by every man who, during the last two centuries, has added anything of moment to the stock of human knowledge. First to doubt,[72] then to inquire,

[69] This was discovered by Boyle about 1650, and confirmed by Mariotte in 1676. See *Whewell's Hist. of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. ii. pp. 557, 588; *Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 215; *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 41, 200; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 363. This law has been empirically verified by the French Institute, and found to hold good for a pressure even of twenty-seven atmospheres. See *Challis on the Mathematical Theory of Fluids*, in *Sixth Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 226; and *Herschel's Nat. Philos.* p. 231. Although Boyle preceded Mariotte by a quarter of a century, the discovery is rather unfairly called the law of Boyle and Mariotte; while foreign writers, refining on this, frequently omit the name of Boyle altogether, and term it the law of Mariotte! See, for instance, *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 126; *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. viii. p. 122; *Kaemtz's Meteorology*, p. 236; *Comte, Philos. Pos.* vol. i. pp. 583, 645, vol. ii. pp. 484, 615; *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, vol. i. p. 339, vol. ii. pp. 58, 183.

[70] "L'un des créateurs de la physique expérimentale, l'illustre Robert Boyle, avait aussi reconnu, dès le milieu du dix-septième siècle, une grande partie des faits qui servent aujourd'hui de base à cette chimie nouvelle." *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 30. The "aussi" refers to Rey. See also *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences Naturelles*, part ii. pp. 322, 346–349. A still more recent writer says that Boyle "stood, in fact, on the very brink of the pneumatic chemistry of Priestley: he had in his hand the key to the great discovery of Lavoisier." *Johnston on Dimorphous Bodies*, in *Reports of Brit. Assoc.* vol. vi. p. 163. See further respecting Boyle, *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, Paris, 1853, vol. i. pp. 576, 577, 579, vol. ii. p. 24; and *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. p. 177.

[71] This disregard of ancient authority appears so constantly in his works, that it is difficult to choose among innumerable passages which might be quoted. I will select one which strikes me as well expressed, and is certainly very characteristic. In his *Free Inquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of Nature*, he says (*Boyle's Works*, vol. iv. p. 359), "For I am wont to judge of opinions as of coins: I consider much less, in any one that I am to receive, whose inscription it bears, than what metal it is made of. It is indifferent enough to me whether it was stamped many years or ages since, or came but yesterday from the mint." In other places he speaks of the "schoolmen" and "gownmen" with a contempt not much inferior to that expressed by Locke himself.

[72] In his *Considerations touching Experimental Essays*, he says (*Boyle's Works*, vol. i. p. 197), "Perhaps you will wonder, Pyrophilus, that in almost every one of the following essays I should speak so doubtingly, and use so often *perhaps, it seems, it is not improbable*, and such other expressions as argue a diffidence of the truth of the opinions I incline to," &c. Indeed, this spirit is seen at every turn. Thus, his *Essay on Crystals*, which, considering the then state of knowledge, is a remarkable production, is entitled "Doubts and Experiments touching the curious Figures of Salts." *Works*, vol. ii. p. 488. It is therefore with good reason that M. Humboldt terms him "the cautious and doubting Robert Boyle." *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 730.

and then to discover, has been the process universally followed by our great teachers. So strongly did Boyle feel this, that though he was an eminently religious man,[73] he gave to the most popular of his scientific works the title of *The Sceptical Chemist*; meaning to intimate that until men were sceptical concerning the chemistry of their own time, it would be impossible that they should advance far in the career which lay before them. Nor can we fail to observe that this remarkable work, in which such havoc was made with old notions, was published in 1661,[74] the year after the accession of Charles II., in whose reign the spread of incredulity was indeed rapid, since it was seen not only among the intellectual classes, but even among the nobles and personal friends of the king. It is true that in that rank of society it assumed an offensive and degenerate form. But the movement must have been one of no common energy, which, in so early a stage, could thus penetrate the recesses of the palace, and excite the minds of the courtiers; a lazy and feeble race, who from the frivolity of their habits are under ordinary circumstances predisposed to superstition, and prepared to believe whatever the wisdom of their fathers has bequeathed to them.

In everything this tendency was now seen. Everything marked a growing determination to subordinate old notions to new inquiries. At the very moment when Boyle was prosecuting his labours, Charles II. incorporated the Royal Society, which was formed with the avowed object of increasing knowledge by direct experiment.[75] And it is well worthy of remark that the charter now first granted to this celebrated institution declares that its object is the extension of natural knowledge, as opposed to that which is supernatural.[76]

[73] On the sincere Christianity of Boyle, compare *Burnet's Lives and Characters*, edit. Jebb, 1833, pp. 351–360; *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33; *Whewell's Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 273. He made several attempts to reconcile the scientific method with the defence of established religious opinions. See one of the best instances of this, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. v. pp. 38, 39.

[74] The *Sceptical Chemist* is in *Boyle's Works*, vol. i. pp. 290–371. It went through two editions in the author's lifetime, an unusual success for a book of that kind. *Boyle's Works*, vol. i. p. 375, vol. iv. p. 89, vol. v. p. 345. I find, from a letter written in 1696 (*Fairfax Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 344), that Boyle's works were then becoming scarce, and that there was an intention of reprinting the whole of them. In regard to the *Sceptical Chemist*, it was so popular that it attracted the attention of Monconys, a French traveller, who visited London in 1663, and from whom we learn that it was to be bought for four shillings, "pour quatre chelins." *Voyages de Monconys*, vol. iii. p. 67, edit. 1695; a book containing some very curious facts respecting London in the reign of Charles II.; but, so far as I am aware, not quoted by any English historian. In *Sprengel's Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. v. pp. 78–9, there is a summary of the views advocated in the *Sceptical Chemist*, respecting which Sprengel says, "Ce fut cependant aussi en Angleterre que s'élevèrent les premiers doutes sur l'exactitude des explications chimiques."

[75] "From the nature and constitution of the Royal Society, the objects of their attention were necessarily unlimited. The physical sciences, however, or those which are promoted by experiment, were their declared objects; and experiment was the method which they professed to follow in accomplishing their purpose." *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 6. When the society was first instituted, experiments were so unusual that there was a difficulty of finding the necessary workmen in London. See a curious passage in *Weld's Hist. of the Royal Society*, 1848, vol. ii. p. 88.

[76] Dr Paris (*Life of Sir H. Davy*, 1831, vol. ii. p. 178) says, "The charter of the Royal Society states, that it was established for the improvement of *natural* science. This epithet *natural* was originally intended to imply a meaning, of which very few persons, I believe, are aware. At the period of the establishment of the society, the arts of witchcraft and divination were very extensively encouraged; and the word *natural* was therefore introduced in contradistinction to *supernatural*." The charters granted by Charles II. are printed in *Weld's History of the Royal Society*, vol. ii. pp. 481–521. Evelyn (*Diary*, 13 Aug. 1662, vol. ii. p. 195) mentions that the object of the Royal Society was "natural knowledge." See also *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. p. 358;

It is easy to imagine with what terror and disgust these things were viewed by those inordinate admirers of antiquity who, solely occupied in venerating past ages, are unable either to respect the present or hope for the future. These great obstructors of mankind played, in the seventeenth century, the same part as they play in our own day, rejecting every novelty, and therefore opposing every improvement. The angry contest which arose between the two parties, and the hostility directed against the Royal Society, as the first institution in which the idea of progress was distinctly embodied, are among the most instructive parts of our history, and on another occasion I shall relate them at considerable length. At present it is enough to say that the reactionary party, though led by an overwhelming majority of the clergy, was entirely defeated ; as indeed was to be expected, seeing that their opponents had on their side nearly all the intellect of the country, and were moreover reinforced by such aid as the court could bestow. The progress was, in truth, so rapid as to carry away with it some of the ablest members even of the ecclesiastical profession ; their love of knowledge proving too strong for the old traditions in which they had been bred. But these were exceptional cases, and, speaking generally, there is no doubt that in the reign of Charles II. the antagonism between physical science and the theological spirit was such as to induce nearly the whole of the clergy to array themselves against the science, and seek to bring it into discredit. Nor ought we to be surprised that they should have adopted this course. That inquisitive and experimental spirit which they wished to check was not only offensive to their prejudices, but it was also detrimental to their power. For in the first place, the mere habit of cultivating physical science taught men to require a severity of proof which it was soon found that the clergy were, in their own department, unable to supply. And in the second place, the additions made to physical knowledge opened new fields of thought, and thus tended still further to divert attention from ecclesiastical topics. Both these effects would of course be limited to the comparatively few persons who were interested in scientific inquiries : it is, however, to be observed, that the ultimate results of such inquiries must have been extended over a far wider surface. This may be called their secondary influence ; and the way in which it operated is well worth our attention, because an acquaintance with it will go far to explain the reason of that marked opposition which has always existed between superstition and knowledge.

It is evident that a nation perfectly ignorant of physical laws will refer to supernatural causes all the phenomena by which it is surrounded.[77] But so soon as natural science begins to do its work, there are introduced the elements of a great change. Each successive discovery, by ascertaining the law that governs certain events, deprives them of that apparent mystery in which they

Pulteney's Hist. of Botany, vol. ii. pp. 97, 98 ; and on the distinction thus established in the popular mind between natural and supernatural, compare *Boyle's Works*, vol. ii. p. 455, vol. iv. pp. 288, 359.

[77] The speculative view of this tendency has been recently illustrated in the most comprehensive manner by M. Auguste Comte, in his *Philosophie Positive* ; and his conclusions in regard to the earliest stage of the human mind are confirmed by everything we know of barbarous nations ; and they are also confirmed, as he has decisively proved, by the history of physical science. In addition to the facts he has adduced, I may mention that the history of geology supplies evidence analogous to that which he has collected from other departments.

A popular notion of the working of this belief in supernatural causation may be seen in a circumstance related by Combe. He says that in the middle of the eighteenth century the country west of Edinburgh was so unhealthy " that every spring the farmers and their servants were seized with fever and ague." As long as the cause of this was unknown, " these visitations were believed to be sent by Providence ; " but after a time the land was drained, the ague disappeared, and the inhabitants perceived that what they had believed to be supernatural was perfectly natural, and that the cause was the state of the land, not the intervention of the Deity. *Combe's Constitution of Man*, Edinb. 1847, p. 156.

were formerly involved.[78] The love of the marvellous becomes proportionably diminished ; and when any science has made such progress as to enable those who are acquainted with it to foretell the events with which it deals, it is clear that the whole of those events are at once withdrawn from the jurisdiction of supernatural, and brought under the authority of natural powers.[79] The business of physical philosophy is, to explain external phenomena with a view to their prediction ; and every successful prediction which is recognized by the people, causes a disruption of one of those links which, as it were, bind the imagination to the occult and invisible world. Hence it is that, supposing other things equal, the superstition of a nation must always bear an exact proportion to the extent of its physical knowledge. This may be in some degree verified by the ordinary experience of mankind. For if we compare the different classes of society, we shall find that they are superstitious in proportion as the phenomena with which they are brought in contact have or have not been explained by natural laws. The credulity of sailors is notorious, and every literature contains evidence of the multiplicity of their superstitions, and of the tenacity with which they cling to them.[80] This is perfectly explicable by the principle I have laid down. Meteorology has not yet been raised to a science ; and the laws which regulate winds and storms being in consequence still unknown, it naturally follows that the class of men most exposed to their dangers should be precisely the class which

[78] I say apparent mystery, because it does not at all lessen the real mystery. But this does not affect the accuracy of my remark, inasmuch as the people at large never enter into such subtleties as the difference between Law and Cause ; a difference, indeed, which is so neglected, that it is often lost sight of even in scientific books. All that the people know is, that events which they once believed to be directly controlled by the Deity, and modified by Him, are not only foretold by the human mind, but are altered by human interference. The attempts which Paley and others have made to solve this mystery by rising from the laws to the cause, are evidently futile, because to the eye of reason the solution is as incomprehensible as the problem ; and the arguments of the natural theologians, in so far as they are arguments, must depend on reason. As Mr. Newman truly says, "A God uncaused and existing from eternity, is to the full as incomprehensible as a world uncaused and existing from eternity. We must not reject the latter theory as incomprehensible ; for so is every other possible theory." *Newman's Natural History of the Soul*, 1849, p. 36. The truth of this conclusion is unintentionally confirmed by the defence of the old method, which is set up by Dr. Whewell in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 262–5 ; because the remarks made by that able writer refer to men who, from their vast powers, were most likely to rise to that transcendental view of religion which is slowly but steadily gaining ground among us. Kant, probably the deepest thinker of the eighteenth century, clearly saw that no arguments drawn from the external world could prove the existence of a First Cause. See, among other passages, two particularly remarkable in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 478, 481, on "der physikotheologische Beweis."

[79] This is tersely expressed by M. Lamennais : "Pourquoi les corps gravitent-ils les uns vers les autres ? Parceque Dieu l'a voulu, disaient les anciens. Parceque les corps s'attirent, dit la science." *Maury, Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 33. See to the same effect *Mackay's Religious Development*, 1850, vol. i. pp. 5, 30, 31, and elsewhere. See also a partial statement of the antithesis in *Copleston's Inquiry into Necessity and Predestination*, p. 49 ; an ingenious but overrated book.

[80] I much regret that I did not collect proof of this at an earlier period of my reading. But having omitted taking the requisite notes, I can only refer, on the superstition of sailors, to *Heber's Journey through India*, vol. i. p. 423 ; *Richardson's Travels in the Sahara*, vol. i. p. 11 ; *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, vol. ii. p. 347 ; *Davis's Chinese*, vol. iii. pp. 16, 17 ; *Travels of Ibn Batuta in the Fourteenth Century*, p. 43 ; *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. i. p. 9 ; *Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, vol. i. p. 130 ; *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 566; *Burnes's Travels into Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 53 ; *Leigh Hunt's Autobiography*, 1850, vol. ii. p. 255 ; *Cumberland's Memoirs*, 1807, vol. i. pp. 422–425 ; *Walsh's Brazil*, vol. i. pp. 96, 97 ; *Richardson's Arctic Expedition*, vol. i. p. 93 ; *Holcroft's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 207, vol. iii. p. 197.

is most superstitious.[81] On the other hand, soldiers live upon an element much more obedient to man, and they are less liable than sailors to those risks which defy the calculations of science. Soldiers, therefore, have fewer inducements to appeal to supernatural interference; and it is universally observed, that as a body they are less superstitious than sailors. If, again, we compare agriculturists with manufacturers, we shall see the operation of the same principle. To the cultivators of land, one of the most important circumstances is the weather, which, if it turn out unfavourable, may at once defeat all their calculations. But science not having yet succeeded in discovering the laws of rain, men are at present unable to foretell it for any considerable period; the inhabitant of the country is therefore driven to believe that it is the result of supernatural agency, and we still see the extraordinary spectacle of prayers offered up in our churches for dry weather or for wet weather; a superstition which to future ages will appear as childish as the feelings of pious awe with which our fathers regarded the presence of a comet, or the approach of an eclipse. We are now acquainted with the laws which determine the movements of comets and eclipses; and as we are able to predict their appearance, we have ceased to pray that we may be preserved from them.[82] But because our researches into the phenomena of rain happen to have been less successful,[83] we resort to the impious contrivance

[81] Andokides, when accused before the dikastery at Athens, said, "No, dikasts; the dangers of accusation and trial are human, but the dangers encountered at sea are divine." *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. xi. p. 252. Thus, too, it has been observed that the dangers of the whale-fishery stimulated the superstition of the Anglo-Saxons. See *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 390, 391. Erman, who mentions the dangerous navigation of the Lake of Baikal, says, "There is a saying at Irkutsk, that it is only upon the Baikal, in the autumn, that a man learns to pray from his heart." *Erman's Travels in Siberia*, vol. ii. p. 186.

[82] In Europe, in the tenth century, an entire army fled before one of those appearances which would now scarcely terrify a child: "Toute l'armée d'Othon se dispersa subitement à l'apparition d'une éclipse de soleil, qui la remplit de terreur, et qui fut regardée comme l'annonce du malheur qu'on attendait depuis long-temps." *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 368. The terror inspired by eclipses was not finally destroyed before the eighteenth century; and in the latter half of the seventeenth century they still caused great fear both in France and in England. See *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 52, vol. iii. p. 372; *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 366; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 36. Compare *Voyages de Monconys*, vol. v. p. 104, with *Hare's Guesses at Truth*, 2nd. series, pp. 194, 195. There probably never has been an ignorant nation whose superstition has not been excited by eclipses. For evidence of the universality of this feeling, see *Symes's Embassy to Ava*, vol. ii. p. 296; *Raffles' Hist. of Java*, vol. i. p. 530; *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 354, vol. ii. p. 371; *Marsden's Hist. of Sumatra*, p. 159; *Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie*, p. 105; *Moffat's Southern Africa*, p. 337; *Mungo Park's Travels*, vol. i. p. 414; *Moorcroft's Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, vol. ii. p. 4; *Crawfurd's Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. i. p. 305; *Ellis's Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. p. 331; *Mackay's Religious Development*, vol. i. p. 425; *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iii. p. 176, vol. vi. p. 16; *Wilson's Note* in the *Vishnu Purana*, p. 140; *Wilson's Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. i. part ii. p. 90; *Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. i. p. 444; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xii. p. 3484; *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 101; *Prescott's Hist. of Peru*, vol. i. p. 123; *Kohl's Russia*, p. 374; *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 440, vol. vi. p. 216; *Murray's Life of Bruce*, p. 103; *Turner's Embassy to Tibet*, p. 289; *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. vii. p. 432, vol. xii. pp. 205, 557; *Journal Asiatique*, I. série, vol. iii. 202, Paris, 1823; *Clot-Bey, de la Peste*, Paris, 1840, p. 224.

In regard to the feelings inspired by comets, and the influence of Bayle in removing those superstitions late in the seventeenth century, compare *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philosoph.* vol. xi. p. 252; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. p. 415; *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. iv. p. 336; *Autobiography of Sir S. D'Ewes*, edit. Halliwell, vol. i. pp. 122, 123, 136.

[83] On the peculiar complications which have retarded meteorology, and thus prevented us from accurately predicting the weather, compare *Forbes on Meteorology*, in *Second Report of British Association*, pp. 249–251; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. pp. 69,

of calling in the aid of the Deity to supply those deficiences in science which are the result of our own sloth ; and we are not ashamed, in our public churches, to prostitute the rites of religion by using them as a cloak to conceal an ignorance we ought frankly to confess.[84] The agriculturist is thus taught to ascribe to supernatural agency the most important phenomena with which he is concerned; [85] and there can be no doubt that this is one of the causes of those superstitious feelings by which the inhabitants of the country are unfavourably contrasted with those of the town.[86] But the manufacturer, and indeed nearly every one en-

248 ; *Kaemtz's Meteorology*, pp. 2–4 ; *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 290–295 ; *Somerville's Physical Geog.* vol. ii. pp. 18, 19. But all the best authorities are agreed that this ignorance cannot last long ; and that the constant advance which we are now making in physical science will eventually enable us to explain even these phenomena. Thus for instance Sir John Leslie says, " It cannot be disputed, however, that all the changes which happen in the mass of our atmosphere, involved, capricious, and irregular as they may appear, are yet the necessary results of principles as fixed, and perhaps as simple, as those which direct the revolutions of the solar system. Could we unravel the intricate maze, we might trace the action of each distinct cause, and hence deduce the ultimate effects arising from their combined operation. With the possession of such data, we might safely predict the state of the weather at any future period, as we now calculate an eclipse of the sun or moon, or foretell a conjunction of the planets." *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 405 : see also p. 185, and the remarks of Mr. Snow Harris (*Brit. Assoc. for* 1844, p. 241), and of Mr. Hamilton (*Journal of Geog. Soc.* vol. xix. p. xci.). Thus, too, Dr. Whewell (*Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 3) says, that " the changes of winds and skies " are produced by causes, of whose rules " no philosophical mind " will doubt the fixity.

[84] This connexion between ignorance and devotion is so clearly marked, that many nations have a separate god for the weather, to whom they say their prayers. In countries where men stop short of this, they ascribe the changes to witchcraft, or to some other supernatural power. See *Mariner's Tonga Islands*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 108 ; *Tuckey's Expedit. to the Zaire*, pp. 214, 215 ; *Ellis's Hist. of Madagascar*, vol. ii. p. 354 ; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. pp. 193, 194, 297, vol. xvi. pp. 223, 342 ; *Southey's Hist. of Brazil*, vol. iii. p. 187 ; *Davis's Chinese*, vol. ii. p. 154 ; *Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 394 ; *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. ii. p. 539. The Hindus refer rain to supernatural causes in the *Rig Veda*, which is the oldest of their religious books ; and they have held similar notions ever since. *Rig Veda Sanhita*, vol. i. pp. xxx. 10, 19, 26, 145, 175, 205, 224, 225, 265, 266, vol. ii. pp. 28, 41, 62, 110, 153, 158, 164, 166, 192, 199, 231, 258, 268, 293, 329 ; *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. iii. p. 91 ; *Coleman's Mythol. of the Hindus*, p. 111 ; *Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. 38. See further two curious passages in the *Dabistan*, vol. i. p. 115, vol. ii. p. 337 ; and on the " Rain-makers," compare *Catlin's North-American Indians*, vol. i. pp. 134–140, with *Buchanan's North-American Indians*, pp. 258, 260 ; also a precisely similar class in Africa (*Moffat's Southern Africa*, pp. 305–325), and in Arabia (*Niebuhr, Desc. de l'Arabie*, pp. 237, 238).

Coming to a state of society nearer our own, we find that in the ninth century it was taken for granted in Christian countries that wind and hail were the work of wizards (*Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. vi. pp. 118, 139) ; that similar views passed on to the sixteenth century, and were sanctioned by Luther (*Maury, Légendes Pieuses*, pp. 18, 19) ; and finally, that when Swinburne was in Spain, only eighty years ago, he found the clergy on the point of putting an end to the opera, because they " attributed the want of rain to the influence of that ungodly entertainment." *Swinburne's Travels through Spain in* 1775 *and* 1776, vol. i. p. 177, 2nd. edit. London, 1787.

[85] See some remarks by the Rev. Mr. Ward, which strike me as rather incautious, and which certainly are dangerous to his own profession, as increasing the hostility between it and science, in *Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, p. 278. What Coleridge has said is worth attending to : see *The Friend*, vol. iii. pp. 222, 223.

[86] M. Kohl, whose acuteness as a traveller is well known, has found that the agricultural classes are the " most blindly ignorant and prejudiced " of all. *Kohl's Russia*, p. 365. And Sir R. Murchison, who has enjoyed extensive means of observation, familiarly mentions the " credulous farmers." *Murchison's Siluria*, p. 61. [The words of Murchi-

gaged in the business of cities, has employments the success of which, being regulated by his own abilities, has no connexion with those unexplained events that perplex the imagination of the cultivators of the earth. He who, by his ingenuity, works up the raw material, is evidently less affected by uncontrollable occurrences than he by whom the raw material is originally grown. Whether it is fair, or whether it is wet, he pursues his labours with equal success, and learns to rely solely upon his own energy and the cunning of his own arm. As the sailor is naturally more superstitious than the soldier, because he has to deal with a more unstable element; just in the same way is the agriculturist more superstitious than the mechanic, because he is more frequently and more seriously affected by events which the ignorance of some men makes them call capricious, and the ignorance of other men makes them call supernatural.

It would be easy, by an extension of these remarks, to show how the progress of manufactures, besides increasing the national wealth, has done immense service to civilization, by inspiring Man with a confidence in his own resources;[87] and how, by giving rise to a new class of employments, it has, if I may say so, shifted the scene in which superstition is most likely to dwell. But to trace this would carry me beyond my present limits; and the illustrations already given are sufficient to explain how the theological spirit must have been diminished by that love of experimental science which forms one of the principal features in the reign of Charles II.[88]

I have now laid before the reader what I conceive to be the point of view from which we ought to estimate a period whose true nature seems to me to have been grievously misunderstood. Those political writers who judge events without regard to that intellectual development of which they are but a part, will find much to condemn, and scarcely anything to approve, in the reign of Charles II. By such authors I shall be censured for having travelled out of that narrow path in which history has been too often confined. And yet I am at a loss to perceive how it is possible, except by the adoption of such a course, to understand a period which, on a superficial view, is full of the grossest inconsistencies. This difficulty will be rendered very obvious if we compare for a moment the nature of the government of Charles with the great things which, under that government, were peaceably effected. Never before was there such a want of apparent connexion between the means and the end. If we look only at the characters of the rulers, and at their foreign policy, we must pronounce the reign of Charles II. to be the worst that has ever been seen in England. If, on the other hand, we confine our observations to the laws which were passed, and to the principles which were established, we shall be obliged to confess that this same reign forms one of the brightest epochs in our national annals. Politically and morally, there were to be found in the government all the elements of confusion, of weakness, and of crime. The king himself was a mean and spiritless voluptuary, without the

son are here strained from a particular to a general sense.—Ed.] In Asia, exactly the same tendency has been noticed: see *Marsden's Hist. of Sumatra*, p. 63. Some curious evidence of agricultural superstitions respecting the weather may be seen in *Monteil, Hist. des divers états*, vol. iii. pp. 31, 39.

[87] In this point of view, the opposite tendencies of agriculture and manufactures are judiciously contrasted by Mr. Porter, at the end of his essay on the *Statistics of Agriculture, Journal of the Statist. Soc.* vol. ii. pp. 295, 296.

[88] Indeed, there never has been a period in England in which physical experiments were so fashionable. This is merely worth observing as a symptom of the age, since Charles II. and the nobles were not likely to add, and did not add, anything to our knowledge; and their patronage of science, such as it was, degraded it rather than advanced it. Still, the prevalence of the taste is curious; and in addition to the picture drawn by Mr. Macaulay (*History of England*, 1st edit. vol. i. pp. 408–412), I may refer the reader to *Monconys' Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 31; *Sorbiere's Voyage to England*, pp. 32, 33; *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. ii. pp. 199, 286; *Pepys' Diary*, vol. i. p. 375, vol. ii. p. 34, vol. iii. p. 85, vol. iv. p. 229; *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 171, 322, vol. ii. p. 275; *Burnet's Lives*, p. 144; *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. i. p. 582.

morals of a Christian, and almost without the feelings of a man.[89] His ministers, with the exception of Clarendon, whom he hated for his virtues, had not one of the attributes of statesmen, and nearly all of them were pensioned by the crown of France.[90] The weight of taxation was increased,[91] while the security of the kingdom was diminished.[92] By the forced surrender of the charters of the towns, our municipal rights were endangered.[93] By shutting the exchequer our national credit was destroyed.[94] Though immense sums were spent in maintaining our naval and military power, we were left so defenceless, that when a war broke out, which had long been preparing, we seemed suddenly to be taken by surprise. Such was the miserable incapacity of the government, that the fleets of Holland were able not only to ride triumphant round our coasts, but to sail up the Thames, attack our arsenals, burn our ships, and insult the metropolis of England.[95] Yet, notwithstanding all these things, it is an undoubted fact that in this same reign of Charles II. more steps were taken in the right direction than had been taken, in any period of equal length, during the twelve centuries we had occupied the soil of Britain. By the mere force of that intellectual movement which was unwittingly supported by the crown, there were effected, in the course of a few years, reforms which changed the face of society.[96] The two great obstacles by

[89] His treatment of his young wife immediately after marriage is perhaps the worst thing recorded of this base and contemptible prince. *Lister's Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. pp. 145–153. This is matter of proof; but Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 522, and vol. ii. p. 267) whispers a horrible suspicion, which I cannot believe to be true, even of Charles II., and which Harris, who has collected some evidence of his astounding profligacy, does not mention, though he quotes one of the passages in Burnet. *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. pp. 36–43. However, as Dr. Parr says, in reference to another accusation against him, "There is little occasion to blacken the memory of that wicked monarch, Charles II., by the aid of invidious conjectures." *Notes on James II.*, in *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. p. 477. Compare *Fox's History of James II.*, p. 71.

[90] Even Clarendon has been charged with receiving bribes from Louis XIV.; but for this there appears to be no good authority. Compare *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 66, 67 note, with *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 213.

[91] *Lister's Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 377; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iv. pp. 340–344.

[92] Immediately after the Restoration, the custom began of appointing to naval commands incompetent youths of birth, to the discouragement of those able officers who had been employed under Cromwell. Compare *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. p. 290, with *Pepys' Diary*, vol. ii. p. 413, vol. iii. pp. 68, 72.

[93] *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. pp. 323–328. The court was so bent on abrogating the charter of the city of London, that Saunders was made chief-justice for the express purpose. See *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 59. Roger North says (*Lives of the Norths*, vol. ii. p. 67), "Nothing was accounted at court so meritorious as the procuring of charters, as the language then was." Compare *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, pp. 379, 388.

[94] The panic caused by this scandalous robbery is described by De Foe; *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 52. See also *Calamy's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 78; *Parker's Hist. of his Own Time*, pp. 141–143. The amount stolen by the king is estimated at 1,328,526*l.* *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. p. 315. According to Lord Campbell, "nearly a million and a half." *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 113.

[95] There is a very curious account in *Pepys' Diary*, vol. iii. pp. 242–264, of the terror felt by the Londoners on this occasion. Pepys himself buried his gold (p. 261, and pp. 376–379). Evelyn (*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 287) says: "The alarme was so greate, that it put both country and citty into a paniq, feare, and consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more; every body was flying, none knew why or whither."

[96] The most important of these reforms were carried, as is nearly always the case, in opposition to the real wishes of the ruling classes. Charles II. and James II. often said of the Habeas Corpus Act, "that a government could not subsist with such a law." *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 104. Lord-Keeper Guildford was even opposed to the abolition of military tenures. "He thought," says his brother, "the taking away of the

which the nation had long been embarrassed consisted of a spiritual tyranny and a territorial tyranny: the tyranny of the church and the tyranny of the nobles. An attempt was now made to remedy these evils; not by palliatives, but by striking at the power of the classes who did the mischief. For now it was that a law was placed on the statute-book, taking away that celebrated writ which enabled the bishops or their delegates to cause those men to be burned whose religion was different to their own.[97] Now it was that the clergy were deprived of the privilege of taxing themselves, and were forced to submit to an assessment made by the ordinary legislature.[98] Now, too, there was enacted a law forbidding any bishop, or any ecclesiastical court, to tender the *ex-officio* oath, by which the church had hitherto enjoyed the power of compelling a suspected person to criminate himself.[99] In regard to the nobles, it was also during the reign of Charles II. that the House of Lords, after a sharp struggle, was obliged to abandon its pretensions to an original jurisdiction in civil suits; and thus lost for ever an important resource for extending its own influence.[100] It was in the same reign that there was settled the right of the people to be taxed entirely by their representatives; the House of Commons having ever since retained the sole power of proposing money bills and regulating the amount of imposts, merely leaving to the Peers the form of consenting to what has been already determined.[101] These were the attempts which were made to bridle the clergy and the nobles. But there were also effected other things of equal importance. By the destruction of the scandalous prerogatives of Purveyance and Pre-emption, a limit was set to

tenures a desperate wound to the liberties of the people of England." *Lives of the Norths*, vol. ii. p. 82. These are the sort of men by whom great nations are governed. A passage in *Life of James, by Himself*, edit. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 621, confirms the statement in Dalrymple, so far as James is concerned. This should be compared with a letter from Louis XIV., in the Barillon correspondence. *Appendix to Fox's James II.*, p. cxxiv.

[97] *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 48; *Campbell's Chancellors*. vol. iii. p. 431. This destruction of the writ *De Hæretico comburendo* was in 1677. It is noticed in *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. p. 500: and in *Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 478.

[98] This was in 1664. See the account of it in Collier's *Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. viii. pp. 463–466. Collier, who is evidently displeased by the change, says: "The consenting, therefore, to be taxed by the temporal Commons, makes the clergy more dependent on a foreign body, takes away the right of disposing of their own money, and lays their estates in some measure at discretion." See also, on the injury this has inflicted on the church, *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 259, 260. And Coleridge (*Literary Remains*, vol. iv. pp. 152, 153) points this out as characterizing one of the three "grand evil epochs of our present church." So marked, however, was the tendency of that time, that this most important measure was peaceably effected by an arrangement between Sheldon and Clarendon. See the notes by Onslow in *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. p. 340, vol. iv. pp. 508, 509. Compare Lord Camden's statement (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 169) with the speech of Lord Bathurst (vol. xxii. p. 77); and of Lord Temple on Tooke's case (vol. xxxv. p. 1357). Mr. Carwithen (*Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 354, Oxford, 1849) grieves over "this deprivation of the liberties of the English clergy."

[99] 13 Car. II. c. 12. Compare *Stephens's Life of Tooke*, vol. i. pp. 169, 170, with *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iii. p. 101. Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 197, 198) has adduced evidence of the way in which the clergy were accustomed to injure their opponents by the *ex-officio* oath.

[100] This was the issue of the famous controversy respecting Skinner, in 1669; and "from this time," says Mr. Hallam, "the Lords have tacitly abandoned all pretensions to an original jurisdiction in civil suits." *Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 184. There is an account of this case of Skinner, which was connected with the East-India Company, in *Mill's Hist. of India*, vol. i. pp. 102, 103.

[101] *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 189–192; and *Eccleston's English Antiquities*, p. 326. The disputes between the two houses respecting taxation are noticed very briefly in *Parker's Hist. of his own Time*, pp. 135, 136.

the power of the sovereign to vex his refractory subjects.[102] By the Habeas Corpus Act, the liberty of every Englishman was made as certain as law could make it; it being guaranteed to him that if accused of crime, he, instead of languishing in prison, as had often been the case, should be brought to a fair and speedy trial.[103] By the Statute of Frauds and Perjuries, a security hitherto unknown was conferred upon private property.[104] By the abolition of general impeachments, an end was put to a great engine of tyranny, with which powerful and unscrupulous men had frequently ruined their political adversaries.[105] By the cessation of those laws which restricted the liberty of printing, there was laid the foundation of that great Public Press, which, more than any other single cause, has diffused among the people a knowledge of their own power, and has thus, to an almost incredible extent, aided the progress of English civilization.[106] And, to complete this noble picture, there were finally destroyed those feudal incidents which our Norman conquerors had imposed,—the military tenures; the court of wards; the fines for alienation; the right of forfeiture for marriage by reason of tenure; the aids, the homages, the escuages, the primer seisins; and all those mischievous subtleties, of which the mere names sound in modern ears as a wild and barbarous jargon, but which pressed upon our ancestors as real and serious evils.[107]

[102] The "famous rights of purveyance and pre-emption" were abolished by 12 Car. II. c. 24. *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 11. Burke, in his magnificent speech on Economical Reform, describes the abuses of the old system of purveyance. *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 239. See also *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. ii. p. 88 note; *Barrington on the Statutes*, pp. 183–185, 237; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 338, 339; *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. p. 232; *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1299. These passages will give an idea of the iniquities practised under this "right," which, like most gross injustices, was one of the good old customs of the British constitution, being at least as ancient as Canute. See *Allen on the Royal Prerogative*, p. 152. Indeed, a recent writer of considerable learning (*Spence, Origin of the Laws of Europe*, p. 319) derives it from the Roman law. A bill had been brought in to take it away in 1656. See *Burton's Cromwellian Diary*, vol. i. p. 81. When Adam Smith wrote, it still existed in France and Germany. *Wealth of Nations*, book iii. chap. ii. p. 161.

[103] On the Habeas Corpus Act, which became law in 1679, see *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. pp. 305–347; *Mackintosh, Revolution of 1688*, p. 49; and *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. viii. p. 17. The peculiarities of this law, as compared with the imitations of it in other countries, are clearly stated in *Meyer, Esprit des Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. ii. p. 283. Mr. Lister (*Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 454, says: "Imprisonment in gaols beyond the seas was not prevented by law till the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act, in 1679."

[104] Blackstone (*Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 439) calls this "a great and necessary security to private property;" and Lord Campbell (*Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 423) terms it "the most important and most beneficial piece of juridical legislation of which we can boast." On its effects, compare Jones's valuable *Commentary on Isæus* (*Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. iv. p. 239), with *Story's Conflict of Laws*, pp. 521, 522, 627, 884; and *Taylor on Statute Law*, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. xvii. p. 150.

[105] Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 247) says that the struggle in 1667 "put an end to general impeachments."

[106] Printing at first was regulated by royal proclamations; then by the Star-chamber; and afterwards by the Long Parliament. The decrees of the Star-chamber were taken as the basis of 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 33; but this act expired in 1679, and was not renewed during the reign of Charles II. Compare *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. iv. p. 152, with *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. p. 154, and *Fox's Hist. of James II.* p. 146.

[107] The fullest account I have seen in any history, of this great Revolution, which swept away the traditions and the language of feudalism, is that given in *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iv. pp. 369–378. But Harris, though an industrious collector, was a man of slender ability, and not at all aware of the real nature of a change, of which the obvious and immediately practical results formed the smallest part. The true point of view is, that it was a formal recognition by the legislature that the Middle Ages were extinct, and that it was necessary to inaugurate a more modern and innovating policy. Hereafter

These were the things which were done in the reign of Charles II. ; and if we consider the miserable incompetence of the king, the idle profligacy of his court, the unblushing venality of his ministers, the constant conspiracies to which the country was exposed from within, and the unprecedented insults to which it was subjected from without ; if we moreover consider that to all this there were added two natural calamities of the most grievous description,—a Great Plague, which thinned society in all its ranks, and scattered confusion through the kingdom ; and a Great Fire, which, besides increasing the mortality from the pestilence, destroyed in a moment those accumulations of industry by which industry itself is nourished ;—if we put all these things together, how can we reconcile inconsistencies apparently so gross ? How could so wonderful a progress be made in the face of these unparalleled disasters ? How could such men, under such circumstances, effect such improvements ? These are questions which our political compilers are unable to answer ; because they look too much at the peculiarities of individuals, and too little at the temper of the age in which those individuals live. Such writers do not perceive that the history of every civilized country is the history of its intellectual development, which kings, statesmen, and legislators are more likely to retard than to hasten ; because, however great their power may be, they are at best the accidental and insufficient representatives of the spirit of their time ; and because, so far from being able to regulate the movements of the national mind, they themselves form the smallest part of it, and, in a general view of the progress of Man, are only to be regarded as the puppets who strut and fret their hour upon a little stage ; while, beyond them, and on every side of them, are forming opinions and principles which they can scarcely perceive, but by which alone the whole course of human affairs is ultimately governed.*

The truth is that the vast legislative reforms for which the reign of Charles II. is so remarkable, merely form a part of that movement which, though traceable to a much earlier period, had only for three generations been in undisguised operation. These important improvements were the result of that bold, sceptical, inquiring and reforming spirit which had now seized the three great departments of Theology, of Science, and of Politics. The old principles of tradition, of authority, and of dogma, were gradually becoming weaker ; and of course, in the same proportion, there was diminished the influence of the classes by whom those principles were chiefly upheld. As the power of particular sections of society thus declined, the power of the people at large increased. The real interests of the nation began to be perceived, so soon as the superstitions were dispersed by which those interests had long been obscured. This, I believe, is the real solution of what at first seems a curious problem,—namely, how it was that such comprehensive reforms should have been accomplished in so bad, and in many respects so infamous, a reign. It is no doubt true that those reforms were essentially the result of the intellectual march of the age ; but, so far from being made in spite of the vices of the sovereign, they were actually aided by them. With the exception of the needy profligates who thronged his court, all classes of men soon learned to despise a king who was a drunkard, a libertine, and a hypocrite ; who had neither shame nor sensibility ;

I shall have occasion to examine this in detail, and show how it was merely a symptom of a revolutionary movement. In the meantime the reader may refer to the very short notices in *Dalrymple's Hist. of Feudal Property*, p. 89 ; *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. ii. pp. 76, 77 ; *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 11 ; *Parl. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 53, 167, 168 ; *Meyer. Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. ii. p. 58.

[* Hallam, who was something of a " political compiler," has really thrown light on the causes of the reformative legislation under Charles II. (*Const. Hist.* 10th ed. ii. 352 sq.). And seeing that the laws in question were made by legislators, it is necessary to modify the antithesis here set up between legislators and public opinion. The legislators are part of the public, and no more " puppets " than the rest, unless all are puppets of each other. And the development was more economic and less " intellectual " than Buckle makes appear.—Ed.]

and who, in point of honour, was unworthy to enter the presence of the meanest of his subjects. To have the throne filled for a quarter of a century by such a man as this, was the surest way of weakening that ignorant and indiscriminate loyalty, to which the people have often sacrificed their dearest rights. Thus the character of the king, merely considered from this point of view, was eminently favourable to the growth of national liberty.[108] But the advantage did not stop there. The reckless debaucheries of Charles made him abhor everything approaching to restraint; and this gave him a dislike to a class whose profession, at least, presupposes a conduct of more then ordinary purity. The consequence was that he, not from views of enlightened policy, but merely from a love of vicious indulgence, always had a distaste for the clergy; and, so far from advancing their power, frequently expressed for them an open contempt.[109] His most intimate friends directed against them those coarse and profligate jokes which are preserved in the literature of the time; and which, in the opinion of the courtiers, were to be ranked among the noblest specimens of human wit. From men of this sort the church had indeed little to apprehend; but their language, and the favour with which it was received, are part of the symptoms by which we may study the temper of that age. Many other illustrations will occur to most readers; I may, however, mention one, which is interesting on account of the eminence of the philosopher concerned in it. The most dangerous opponent of the clergy in the seventeenth century was certainly Hobbes, the subtlest dialectician of his time; a writer, too, of singular clearness, and, among British metaphysicians, inferior only to Berkeley. This profound thinker published several speculations very unfavourable to the church, and directly opposed to principles which are essential to ecclesiastical authority. As a natural consequence, he was hated by the clergy; his doctrines were declared to be highly pernicious; and he was accused of wishing to subvert the national religion, and corrupt the national morals.[110] So far did this proceed, that during his life, and for several

[108] Mr. Hallam has a noble passage on the services rendered to English civilization by the vices of the English court: "We are, however, much indebted to the memory of Barbara Duchess of Cleveland, Louisa Duchess of Portsmouth, and Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn. We owe a tribute of gratitude to the Mays, the Killigrews, the Chiffinches, and the Grammonts. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the Star-chamber and the High-commission court; they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom—the expulsion of the House of Stuart." *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 50. [10th edit. p. 354.]

[109] Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 448) tells us that in 1667 the king, even at the council-board, expressed himself against the bishops, and said that the clergy "thought of nothing but to get good benefices, and to keep a good table." See also, on his dislike to the bishops, vol. ii. p. 22; and *Pepys' Diary*, vol. iv. p. 2. In another place, vol. iv. p. 42, Pepys writes: "And I believe the hierarchy will in a little time be shaken, whether they will or no; the king being offended with them, and set upon it, as I hear." Evelyn, in a conversation with Pepys, noticed with regret such conduct of Charles, "that a bishop shall never be seen about him, as the king of France hath always." *Pepys*, vol. iii. p. 201. Evelyn, in his benevolent way, ascribes this to "the negligence of the clergy;" but history teaches us that the clergy have never neglected kings, except when the king has first neglected them. Sir John Reresby gives a curious account of a conversation Charles II. held with him respecting "mitred heads," in which the feeling of the king is very apparent. *Reresby's Travels and Memoirs*, p. 238. [It thus appears that a monarch's tastes may count for a good deal in determining the progress of a period, apart altogether from the "intellectual" movement outside.—Ed.]

[110] On the animosity of the clergy against Hobbes, and on the extent to which he reciprocated it, compare *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. pp. 532, 631; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. p. 111; with the angry language of Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. i. p. 322), and of Whiston (*Memoirs*, p. 251). See also *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, edit. Bliss, vol. iii. p. 1211. Monconys, who was in London in 1663, says of Hobbes, "Il me dit l'aversion que tous les gens d'église tant catholiques que protestans avoient pour lui." *Monconys'*

years after his death, every man who ventured to think for himself was stigmatized as a Hobbist, or, as it was sometimes called, a Hobbian.[111] This marked hostility on the part of the clergy was a sufficient recommendation to the favour of Charles. The king, even before his accession, had imbibed many of his principles;[112] and after the Restoration he treated the author with what was deemed a scandalous respect. He protected him from his enemies; he somewhat ostentatiously hung up his portrait in his own private room at Whitehall;[113] and he even conferred a pension on this, the most formidable opponent who had yet appeared against the spiritual hierarchy.[114]

If we look for a moment at the ecclesiastical appointments of Charles, we shall find evidence of the same tendency. In his reign, the highest dignities in the church were invariably conferred upon men who were deficient either in ability or in honesty. It would perhaps be an over-refinement to ascribe to the king a deliberate plan for lowering the reputation of the episcopal bench; but it is certain that if he had such a plan he followed the course most likely to effect his purpose. For it is no exaggeration to say that, during his life, the leading English prelates were, without exception, either incapable or insincere; they were unable to defend what they really believed, or else they did not believe what they openly professed. Never before were the interests of the Anglican church so feebly guarded. The first Archbishop of Canterbury appointed by Charles was Juxon, whose deficiencies were notorious; and of whom his friends could only say that his want of ability was compensated by the goodness of his intentions.[115] When he died, the king raised up as his successor Sheldon, whom he had previously made Bishop of London; and who not only brought discredit on his order by acts of gross intolerance,[116] but who was so regardless of the common decencies of his station that he used to amuse his associates by having exhibitions in his own house, imitating the way in which the Presbyterians delivered their sermons.[117] After the death of Sheldon, Charles appointed to the archbishopric Sancroft, whose superstitious fancies exposed him to the contempt even of his own profession, and who was as much despised as Sheldon had been hated.[118] In the rank immediately below this,

Voyages, vol. iii. p. 43; and p. 115, "M. Hobbes, que je trouvai toujours fort ennemi des prêtres catholiques et des protestans." About the same time, Sorbiere was in London; and he writes respecting Hobbes: "I know not how it comes to pass, the clergy are afraid of him, and so are the Oxford mathematicians and their adherents; wherefore his majesty (Charles II.) was pleased to make a very good comparison when he told me, he was like a bear, whom they baited with dogs to try him." *Sorbiere's Voyage to England*, p. 40.

[111] This was a common expression for whoever attacked established opinions late in the seventeenth, and even early in the eighteenth century. For instances of it, see *Baxter's Life of Himself*, folio, 1696, part iii. p. 48; *Boyle's Works*, vol. v. pp. 505, 510; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. i. p. 41; *Vernon Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 13; *King's Life of Locke*, vol. i. p. 191; *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. ii. p. 149.

[112] Burnet says they "made deep and lasting impressions on the king's mind." *Own Time*, vol. i. p. 172.

[113] A likeness by Cooper. See *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, edit. Bliss, vol. iii. p. 1208.

[114] *Sorbiere's Voyage to England*, p. 39; *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 1208. On the popularity of the works of Hobbes in the reign of Charles II. compare *Pepys' Diary*, vol. iv. p. 164, with *Lives of the Norths*, vol. iii. p. 339.

[115] Bishop Burnet says of him, at his appointment: "As he was never a great divine, so he was now superannuated." *Own Time*, vol. i. p. 303.

[116] Of which his own friend, Bishop Parker, gives a specimen. See *Parker's History of his own Time*, pp. 31–33. Compare *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 429; *Wilson's Mem. of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 46.

[117] In 1669, Pepys was at one of these entertainments, which took place not only at the house, but in the presence, of the archbishop. See the scandalous details in *Pepys' Diary*, vol. iv. pp. 321–322; or in *Wilson's De Foe*, vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

[118] Burnet, who knew Sancroft, calls him "a poor-spirited and fearful man" (*Own*

we find the same principle at work. The three Archbishops of York, during the reign of Charles II., were Frewen, Stearn, and Dolben; who were so utterly devoid of ability that, notwithstanding their elevated position, they are altogether forgotten, not one reader out of a thousand having ever heard their names.[119]

Such appointments as these are indeed striking; and what makes them more so is that they were by no means necessary; they were not forced on the king by court-intrigue, nor was there a lack of more competent men. The truth seems to be that Charles was unwilling to confer ecclesiastical promotion upon any one who had ability enough to increase the authority of the church, and restore it to its former pre-eminence. At his accession, the two ablest of the clergy were undoubtedly Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Barrow. Both of them were notorious for their loyalty; both of them were men of unspotted virtue; and both of them have left a reputation which will hardly perish while the English language is remembered. But Taylor, though he had married the king's sister,[120] was treated with marked neglect; and, being exiled to an Irish bishopric, had to pass the remainder of his life in what, at that time, was truly called a barbarous country.[121] As to Barrow, who in point of genius was probably superior to Taylor,[122] he had the mortification of seeing the most incapable men raised to the highest posts in the church, while he himself was unnoticed; and notwithstanding that his family had greatly suffered in the royal cause,[123] he received no sort of preferment until five years before his death, when the king conferred on him the mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge.[124]

It is hardly necessary to point out how all this must have tended to weaken the church, and accelerate that great movement for which the reign of Charles II.

Time, vol. iii. p. 354); and mentions (vol. iii. p. 138) an instance of his superstition, which will be easily believed by whoever has read his ridiculous sermons, which D'Oyly has wickedly published. See Appendix to *D'Oyly's Sancroft*, pp. 339–420. Dr. Lake says that everybody was amazed when it was known that Sancroft was to be archbishop; *Lake's Diary*, 30th Dec. 1677, p. 18, in vol. i. of the *Camden Miscellany*, 1847, 4to. His character, so far as he had one, is fairly drawn by Dr. Birch: "Slow, timorous, and narrow-spirited, but at the same time a good, honest, and well-meaning man." *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 151. See also respecting him, *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 616, vol. iii. p. 77, vol. iv. pp. 40–42.

[119] Frewen was so obscure a man, that there is no life of him either in *Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary*, or in Rose's more recent but inferior work. The little that is known of Stearn, or Sterne, is unfavourable. Compare *Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 427, with *Baxter's Life of Himself*, folio, 1696, part ii. p. 338. And of Dolben I have been unable to collect anything of interest, except that he had a good library. See the traditionary account in *Jones's Memoirs of Bishop Horne*, p. 66.

[120] His wife was Joanna Bridges, a bastard of Charles I. Compare *Notes and Queries*, vol. vii. p. 305, with *Heber's Life of Jeremy Taylor*, in *Taylor's Works*, vol. i. p. xxxiv. Bishop Heber, p. xxxv., adds, "But, notwithstanding the splendour of such an alliance, there is no reason to believe that it added materially to Taylor's income."

[121] Coleridge (*Lit. Remains*, vol. iii. p. 208) says that this neglect of Jeremy Taylor by Charles "is a problem of which perhaps his virtues present the most probable solution."

[122] Superior, certainly, in comprehensiveness, and in the range of his studies; so that it is aptly said by a respectable authority, that he was at once "the great precursor of Sir Isaac Newton, and the pride of the English pulpit." *Wordsworth's Ecclesiast. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 344. See also, respecting Barrow, *Montucla, Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. pp. 88, 89, 359, 360, 504, 505, vol. iii. pp. 436–438.

[123] "His father having suffered greatly in his estate by his attachment to the royal cause." *Chalmers' Biog. Dict.* vol. iv. p. 39.

[124] Barrow, displeased at not receiving preferment after the Restoration, wrote the lines:

"Te magis optavit rediturum Carole nemo;
Et sensit nemo te rediisse minus."

Hamilton's Life of Barrow, in *Barrow's Works*, Edinb. 1845, vol. i. p. xxiii.

is remarkable.[125] At the same time, there were many other circumstances which, in this preliminary sketch, it is impossible to notice, but which were stamped with the general character of revolt against ancient authority. In a subsequent volume, this will be placed in a still clearer light, because I shall have an opportunity of bringing forward evidence which, from the abundance of its details, would be unsuited to the present Introduction. Enough, however, has been stated to indicate the general march of the English mind, and supply the reader with a clue by which he may understand those still more complicated events which, as the seventeenth century advanced, began to thicken upon us.

A few years before the death of Charles II., the clergy made a great effort to recover their former power, by reviving those doctrines of Passive Obedience and Divine Right, which are obviously favourable to the progress of superstition.[126] But as the English intellect was now sufficiently advanced to reject such dogmas,* this futile attempt only increased the opposition between the interests of the people as a body, and the interests of the clergy as a class. Scarcely had this scheme been defeated, when the sudden death of Charles placed on the throne a prince whose most earnest desire was to restore the Catholic church,

[125] Everything Mr. Macaulay has said on the contempt into which the clergy fell in the reign of Charles II. is perfectly accurate; and from evidence which I have collected, I know that this very able writer, of whose immense research few people are competent judges, has rather understated the case than overstated it. On several subjects I should venture to differ from Mr. Macaulay; but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of his unwearied diligence, of the consummate skill with which he has arranged his materials, and of the noble love of liberty which animates his entire work. These are qualities which will long survive the aspersions of his puny detractors,—men who, in point of knowledge and ability, are unworthy to loosen the shoe-latchet of him they foolishly attack.

[126] *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 142, 143, 153–156; from which it appears that this movement began about 1681. [Buckle is mistaken in speaking of a "revival" of the doctrine. Hallam notes (10th ed. ii. 462) that the clergy had had the doctrine transmitted to them: "it was the tenet of their homilies, their canons, their most distinguished divines and casuists." But Hallam speaks of a book propaganda from the date of the Exclusion Bill (1679), whereas many sermons on the subject had been published long before that date, and, in addition to treatises incidentally dealing with it, Usher's *Power communicated by God to the Prince* had been published in 1660. On the whole literature, see *The History of Passive Obedience since the Reformation*, Amsterdam, 2 vols. 1689–90.—Ed.] The clergy, as a body, are naturally favourable to this doctrine; and the following passage, published only twelve years ago, will give the reader an idea of the views that some of them entertain. The Rev. Mr. Sewell (*Christian Politics*, Lond. 1844, p. 157) says that the reigning prince is "a being armed with supreme physical power by the hand and permission of Providence; as such, the lord of our property, the master of our lives, the fountain of honour, the dispenser of law, before whom each subject must surrender his will and conform his actions. . . . Who, when he errs, errs as a man, and not as a king, and is responsible, not to man, but to God." And at p. 111, the same writer informs us that the church, "with one uniform, unhesitating voice, has proclaimed the duty of 'passive obedience.'" See also on this slavish tenet, as upheld by the church, *Wordsworth's Ecclesiast. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 668; *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. p. 523; *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, p. 228; *Lathbury's Nonjurors*, pp. 50, 135, 197; and a letter from Nelson, author of the *Fasts and Festivals*, in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iv. p. 216. With good reason, therefore, did Fox tell the House of Commons, that "by being a good churchman, a person might become a bad citizen." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 1377.

[* Buckle has perhaps overrated the enlightenment of the nation in this regard, as apart from the pressure of special fears and prejudices. It is on record that when in 1689 Ludlow sought to resume life as an English citizen he had to fly afresh because of the intense feeling against him as a regicide. See Macaulay, *History*, ch. xv. (ed. 1877, ii. 130–1) and the note there on the Toryism of Addison in this connexion.—Ed.]

and reinstate among us that mischievous system which openly boasts of subjugating the reason of Man. This change in affairs was, if we consider it in its ultimate results, the most fortunate circumstance which could have happened to our country. In spite of the difference of their religion, the English clergy had always displayed an affection towards James, whose reverence for the priesthood they greatly admired; though they were anxious that the warmth of his affections should be lavished on the Church of England, and not on the Church of Rome. They were sensible of the advantages which would accrue to their own order if his piety could be turned into a new channel.[127] They saw that it was for his interest to abandon his religion; and they thought that to a man so cruel and so vicious, his own interest would be the sole consideration.[128] The consequence was, that in one of the most critical moments of his life, they made in his favour a great and successful effort; and they not only used all their strength to defeat the bill by which it was proposed to exclude him from the succession, but when the measure was rejected they presented an address to Charles, congratulating him on the result.[129] When James actually mounted the throne, they continued to display the same spirit. Whether they still hoped for his conversion, or whether, in their eagerness to persecute the dissenters, they overlooked the danger to their own church, is uncertain; but it is one of the most singular and unquestionable facts in our history, that for some time there existed a strict alliance between a Protestant hierarchy and a Popish king.[130] The terrible crimes which were the result of this compact are but too notorious. But what is more worthy of attention is the circumstance that caused the dissolution of this conspiracy between the crown and the church. The ground of the quarrel was an attempt made by the king to effect, in some degree, a religious toleration. By the celebrated Test and Corporation Acts, it had been ordered that all persons who were employed by government should be compelled, under a heavy penalty, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the English church. The offence of James was that he now issued what was called a Declaration of Indulgence, in which he announced his intention of suspending the execution of these laws.[131] From this moment, the position of the two great parties was entirely changed. The bishops clearly perceived that the statutes which it was thus attempted to abrogate were highly favourable to their own power; and hence, in their opinion, formed an essential

[127] The Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1678, was engaged in an attempt to convert James; and in a letter to the Bishop of Winchester, he notices the "happy consequences" which would result from his success. See this characteristic letter in *Clarendon Corresp.* vol. ii. pp. 465, 466. See also the motives of the bishops, candidly but broadly stated, in Mr. Wilson's valuable work, *Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 74.

[128] In a high-church pamphlet, published in 1682, against the Bill of Exclusion, the cause of James is advocated; but the inconvenience he would suffer by remaining a Catholic is strongly insisted upon. See the wily remarks in *Somers Tracts*, vol. viii. pp. 258, 259.

[129] *Wordsworth's Ecclesiast. Biog.* vol. iv. p. 665. On their eagerness against the bill, see *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. p. 181; *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 246; *Somers Tracts*, vol. x. pp. 216, 253; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 353; *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 431.

[130] At the accession of James II. "the pulpits throughout England resounded with thanksgivings; and a numerous set of addresses flattered his majesty, in the strongest expressions, with assurances of unshaken loyalty and obedience, without limitation or reserve." *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 2. See also *Calamy's Life*, vol. i. p. 118.

[131] On the 18th March, 1687, the king announced to the Privy Council that he had determined "to grant, by his own authority, entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects. On the 4th April appeared the memorable Declaration of Indulgence." *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 211; and see *Life of James II.*, edited by Clarke, vol. ii. p. 112. There is a summary of the Declaration in *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. pp. 30, 31. As to the second Declaration, see *Macaulay*, vol. ii. pp. 344, 345; *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 170.

part of the constitution of a Christian country. They had willingly combined with James while he assisted them in persecuting men who worshipped God in a manner different from themselves.[132] So long as this compact held good, they were indifferent as to matters which they considered to be of minor importance. They looked on in silence while the king was amassing the materials with which he hoped to turn a free government into an absolute monarchy.[133] They saw Jeffreys and Kirke torturing their fellow-subjects; they saw the gaols crowded with prisoners, and the scaffolds streaming with blood.[134] They were well pleased that some of the best and ablest men in the kingdom should be barbarously persecuted; that Baxter should be thrown into prison, and that Howe should be forced into exile. They witnessed with composure the most revolting cruelties, because the victims of them were the opponents of the English church. Although the minds of men were filled with terror and with loathing, the bishops made no complaint. They preserved their loyalty unimpaired, and insisted on the necessity of humble submission to the Lord's anointed.[135] But the moment James proposed to protect against persecution those who were hostile to the church; the moment he announced his intention of breaking down that monopoly of offices and of honours which the bishops had long secured for their own party;—the moment this took place, the hierarchy became alive to the dangers with which the country was threatened from the violence of so arbitrary a prince.[136] The king had laid his hand on the

[132] It was in the autumn of 1685 that the clergy and the government persecuted the dissenters with the greatest virulence. See *Macaulay's Hist.* vol. i. pp. 667, 668. Compare *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. pp. 4–12, with a letter from Lord Clarendon, dated 21st December, 1685, in *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. i. p. 192. It is said (*Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. pp. 175, 176), that on many occasions the church party made use of the ecclesiastical courts to extort money from the Nonconformists; and for confirmation of this see *Mackintosh's Revolution of 1688*, pp. 173, 640.

[133] It appears from the accounts in the War-Office, that James, even in the first year of his reign, had a standing army of nearly 20,000 men. *Mackintosh's Revolution*, pp. 3, 77, 688: "A disciplined army of about 20,000 men was, for the first time, established during peace in this island." As this naturally inspired great alarm, the king gave out that the number did not exced 15,000. *Life of James II.*, edited by Clarke, vol. ii. pp. 52, 57.

[134] Compare *Burnet*, vol. iii. pp. 55–62, with *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, vol. i. part i. book ii. pp. 198–203. Ken, so far as I remember, was the only one who set his face against these atrocities. He was a very humane man, and did what he could to mitigate the sufferings of the prisoners in Monmouth's rebellion; but it is not mentioned that he attempted to stop the persecutions directed against the innocent Nonconformists, who were barbarously punished, not because they rebelled, but because they dissented. *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. i. p. 298.

[135] "From the conduct of the clergy in this and the former reign, it is quite clear that if the king had been a Protestant, of the profession of the Church of England, or even a quiet, submissive Catholic, without any zeal for his religion,—confining himself solely to matters of state, and having a proper respect for church-property,—he might have plundered other Protestants at his pleasure, and have trampled upon the liberties of his country, without the danger of resistance." *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 136. Or, as Fox says, "Thus, as long as James contented himself with absolute power in civil matters, and did not make use of his authority against the church, everything went smooth and easy." *Fox's Hist. of James II.* p. 165.

[136] Compare *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 58, with *Life of James II.*, edit. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 70, where it is well said that the clergy of the Church of England "had preached prerogative and the sovereign power to the highest pitch, while it was favourable to them; but when they apprehended the least danger from it, they cried out as soon as the shoe pinched, though it was of their own putting on." See also pp. 113, 164. What their servility was to the crown, while they thought that the crown was with them, may be estimated from the statement of De Foe: "I have heard it publicly preached, that if the king commanded my head, and sent his messengers to fetch it,

ark, and the guardians of the temple flew to arms. How could they tolerate a prince who would not allow them to persecute their enemies? How could they support a sovereign who sought to favour those who differed from the national church? They soon determined on the line of conduct it behoved them to take. With an almost unanimous voice, they refused to obey the order by which the king commanded them to read in their churches the edict for religious toleration.[137] Nor did they stop there. So great was their enmity against him they had recently cherished, that they actually applied for aid to those very dissenters whom, only a few weeks before, they had hotly persecuted; seeking by magnificent promises to win over to their side men they had hitherto hunted even to the death.[138] The most eminent of the Nonconformists were far from being duped by this sudden affection.[139] But their hatred of Popery, and their fear of the ulterior designs of the king, prevailed over every other consideration; and there arose that singular combination between churchmen and dissenters, which has never since been repeated. This coalition, backed by the general voice of the people, soon overturned the throne, and gave rise to what is justly deemed one of the most important events in the history of England.

Thus it was that the proximate cause of that great revolution which cost James his crown, was the publication by the king of an edict of religious toleration, and the consequent indignation of the clergy at seeing so audacious an act performed by a Christian prince. It is true that if other things had not conspired, this alone could never have effected so great a change. But it was the immediate cause of it, because it was the cause of the schism between the church and the throne, and of the alliance between the church and the dissenters. This is a fact never to be forgotten. We ought never to forget that the first

I was bound to submit, and stand while it was cut off." *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 118.

[137] D'Oyly (*Life of Sancroft*, p. 164) says, "On the whole, it is supposed that not more than 200 out of the whole body of clergy, estimated at 10,000, complied with the king's requisition." "Only seven obeyed in the city of London, and not above 200 all England over." *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 218. On Sunday, 20th May, 1688, Lord Clarendon writes: "I was at St. James's Church; in the evening I had an account that the Declaration was read only in four churches in the city and liberties." *Clarendon Corresp.* vol. ii. pp. 172, 173. When this conduct became known, it was observed that the church "supported the crown only so long as she dictated to it; and became rebellious at the moment when she was forbidden to be intolerant." *Mackintosh's Revolution of* 1688, p. 255.

[138] The first advances were made when the Declaration of the king in favour of "liberty of conscience" was on the point of being issued, and immediately after the proceedings at Oxford had shown his determination to break down the monopoly of offices possessed by the church. "The clergy at the same time prayed and entreated the dissenters to appear on their side, and stand by the Establishment, making large promises of favour and brotherly affection if ever they came into power." *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 29. See also, at pp. 58, 59, the conciliating letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury after the Declaration. "Such," says Neal, "such was the language of the church in distress!" Compare *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 153; *Ellis's Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 63; *Ellis's Orig. Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 117; *Mackintosh's Revolution*, p. 286; *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 132; *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. pp. 218, 219.

[139] See the indignant language of De Foe (*Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. pp. 130, 131, 133, 134); and a *Letter from a Dissenter to the Petitioning Bishops*, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. pp. 117, 118. The writer says: "Pray, my lords, let me ask you a question. Suppose the king, instead of his Declaration, had issued out a proclamation, commanding justices of the peace, constables, informers, and all other persons, to be more rigorous, if possible, against dissenters, and do their utmost to the perfect quelling and destroying them; and had ordered this to be read in your churches in the time of divine service, – would you have made any scruple of that?"

and only time the Church of England has made war upon the crown, was when the crown had declared its intention of tolerating, and in some degree protecting, the rival religions of the country.[140] There is no doubt that the Declaration which was then issued was illegal, and that it was conceived in an insidious spirit. But declarations equally illegal, equally insidious, and much more tyrannical, had on other occasions been made by the sovereign, without exciting the anger of the clergy.[141] These are things which it is good for us to ponder. These are lessons of inestimable value for those to whom it is given, not indeed to direct, but in some degree to modify, the march of public opinion. As to the people in general, it is impossible for them to exaggerate the obligations which they and all of us owe to the Revolution of 1688. But let them take heed that superstition does not mingle with their gratitude. Let them admire that majestic edifice of national liberty, which stands alone in Europe like a beacon in the midst of the waters; but let them not think that they owe anything to men who, in contributing to its erection, sought the gratification of their own selfishness, and the consolidation of that spiritual power which by it they fondly hoped to secure.

It is, indeed, difficult to conceive the full amount of the impetus given to English civilization by the expulsion of the House of Stuart.* Among the most immediate results may be mentioned the limits that were set to the royal prerogative;[142] the important steps that were taken towards religious toleration;[143] the remarkable and permanent improvement in the administration

[140] That this was the immediate cause, so far as the head of the church party was concerned, is unblushingly avowed by the biographer and defender of the then Archbishop of Canterbury. "The order published from the king in council, May 4th, 1688, directing the archbishops and bishops to send to the clergy in their respective dioceses the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, to be publicly read in all the churches of the kingdom, made it impossible for the Archbishop of Canterbury to abstain any longer from engaging in an open and declared opposition to the counsels under which the king was now unhappily acting." *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 151.

[141] Some writers have attempted to defend the clergy, on the ground that they thought it illegal to publish a declaration of this kind. But such a defence is incompatible with their doctrine of passive obedience; and besides this, it was contradicted by precedents and decisions of their own. Jeremy Taylor, in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, their great work of authority, asserts that "the unlawful proclamations and edicts of a true prince may be published by the clergy in their several charges." *Heber's Life of Taylor*, p. cclxxxvi. Heber adds: "I wish I had not found this in Taylor; and I thank Heaven that the principle was not adopted by the English clergy in 1687." But why was it not adopted in 1687? Simply because in 1687 the king attacked the monopoly enjoyed by the clergy; and therefore the clergy forgot their principle, that they might smite their enemy. And what makes the motives of this change still more palpable is, that as late as 1681, the Archbishop of Canterbury caused the clergy to read a Declaration issued by Charles II.; and that in a revised copy of the Liturgy he had also added to the rubric to the same effect. See *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 56. Compare *Calamy's Own Life*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200; *Mackintosh's Revolution*, pp. 242, 243; *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 152; *King's Life of Locke*, vol. i. p. 259; *Life of James II.*, edit. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 156.

[142] They are summed up in a popular pamphlet ascribed to Lord Somers, and printed in *Somers Tracts*, vol. x. pp. 263, 264. The diminished respect felt for the Crown after 1688 is judiciously noticed in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 9.

[143] The Toleration Act was passed in 1689. A copy of it is given by the historians of the dissenters, who call it their Magna Charta. See *Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters*, vol. i. pp. 187–198. The historian of the Catholics equally allows that the reign of William III. is "the era from which their enjoyment of religious toleration may be dated." *Butler's Memoirs of the Catholics*, vol. iii. pp. 122, 139. This is said

[* The historian appears to have forgotten here his account (above pp. 215–219) of the "vast legislative reforms" which took place in the reign of Charles II. in virtue of the movement of opinion then on foot.—Ed.]

of justice ;[144] the final abolition of a censorship over the press ;[145] and, what has not excited sufficient attention, the rapid growth of those great monetary interests by which, as we shall hereafter see, the prejudices of the superstitious classes have in no small degree been counterbalanced.[146] These are the main characteristics of the reign of William III. ; a reign often aspersed, and little understood,[147] but of which it may be truly said that, taking its difficulties into due consideration, it is the most successful and the most splendid recorded in the history of any country. But these topics rather belong to the subsequent volumes of this work ; and at present we are only concerned in tracing the effects of the Revolution upon that ecclesiastical power by which it was immediately brought about.

Scarcely had the clergy succeeded in expelling James, when the greater number of them repented of their own act.[148] Indeed, even before he was driven from the country, several things had occurred to make them doubt the policy of the

by Mr. Butler in regard, not to the Protestant dissenters, but to the Catholics ; so that we have the admission of both parties as to the importance of this epoch. Even the shameful act forced upon William in 1700 was, as Mr. Hallam truly says, evaded in its worst provisions. *Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 332, 333.

[144] *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. pp. 102, 355, and his *Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. pp. 95, 116, 118, 136, 142, 143. See also *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, pp. 23, 102, 558 ; and even *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 236, vol. ix. p. 243 ; an unwary concession from such an enemy to popular liberty.

[145] This was effected before the end of the seventeenth century. See *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. pp. 121, 122. Compare Lord Camden on Literary Property, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 994 ; *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. pp. 161, 162 ; *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 555 ; and a more detailed account in *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. pp. 348 seq. 540 seq. : though Mr. Macaulay, in ascribing, p. 353, so much to the influence of Blount, has not, I think, sufficiently dwelt on the operation of larger and more general causes.

[146] Mr. Cooke (*Hist. of Party*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 148) notices this remarkable rise of the monied classes early in the eighteenth century ; but he merely observes that the consequence was to strengthen the Whig party. Though this is undoubtedly true, the ultimate results, as I shall hereafter point out, were far more important than any political or even economical consequences. It was not till 1694 that the Bank of England was established ; and this great institution at first met with the warmest opposition from the admirers of old times, who thought it must be useless because their ancestors did without it. See the curious details in *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. iii. pp. 6–9 ; and on the connexion between it and the Whigs, see *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 502. There is a short account of its origin and progress in *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book ii. chap. ii. p. 130. [The rise of the monied classes had begun long before the Revolution. About 1635 " there were more merchants to be found upon the Exchange worth each one thousand pounds and upwards than there were in the former days, before the year 1600, to be found worth one hundred pounds each " (Sir Josiah Child, *New Discourse of Trade*, 4th ed. p. 9). This was partly a result of the system of trade monopolies, as to which see Hallam, *Const. Hist.* 10th ed. ii. 11. But in the reign of Charles I., despite his misgovernment, there was remarkable financial prosperity, the result of the long peace (Hallam, ii. 81–82).—Ed.]

[147] Frequently misunderstood, even by those who praise it. Thus, for instance, a living writer informs us that, " great as have been the obligations which England owes, in many different views, to the Revolution, it is beyond all question the greatest, that it brought in a sovereign instructed in the art of overcoming the ignorant impatience of taxation which is the invariable characteristic of free communities ; and thus gave it a government capable of turning to the best account the activity and energy of its inhabitants, at the same time that it had the means given it of maintaining their independence." *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. vii. p. 5. This, I should suppose, is the most eccentric eulogy ever passed on William III.

[148] On their sudden repentance, and on the causes of it, see *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 71.

course they were pursuing. During the last few weeks that he was allowed to reign, he had shown symptoms of increasing respect for the English hierarchy. The archbishopric of York had so long been vacant as to cause a belief that it was the intention of the crown either to appoint to it a Catholic, or else to seize its revenues.[149] But James, to the delight of the church, now filled up this important office by nominating Lamplugh, who was well known to be a stanch churchman and a zealous defender of episcopal privileges.[150] Just before this, the king also rescinded the order by which the Bishop of London had been suspended from the exercise of his functions.[151] To the bishops in general he made great promises of future favour ;[152] some of them, it was said, were to be called to his privy council ; and in the meantime he cancelled that ecclesiastical commission which, by limiting their power, had excited their anger.[153] Besides this, there occurred some other circumstances which the clergy now had to consider. It was rumoured, and it was generally believed, that William was no great admirer of ecclesiastical establishments ; and that, being a friend to toleration, he was more likely to diminish the power than increase the privileges of the English hierarchy.[154] It was also known that he favoured the Presby-

[149] *Mackintosh's Revolution of* 1688, pp. 81, 191. After the death of Archbishop Dolben, " the see was kept vacant for more than two years," and Cartwright hoped to obtain it. See *Cartwright's Diary*, by Hunter, 4to, 1843, p. 45. In the same way, we find from a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (*Clarendon Corresp.* vol. i. p. 409), that in May, 1686, uneasiness was felt because the Irish bishoprics were not filled up. Compare *Burnet*, vol. iii. p. 103. Carwithen (*Hist. of the Ch. of England*, vol. ii. p. 492) says that James had intended to raise the Jesuit Petre to the archbishopric.

[150] Lamplugh was translated from the bishopric of Exeter to the archbishopric of York in November, 1688. See the contemporary account in the *Ellis Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 303, and *Ellis's Original Letters*, second series, vol. iv. p. 151. He was a most orthodox man ; and not only hated the dissenters but showed his zeal by persecuting them. *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. i. pp. 94, 95. Compare an anecdote of him in *Baxter's Life of Himself*, folio, 1696, part iii. pp. 178, 179.

[151] In a letter dated London, 29th September, 1688 (*Ellis Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 224, and *Ellis's Orig. Letters*, second series, vol. iv. p. 128), it is stated that the Bishop of London's " suspension is taken off." See also *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 215. This is the more observable, because, according to Johnstone, there was an intention, in December, 1687, of depriving him. *Mackintosh's Revolution*, pp. 211, 212.

[152] This disposition on the part of the king again to favour the bishops and the church became a matter of common remark in September, 1688. See *Ellis Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 201, 202, 209, 219, 224, 225, 226, 227 ; *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 188, 192. Sir John Reresby, who was then in London, writes, in October, 1688, that James " begins again to court the Church of England." *Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 357. Indeed, the difficulties of James were now becoming so great, that he had hardly any choice.

[153] *Ellis Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 211 ; *Life of James II.*, edit. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 189.

[154] In November, 1687, it was said that he wished the dissenters to have " entire liberty for the full exercise of their religion," and to be freed " from the severity of the penal laws." *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 184. This is the earliest distinct notice I have seen of William's desire to deprive the church of the power of punishing nonconformists , but after he arrived in England his intentions became obvious. In January, 1688–9, the friends of the church complained " that the countenance he gave the dissenters gave too much cause of jealousy to the Church of England." *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 238. Compare *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. p. 81 ; *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. ii. p. 318 ; *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, pp. 156, 157 ; *Somers Tracts*, vol. x. p. 341, vol. xi. p. 108. Burnet, in his summary of the character of William, observes that " his indifference as to the forms of church-government, and his being zealous for toleration, together with his cold behaviour towards the clergy, gave them generally very ill impressions of him." *Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 550. At p. 192 the bishop says, " He took no notice of the clergy, and seemed to have little concern in the matters of the church or of religion."

terians, whom the church not unreasonably regarded as her bitterest enemies.[155] And when, in addition to all this, William, on mere grounds of expediency, actually abolished episcopacy in Scotland, it became evident that, by thus repudiating the doctrine of divine right, he had directed a great blow against those opinions on which, in England, ecclesiastical authority was based.[156]

While these things were agitating the public mind, the eyes of men were naturally turned upon the bishops, who, though they had lost much of their former power, were still respected by a large majority of the people as the guardians of the national religion. But at this critical moment they were so blinded either by their ambition or by their prejudices, that they adopted a course which of all others was the most injurious to their reputation. They made a sudden attempt to reverse that political movement of which they were themselves the principal originators. Their conduct on this occasion amply confirms that account of their motives which I have already given. If, in aiding those preliminary measures by which the Revolution was effected, they had been moved by a desire of relieving the nation from despotism, they would have eagerly welcomed that great man at whose approach the despot took to flight. This is what the clergy would have done, if they had loved their country better than they loved their order. But they pursued a precisely opposite course, because they preferred the petty interests of their own class to the welfare of the great body of the people, and because they would rather that the country should be oppressed than that the church should be humbled. Nearly the whole of the bishops and clergy had, only a few weeks before, braved the anger of their sovereign sooner than read in their churches an edict for religious toleration, and seven of the most influential of the episcopal order had, in the same cause, willingly submitted to the risk of a public trial before the ordinary tribunals of the land. This bold course they professed to have adopted, not because they disliked toleration, but because they hated tyranny. And yet when William arrived in England, and when James stole away from the kingdom like a thief in the night, this same ecclesiastical profession pressed forward to reject that great man, who, without striking a blow, had by his mere presence saved the country from the slavery with which it was threatened. We shall not easily find in modern history another instance of such gross inconsistency, or rather, let us say, of such selfish and reckless ambition. For this change of plan, far from being concealed, was so openly displayed, and the causes of it were so obvious, that the scandal was laid bare before the whole country. Within the space of a few weeks the apostasy was consummated. The first in the field was the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, anxious to retain his office, had promised to wait upon William. But when he saw the direction things were likely to take he withdrew his promise, and would not recognize a prince

[155] Sir John Reresby, who was an attentive observer of what was going on, says, "The prince, upon his arrival, seemed more inclined to the Presbyterians than to the members of the church; which startled the clergy." *Reresby's Memoirs*, p. 375: see also pp. 399, 405: "the church-people hated the Dutch, and had rather turn Papists than receive the Presbyterians among them." Compare *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 281: "the Presbyterians, our new governors."

[156] Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 50) says of the clergy in 1689: "The king was suspected by them, by reason of the favour showed to dissenters; but chiefly for his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland, and his consenting to the setting up presbytery there." On this great change, compare *Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters*, vol. ii. pp. 379–384; *Barry's Hist. of the Orkney Islands*, p. 257; *Neal's Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. v. pp. 85, 86: and on the indignation felt by the Anglican clergy at the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, see a contemporary pamphlet in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. pp. 510, 516, where fears are expressed lest William should effect a similar measure in England. The writer very fairly observes, p. 522, "For if we give up the *jus divinum* of episcopacy in Scotland, we must yield it also as to England. And then we are wholly precarious." See also vol. x. pp. 341, 503; *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 277, 278; and *Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 509.

who showed such indifference to the sacred order.[157] Indeed, so great was his anger, that he sharply rebuked his chaplain for presuming to pray for William and Mary, although they had been proclaimed with the full consent of the nation, and although the crown had been delivered to them by the solemn and deliberate act of a public convention of the estates of the realm.[158] While such was the conduct of the primate of England, his brethren were not wanting to him in this great emergency of their common fate. The oath of allegiance was refused not only by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but also by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, by the Bishop of Chester, by the Bishop of Chichester, by the Bishop of Ely, by the Bishop of Gloucester, by the Bishop of Norwich, by the Bishop of Peterborough, and by the Bishop of Worcester.[159] As to the inferior clergy, our information is less precise; but it is said that about six hundred of them imitated their superiors in declining to recognize for their king him whom the country had elected.[160] The other members of this turbulent faction were unwilling, by so bold a measure, to incur that deprivation of their livings with which William would probably have visited them. They therefore preferred a safer and more inglorious opposition, by which they could embarrass the government without injuring themselves, and could gain the reputation of orthodoxy without incurring the pains of martyrdom.

The effect which all this produced on the temper of the nation may be easily imagined. The question was now narrowed to an issue which every plain man could at once understand. On the one side, there was an overwhelming majority of the clergy.[161] On the other side, there was all the intellect of England, and all her dearest interests. The mere fact that such an opposition could exist without kindling a civil war, showed how the growing intelligence of the people had weakened the authority of the ecclesiastical profession. Besides this, the opposition was not only futile, but it was also injurious to the class that made it.[162] For it was now seen that the clergy cared for the people only as long as

[157] *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 340. Burnet, who had the best means of information, says, "Though he had once agreed to it, yet would not come." Lord Clarendon, in his *Diary*, 3rd January, 1688–9, writes that the archbishop expressed to him on that day his determination neither to call on William nor even to send to him (*Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 240); and this resolution appears to have been taken deliberately: "he was careful not to do it, for the reasons he formerly gave me."

[158] See the account given by his chaplain Wharton, in *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 259, where it is stated that the archbishop was very irate ("vehementer excandescens"), and told him, "that he must thenceforward desist from offering prayers for the new king and queen, or else from performing the duties of his chapel." See also *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 144. Thus too the Bishop of Norwich declared "that he would not pray for King William and Queen Mary." *Clarendon Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 263. The same spirit was universal among the high-church clergy; and when public prayers were offered up for the king and queen, they were called by the nonjurors "the immoral prayers," and this became a technical and recognized expression. *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. pp. 648, 650.

[159] *Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors*, p. 45; *D'Oyly's Sancroft*, p. 260.

[160] Nairne's Papers mention, in 1693, "six hundred ministers who have not taken the oaths." *Macpherson's Orig. Papers*, vol. i. p. 459.

[161] The only friends William possessed among the clergy were the low-churchmen, as they were afterwards called; and it is supposed that they formed barely a tenth of the entire body in 1689: "We should probably overrate their numerical strength, if we were to estimate them at a tenth part of the priesthood." *Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 74.

[162] The earliest allusion I have seen to the injury the clergy were inflicting on the church, by their conduct after the arrival of William, is in *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 273, —a curious passage, gently hinting at the "wonder of many," at the behaviour of "the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of the rest." With Evelyn, who loved the church, this was an unpleasant subject; but others were less scrupulous; and in parliament, in particular, men did not refrain from expressing what must have been the sentiments of every impartial observer. In the celebrated debate, in January, 1688–9, when the

the people cared for them. The violence with which these angry men[163] set themselves against the interests of the nation, clearly proved the selfishness of that zeal against James, of which they had formerly made so great a merit. They continued to hope for his return, to intrigue for him, and in some instances to correspond with him; although they well knew that his presence would cause a civil war, and that he was so generally hated that he dared not show his face in England unless protected by the troops of a foreign and hostile power.[164]

But this was not the whole of the damage which, in those anxious times, the church inflicted upon herself. When the bishops refused to take the oaths to the new government, measures were adopted to remove them from their sees; and William did not hesitate to eject by force of law the Archbishop of Canterbury and five of his brethren.[165] The prelates, smarting under the insult, were goaded into measures of unusual activity. They loudly proclaimed that the powers of the church, which had long been waning, were now extinct.[166] They denied the right of the legislature to pass a law against them. They denied the right of the sovereign to put that law into execution.[167] They not only continued to give themselves the title of bishops, but they made arrangements to perpetuate the schism which their own violence had created. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as he insisted upon being called, made a formal renunciation of his imaginary right into the hands of Lloyd,[168] who still supposed himself to

throne was declared vacant, Pollexfen said: "Some of the clergy are for one thing, some for another; I think they scarce know what they would have." *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 55. In February, Maynard, one of the most influential members, indignantly said: "I think the clergy are out of their wits; and I believe, if the clergy should have their wills, few or none of us should be here again." *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 129. The clergy were themselves bitterly sensible of the general hostility; and one of them writes, in 1694: "The people of England, who were so excessively enamoured of us when the bishops were in the Tower that they hardly forebore to worship us, are now, I wish I could say but cool and very indifferent towards us." *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 525. The growing indignation against the clergy, caused by their obvious desire to sacrifice the country to the interests of the church, is strikingly displayed in a letter from Sir Rowland Gwyne, written in 1710, and printed in *Macpherson's Orig. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 207.

[163] They are so called by Burnet. "these angry men, that had raised this flame in the church." *Own Time*, vol. v. p. 17.

[164] Indeed, the high-church party, in their publications, distinctly intimated that if James were not recalled, he should be reinstated by a foreign army. *Somers Tracts*, vol. x. pp. 377, 405, 457, 462. Compare *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 138. Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. iv. pp. 361, 362) says, they were "confounded" when they heard of the peace of 1697; and Calamy (*Life of Himself*, vol. ii. p. 322) makes the same remark on the death of Louis XIV.: "It very much puzzled the counsels of the Jacobites, and spoiled their projects."

[165] *D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft*, p. 266; *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* iv. p. 683.

[166] Sancroft on his deathbed, in 1693, prayed for the "poor suffering church, which, by this revolution, is almost destroyed." *D'Oyly's Sancroft*, p. 311; and *Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 280. See also *Remarks*, published in 1693 (*Somers Tracts*, vol. x. p. 504), where it is said that William had, "as far as possible he could, dissolved the true old Church of England:" and that, "in a moment of time, her face was so altered as scarce to be known again."

[167] "Ken, though deprived, never admitted in the secular power the right of deprivation; and it is well known that he studiously retained his title." *Bowles's Life of Ken*, vol. ii. p. 225. Thus too, Lloyd, so late as 1703, signs himself, "Wm. Nor." (*Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. p. 720); though, having been legally deprived, he was no more Bishop of Norwich than he was Emperor of China. And Sancroft, in the last of his letters, published by D'Oyly (*Life*, p. 303), signs "W. C."

[168] The strange document, by which he appointed Dr. Lloyd his vicar-general, is printed in Latin, in *D'Oyly's Sancroft*, p. 295, and in English, in *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. p. 640.

be Bishop of Norwich, although William had recently expelled him from his see. The scheme of these turbulent priests was then communicated to James, who willingly supported their plan for establishing a permanent feud in the English church.[169] The result of this conspiracy between the rebellious prelates and the pretended king was the appointment of a series of men who gave themselves out as forming the real episcopacy, and who received the homage of every one who preferred the claims of the church to the authority of the state.[170] This mock succession of imaginary bishops continued for more than a century ;[171] and, by dividing the allegiance of churchmen, lessened the power of the church.[172] In several instances the unseemly spectacle was exhibited of two bishops for the same place ; one nominated by the spiritual power, the other nominated by the temporal power. Those who considered the church as superior to the state, of course attached themselves to the spurious bishops ; while the appointments of William were acknowledged by that rapidly increasing party who preferred secular advantages to ecclesiastical theories.[173]

Such were some of the events which, at the end of the seventeenth century,

[169] *Lathbury's Hist. of the Nonjurors*, p. 96 ; *Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. pp. 641, 642.

[170] The struggle between James and William was essentially a struggle between ecclesiastical interests and secular interests ; and this was seen as early as 1689, when, as we learn from Burnet, who was much more a politician than a priest, "the church was as the word given out by the Jacobite party, under which they might more safely shelter themselves." *Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 57. See also, on this identification of the Jacobites with the church, *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, p. 222 ; and the argument of Dodwell, pp. 246, 247, in 1691. Dodwell justly observed that the successors of the deprived bishops were schismatical, in a spiritual point of view ; and that "if they should pretend to lay authority as sufficient, they would overthrow the being of a church as a society." The bishops appointed by William were evidently intruders, according to church principles ; and as their intrusion could only be justified according to lay principles, it followed that the success of the intrusion was the triumph of lay principles over church ones. Hence it is that the fundamental idea of the rebellion of 1688 is the elevation of the state above the church ; just as the fundamental idea of the rebellion of 1642 is the elevation of the commons above the crown.

[171] According to Dr. D'Oyly (*Life of Sancroft*, p. 297), Dr. Gordon "died in London, November, 1779, and is supposed to have been the last nonjuring bishop." In *Short's Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 583, Lond. 1847, it is also stated, that "this schism continued till 1779." But Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 404) has pointed out a passage, in the *State Trials*, which proves that another of the bishops, named Cartwright, was still living at Shrewsbury in 1793 ; and Mr. Lathbury (*Hist. of the Nonjurors*, Lond. 1845, p. 412) says that he died in 1799.

[172] Calamy (*Own Life*, vol. i. pp. 328–330, vol. ii. pp. 338, 357, 358) gives an interesting account of these feuds within the church, consequent upon the revolution. Indeed, their bitterness was such, that it was necessary to coin names for the two parties ; and, between 1700 and 1702 we for the first time hear the expressions, high-church and low-church. See *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 447, vol. v. p. 70. Compare *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. p. 26 ; *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 162, 498. On the difference between them, as it was understood in the reign of Anne, see *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 532, and *Macpherson's Orig. Papers*, vol. ii. p. 166. On the dawning schism in the church, see the speech of Sir T. Littleton, in 1690, *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 593. Hence many complained that they could not tell which was the real church. See curious evidence of this perplexity in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. pp. 477–481.

[173] The alternative is fairly stated in a letter written in 1691 (*Life of Ken, by a Layman*, vol. ii. p. 599) : "If the deprived bishop be the only lawful bishop, then the people and clergy of his diocese are bound to own him, and no other ; then all the bishops who own the authority of a new archbishop, and live in communion with him, are schismatics ; and the clergy who live in communion with schismatical bishops are schismatics themselves ; and the whole Church of England now established by law is schismatical."

widened the breach that had long existed between the interests of the nation and the interests of the clergy.[174] There was also another circumstance which considerably increased this alienation. Many of the English clergy, though they retained their affection for James, did not choose to brave the anger of the government, or risk the loss of their livings. To avoid this, and to reconcile their conscience with their interest, they availed themselves of a supposed distinction between a king by right and a king in possession.[175] The consequence was that while with their lips they took an oath of allegiance to William, they in their hearts paid homage to James; and, while they prayed for one king in their churches, they were bound to pray for another in their closets.[176] By this wretched subterfuge, a large body of the clergy were at once turned into concealed rebels; and we have it on the authority of a contemporary bishop, that the prevarication of which these men were notoriously guilty was a still further aid to that scepticism, the progress of which he bitterly deplores.[177]

As the eighteenth century advanced, the great movement of liberation rapidly proceeded. One of the most important of the ecclesiastical resources had formerly been Convocation; in which the clergy, by meeting in a body, were able to discountenance in an imposing manner whatever might be hostile to the church; and had moreover an opportunity, which they sedulously employed, of devising schemes favourable to the spiritual authority.[178] But in the pro-

[174] Lord Mahon (*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 245), notices what he terms the "unnatural alienation between the church and state" consequent upon the Revolution of 1688; and on the diminished power of the church caused by the same event, see *Phillimore's Mem. of Lyttleton*, vol. i. p. 352.

[175] The old absurdity of *de facto* and *de jure;* as if any man could retain a right to a throne which the people would not allow him to occupy!

[176] In 1715, Leslie, by far the ablest of them, thus states their position: "You are now driven to this dilemma,—swear, or swear not: if you swear, you kill the soul; and if you swear not, you kill the body, in the loss of your bread." *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 686. The result of the dilemma was what might have been expected; and a high-church writer, in the reign of William III., boasts (*Somers Tracts*, vol. x. p. 344) that the oaths taken by the clergy were no protection to the government: "not that the government receives any security from oaths." Whiston, too, says, in his *Memoirs*, p. 30: "Yet do I too well remember that the far greatest part of those of the university and clergy that then took the oaths to the government, seemed to me to take them with a doubtful conscience, if not against its dictates." This was in 1693; and in 1710 we find: "There are now circumstances to make us believe that the Jacobite clergy have the like instructions to take any oaths, to get possession of a pulpit for the service of the cause, to bellow out the hereditary right, the pretended title of the Pretender." *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 641. A knowledge of this fact, or at all events a belief of it, was soon diffused; and eight years later the celebrated Lord Cowper, then lord chancellor, said in the House of Lords "that his majesty had also the best part of the landed, and all the trading interest; *that as to the clergy, he would say nothing, —but that it was notorious that the majority of the populace had been poisoned, and that the poison was not yet quite expelled.*" *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 541; also given, but not quite *verbatim*, in *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 365.

[177] "The prevarication of too many in so sacred a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing atheism of the present age." *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. p. 381. See also, to the same effect, vol. iv. pp. 176, 177; and a remarkable passage in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 573. I need hardly add that it was then usual to confuse scepticism with atheism; though the two things are not only different, but incompatible. In regard to the quibble respecting *de facto* and *de jure*, and the use made of it by the clergy, the reader should compare *Wilson's Mem. of De Foe*, vol. i. pp. 171, 172; *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 531; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 409; and a letter from the Rev. Francis Jessop, written in 1717, in *Nichols's Lit. Illustrations*, vol. iv. pp. 120–123.

[178] Among which must be particularly mentioned the practice of censuring all books that encouraged free inquiry. In this respect, the clergy were extremely mischievous. See *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 124, 286, 338, 351; and *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. p. 170.

gress of the age, this weapon also was taken from them. Within a very few years after the Revolution, Convocation fell into general contempt ;[179] and in 1717 this celebrated assembly was finally prorogued by an act of the crown, it being justly considered that the country had no further occasion for its services.[180] Since that period, this great council of the English church has never been allowed to meet for the purpose of deliberating on its own affairs, until a few years ago, when, by the connivance of a feeble government, it was permitted to reassemble. So marked, however, has been the change in the temper of the nation, that this once formidable body does not now retain even a semblance of its ancient influence ; its resolutions are no longer feared, its discussions are no longer studied ; and the business of the country continues to be conducted without regard to those interests which only a few generations ago were considered by every statesman to be of supreme importance.[181]

Indeed, immediately after the Revolution, the tendency of things became too obvious to be mistaken, even by the most superficial observers. The ablest men in the country no longer flocked into the church,* but preferred those secular professions in which ability was more likely to be rewarded.[182] At the same time, and as a natural part of the great movement, the clergy saw all the offices of power and emolument, which they had been used to hold, gradually falling out of their hands. Not only in the dark ages, but even so late as the fifteenth century, they were still strong enough to monopolize the most honourable and

[179] In 1704, Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. v. p. 138) says of Convocation, "but little opposition was made to them, as very little regard was had to them." In 1700, there was a squabble between the upper and lower house of Convocation for Canterbury ; which, no doubt, aided these feelings. See *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, edited by Newcome, vol. i. p. 348, where this wretched feud is related with great gravity.

[180] Charles Butler (*Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 95) says that the final prorogation was in 1720 ; but according to all the other authorities I have met with, it was in 1717. See *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 395 ; *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, p. 385 ; *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 302 ; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. ii. p. 350.

[181] A letter written by the Rev. Thomas Clayton in 1727 is worth reading, as illustrating the feelings of the clergy on this subject. He asserts that one of the causes of the obvious degeneracy of the age is, that owing to Convocation not being allowed to meet, "bold and impious books appear barefaced to the world without any public censure." See this letter, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. pp. 414–416 ; and compare with it, *Letters between Warburton and Hurd*, pp. 310–312.

[182] On the decline of ability in ecclesiastical literature, see note 38 in this chapter. In 1685, a complaint was made that secular professions were becoming more sought after than ecclesiastical ones. See *England's Wants*, sec. lvi. in *Somers Tracts*, vol. ix. p. 231, where the writer mournfully states, that in his time "physic and law, professions ever acknowledged in all nations to be inferior to divinity, are generally embraced by gentlemen, and sometimes by persons nobly descended, and *preferred much above the divine's profession*." This preference was, of course, most displayed by young men of intellect ; and a large amount of energy being thus drawn off from the church, gave rise to that decay of spirit and of general power which has been already noticed ; and which is also indicated by Coleridge, in his remarks on the "apologizing theology" which succeeded the Revolution. *Coleridge's Lit. Remains*, vol. iii. pp. 51, 52, 116, 117, 119. Compare *Stephen's Essays on Ecclesiast. Biog.* 2nd edit. 1850, vol. ii. p. 66, on "this depression of theology ;" and *Hare's Mission of the Comforter*, 1850, p. 264, on the "intellectually feebler age." Evelyn, in 1691, laments the diminished energy then beginning to be observed among "young preachers." *Evelyn's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 309 ; and, for another notice, in 1696, of this "dead and lifeless way of preaching," see *Life of Cudworth*, p. 35, in vol. i. of *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.*

[* It has been shown above (*note* 125) that the church had fallen into discredit *before* the Revolution. Complaints to that effect were in fact made at the date of the Restoration. See *Buckle and his Critics*, p. 242 sq.—Ed.]

lucrative posts in the empire.[183] In the sixteenth century the tide began to turn against them, and advanced with such steadiness that, since the seventeenth century, there has been no instance of any ecclesiastic being made lord chancellor;[184] and, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, there has been no instance of one receiving any diplomatic appointment, or, indeed, holding any important office in the state.[185] Nor has this increasing ascendency of laymen been confined to the executive government. On the contrary, we find in both Houses of Parliament the same principle at work. In the early and barbarous periods of our history, one half of the House of Lords consisted of temporal peers; the other half of spiritual ones.[186] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the spiritual peers, instead of forming one-half of the upper house, had dwindled away to one-eighth;[187] and in the middle of the nineteenth century they have still further shrunk to one-fourteenth:[188] thus supplying a striking numerical instance of that diminution of ecclesiastical power, which is an essential requisite of modern civilization. Precisely in the same way, more than fifty years have elapsed since any clergyman has been able to take his seat as a representative of the people; the House of Commons having, in 1801, formally closed their doors against a profession which, in the olden time, would have been gladly admitted, even by the proudest and most exclusive assembly.[189] In the House of Lords the bishops still retain their seats; but their precarious tenure is everywhere remarked, and the progress of public opinion is constantly pointing to a period, which cannot now be far distant, when the Peers will imitate the example set by the Commons, and will induce the legislature to relieve the upper house

[183] Sharon Turner, describing the state of things in England in the fifteenth century says, "Clergymen were secretaries of government, the privy seals, cabinet counsellors, treasurers of the crown, ambassadors, commissioners to open parliament, and to Scotland; presidents of the king's council, supervisors of the royal works, chancellors, keepers of the records, the masters of the rolls, and even the physicians, both to the king and to the Duke of Gloucester, during the reign of Henry VI. and afterwards." *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 132. On their enormous wealth, see *Eccleston's English Antiquities*, p. 146: "In the early part of the fourteenth century, it is calculated that very nearly one-half of the soil of the kingdom was in the hands of the clergy."

[184] In 1625, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was dismissed from his office of lord-keeper; and Lord Campbell observes (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. ii. p. 492): "This is the last time that an ecclesiastic has held the great seal of England; and, notwithstanding the admiration in some quarters of mediæval usages, I presume the experiment is not likely to be soon repeated."

[185] Monk (*Life of Bentley*, vol. i. p. 222) says that Dr. John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, was "lord privy seal, and plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Utrecht; and is the last ecclesiastic in England who has held any of the high offices of state." A high-church writer, in 1712, complains of the efforts that were being made to "thrust the churchmen out of their places of power in the government." *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 211.

[186] In and after the reign of Henry III. "the number of archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and ecclesiastical persons was for the most part equal to, and very often far exceeded, the number of the temporal lords and barons." *Parry's Parliaments and Councils of England*, London, 1839, p. xvii. Of this Mr. Parry gives several instances; the most remarkable of which is, that "in 49 Henry III., 120 prelates, and only 23 temporal lords, were summoned." This, of course, was an extreme case.

[187] See an analysis of the House of Lords, in 1713, in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. pp. 43–45; from which it appears that the total was 207, of whom 26 were spiritual. This includes the Catholics.

[188] By the returns in Dod for 1854, I find that the House of Lords contains 436 members, of whom 30 belong to the episcopal bench.

[189] For different accounts, and of course different views, of this final expulsion of the clergy from the House of Commons, see *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, vol. i. pp. 419, 420; *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 247–260; *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. i. pp. 178–180; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vii. p. 148; *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. i. p. 263; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. vii. p. 487.

of its spiritual members; since they, by their habits, their tastes, and their traditions, are evidently unfitted for the profane exigencies of political life.[190]

While the fabric of superstition was thus tottering from internal decay, and while that ecclesiastical authority which had formerly played so great a part was gradually yielding to the advance of knowledge, there suddenly occurred an event which, though it might naturally have been expected, evidently took by surprise even those whom it most interested. I allude, of course, to that great religious revolution, which was a fitting supplement to the political revolution which preceded it. The dissenters, who were strengthened by the expulsion of James, had by no means forgotten those cruel punishments which the Church of England, in the days of her power, had constantly inflicted upon them; and they felt that the moment had now come when they could assume towards her a bolder front than that on which they had hitherto ventured.[191] Besides this, they had in the meantime received fresh causes of provocation. After the death of our great king William III., the throne was occupied by a foolish and ignorant woman, whose love for the clergy would, in a more superstitious age, have led to dangerous results.[192] Even as it was, a temporary reaction took place, and during her reign the church was treated with a deference which William had disdained to show.[193] The natural consequence immediately followed. New measures of persecution were devised, and fresh laws were passed against those Protestants who did not conform to the doctrines and discipline of the English church.[194] But after the death of Anne the dissenters quickly rallied; their

[190] That the banishment of the clergy from the lower house was the natural prelude to the banishment of the bishops from the upper, was hinted at the time, and with regret, by a very keen observer. In the discussion "on the Bill to prevent Persons in Holy Orders from sitting in the House of Commons," Lord Thurlow "mentioned the tenure of the bishops at this time, and said, if the bill went to disfranchise the lower orders of the clergy, it might go the length of *striking at the right of the reverend bench opposite to seats in that house*; though he knew it had been held that the reverend prelates sat, in the right of their baronies, as temporal peers." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxv. p. 1542.

[191] It is impossible now to ascertain the full extent to which the Church of England, in the seventeenth century, persecuted the dissenters; but Jeremy White is said to have had a list of sixty thousand of these sufferers between 1660 and 1688, of whom no less than five thousand died in prison. *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 108. On the cruel spirit which the clergy displayed in the reign of Charles II. compare *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. v. p. 106; *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 344; *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 534. Indeed Harwood frankly said in the House of Commons, in 1672, "Our aim is to bring all dissenting men into the Protestant church, and he that is not willing to come into the church should not have ease." *Parl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 530. On the zeal with which this principle was carried out, see an account, written in 1671, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. vii. pp. 586–615; and the statement of De Foe, in *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. pp. 443, 444.

[192] Besides the correspondence which the Duchess of Marlborough preserved for the instruction of posterity, we have some materials for estimating the abilities of Anne in the letters published in *Dalrymple's Memoirs*. In one of them Anne writes, soon after the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was issued, "It is a melancholy prospect that all we of the Church of England have. All the sectaries may now do what they please. Every one has the free exercise of their religion, on purpose, no doubt, to ruin us, which I think to all impartial judges is very plain." *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, appendix to book v. vol. ii. p. 173.

[193] See a notable passage in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 558, which should be compared with *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. iii. p. 372.

[194] *Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters*, vol. i. pp. 228–230, 237, 260–277; and *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 396, 397. Mr. Hallam says, "It is impossible to doubt for an instant, that if the queen's life had preserved the Tory government for a few years, every vestige of the toleration would have been effaced." It appears from the *Vernon Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 228, Lond. 1841, that soon after the accession of Anne, there was a proposal "to debar dissenters of their votes in elections;" and we know

hopes revived,[195] their numbers continued to increase, and in spite of the opposition of the clergy, the laws against them were repealed.[196] As by these means they were placed more on a level with their opponents, and as their temper was soured by the injuries they had recently received, it was clear that a great struggle between the two parties was inevitable.[197] For by this time the protracted tyranny of the English clergy had totally destroyed those feelings of respect which, even in the midst of hostility, often linger in the mind; and by the influence of which, if they had still existed, the contest might perhaps have been averted. But such motives of restraint were now despised; and the dissenters, exasperated by incessant persecution,[198] determined to avail themselves of the declining power of the church. They had resisted her when she was strong; it was hardly to be expected that they would spare her when she was feeble. Under two of the most remarkable men of the eighteenth century, Whitefield, the first of theological orators,[199] and Wesley, the first of theological statesmen,[200]

from Burnet (*Own Time*, vol. v. pp. 108, 136, 137, 218) that the clergy would have been glad if Anne had displayed even more zeal against them than she really did.

[195] *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iii. p. 118. In Ivimey's *History of the Baptists*, it is said that the death of Anne was an "answer to the dissenters' prayers." *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, p. 135; see also p. 147, on the joy of the dissenters at the death of this troublesome woman.

[196] Two of the worst of them, "the act against occasional conformity, and that restraining education, were repealed in the session of 1719." *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 398. The repeal of the act against occasional conformity was strenuously opposed by the Archbishops of York and of Canterbury (*Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iii. p. 132); but their opposition was futile; and when the Bishop of London, in 1726, wished to strain the Act of Toleration, he was prevented by Yorke, the attorney-general. See the pithy reply of Yorke, in *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. i. pp. 193, 194.

[197] At the end of the seventeenth century, great attention was excited by the way in which the dissenters were beginning to organize themselves into societies and synods. See, in the *Vernon Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 128–130, 133, 156, some curious evidence of this, in letters written by Vernon, who was then secretary of state; and on the apprehensions caused by the increase of their schools, and by their systematic interference in elections, see *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, edited by Newcome, vol. i. pp. 125, 358. The church was eager to put down all dissenters' schools; and in 1705, the Archbishop of York told the House of Lords that he "apprehended danger from the increase of dissenters, and particularly from the many academies set up by them." *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 492, 493. See also, on the increase of their schools, pp. 1351, 1352.

[198] In *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 684, it is stated that in the reign of Charles II. "this hard usage had begotten in the dissenters the utmost animosity against the persecuting churchmen." Their increasing discontent, in the reign of Anne, was observed by Calamy. See *Calamy's Own Life*, vol. ii. pp. 244, 255, 274, 284, 285.

[199] If the power of moving the passions be the proper test by which to judge an orator, we may certainly pronounce Whitefield to be the greatest since the apostles. His first sermon was delivered in 1736 (*Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. pp. 102, 122); his field-preaching began in 1739 (*Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197); and the eighteen thousand sermons which he is said to have poured forth during his career of thirty-four years (*Southey's Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 531) produced the most astonishing effects on all classes, educated and uneducated. For evidence of the excitement caused by this marvellous man, and of the eagerness with which his discourses were read as well as heard, see *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. pp. 546, 547, and his *Illustrations*, vol. iv. pp. 302–304; *Mem. of Franklin, by Himself*, vol. i. pp. 161–167; *Doddridge's Correspond.* vol. iv. p. 55; *Stewart's Philos. of the Mind*, vol. iii. pp. 291, 292; *Lady Mary Montagu's Letters*, in her Works, 1803, vol. iv. p. 162; *Correspond. between Ladies Pomfret and Hartford*, 2nd edit. 1806, vol. i. pp. 138, 160–162; *Marchmont Papers*, vol. ii. p. 377.

[200] Of whom Mr. Macaulay has said (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 221, 3rd edit.), that his "genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu;" and strongly as this is expressed, it will hardly appear an exaggeration to those who have compared the success of Wesley with his difficulties.

there was organized a great system of religion, which bore the same relation to the Church of England that the Church of England bore to the Church of Rome. Thus, after an interval of two hundred years, a second spiritual Reformation was effected in our country. In the eighteenth century the Wesleyans were to the Bishops what in the sixteenth century the Reformers were to the Popes.[201] It is indeed true that the dissenters from the Church of England, unlike the dissenters from the Church of Rome, soon lost that intellectual vigour for which at first they were remarkable. Since the death of their great leaders, they have not produced one man of original genius; and since the time of Adam Clarke, they have not had among them even a single scholar who has enjoyed an European reputation. This mental penury is perhaps owing, not to any circumstances peculiar to their sect, but merely to that general decline of the theological spirit by which their adversaries have been weakened as well as themselves.[202] Be this as it may, it is at all events certain that the injury they have inflicted on the English church is far greater than is generally supposed, and, I am inclined to think, is hardly inferior to that which in the sixteenth century Protestantism inflicted upon Popery. Setting aside the actual loss in the number of its members,[203] there can be no doubt that the mere formation of a Protestant faction, unopposed by the government, was a dangerous precedent; and we know from contemporary history that it was so considered by those who were most interested in the result.[204] Besides this, the Wesleyans displayed an organization so

[201] It was in 1739 that Wesley first openly rebelled against the church, and refused to obey the Bishop of Bristol, who ordered him to quit his diocese. *Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 226, 243. In the same year he began to preach in the fields. See the remarkable entry in his *Journals*, p. 78, 29th March, 1739.

[202] They frankly confess that "indifference has been another enemy to the increase of the dissenting cause." *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iv. p. 320. In *Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 39–43, there are some remarks on the diminished energy of Wesleyanism, which Mr. Newman seems to ascribe to the fact that the Wesleyans have reached that point in which "order takes the place of enthusiasm." p. 43. This is probably true; but I still think that the larger cause has been the more active one.

[203] Walpole, in his sneering way, mentions the spread of Methodism in the middle of the eighteenth century (*Walpole's Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 266, 272); and Lord Carlisle, in 1775, told the House of Lords (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 634) "that Methodism was daily gaining ground, particularly in the manufacturing towns;" while, to come down still later, it appears from a letter by the Duke of Wellington to Lord Eldon (*Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 35) that about 1808 it was making proselytes in the army.

These statements, though accurate, are somewhat vague; but we have other and more precise evidence respecting the rapid growth of religious dissent. According to a paper found in one of the chests of William III., and printed by Dalrymple (*Memoirs*, vol. ii. part ii., appendix to chapter i. p. 40), the proportion in England of conformists to nonconformists was as 22½ to 1. Eighty-four years after the death of William, the dissenters, instead of comprising only a twenty-third, were estimated at "a fourth part of the whole community." Letter from Watson to the Duke of Rutland, written in 1786, in *Life of Watson, Bishop of Llandaff*, vol. i. p. 246. Since then, the movement has been uninterrupted; and the returns recently published by government disclose the startling fact that on Sunday, 31st March 1851, the members of the Church of England who attended morning service, only exceeded by one-half the Independents, Baptists, and Methodists who attended at their own places of worship. See the Census Table, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. xviii. p. 151. If this rate of decline continues, it will be impossible for the Church of England to survive another century the attacks of her enemies.

[204] The treatment which the Wesleyans received from the clergy, many of whom were magistrates, shows what would have taken place if such violence had not been discouraged by the government. See *Southey's Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 395–406. Wesley has himself given many details, which Southey did not think proper to relate, of the calumnies and insults to which he and his followers were subjected by the clergy. See *Wesley's*

superior to that of their predecessors the Puritans, that they soon became a centre round which the enemies of the church could conveniently rally. And, what is perhaps still more important, the order, regularity and publicity by which their proceedings have usually been marked, distinguished them from other sects; and by raising them as it were to the dignity of a rival establishment, have encouraged the diminution of that exclusive and superstitious respect which was once paid to the Anglican hierarchy.[205]

But these things, interesting as they are, only formed a single step of that vast process by which the ecclesiastical power was weakened, and our countrymen thus enabled to secure a religious liberty, imperfect indeed, but far superior to that possessed by any other people. Among the innumerable symptoms of this great movement there were two of peculiar importance. These were, the separation of theology, first from morals, and then from politics. The separation from morals was effected late in the seventeenth century; the separation from politics before the middle of the eighteenth century. And it is a striking instance of the decline of the old ecclesiastical spirit, that both these great changes were begun by the clergy themselves. Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, was the first who endeavoured to construct a system of morals without the aid of theology.[206] Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, was the first who laid down that the state must consider religion in reference, not to revelation, but to expediency; and that it should favour any particular creed, not in proportion to its truth,

Journals, pp. 114, 145, 178, 181, 198, 235, 256, 275, 375, 562, 619, 637, 646. Compare *Watson's Observations on Southey's Wesley*, pp. 173, 174; and for other evidence of the treatment of those who differed from the church, see *Correspondence and Diary of Doddridge*, vol. ii. p. 17, vol. iii. pp. 108, 131, 132, 144, 145, 156. Grosley, who visited England in 1765, says of Whitefield, "The ministers of the established religion did their utmost to baffle the new preacher; they preached against him, representing him to the people as a fanatic, a visionary, &c., &c.; in fine, they opposed him with so much success, that they caused him to be pelted with stones in every place where he opened his mouth to the public." *Grosley's Tour to London*, Lond. 1772, vol. i. p. 356.

[205] That Wesleyanism encouraged dissent by imparting to it an orderly character, which in some degree approximated to church discipline, is judiciously observed in *Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters*, vol. iii. pp. 165, 166. But these writers deal rather too harshly with Wesley; though there is no doubt that he was a very ambitious man, and over-fond of power. At an early period of his career he began to aim at objects higher than those attempted by the Puritans, whose efforts, particularly in the sixteenth century, he looked at somewhat contemptuously. Thus, for instance, in 1747, only eight years after he had revolted against the church, he expresses in his Journal his wonder "at the weakness of those holy confessors" (the Elizabethan Puritans), "many of whom spent so much of their time and strength in disputing about surplice and hoods, or kneeling at the Lord's Supper!" *Journals*, p. 249, March 13th, 1747. Such warfare as this would have ill satisfied the soaring mind of Wesley; and from the spirit which pervades his voluminous Journals, as well as from the careful and far-seeing provisions which he made for managing his sect, it is evident that this great schismatic had larger views than any of his predecessors, and that he wished to organize a system capable of rivalling the established church.

[206] Mr. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 390) says that Cumberland "seems to have been the first Christian writer who sought to establish systematically the principles of moral right independently of revelation." See also, on this important change, *Whewell's Hist. of Moral Philosophy in England*, pp. 12, 54. The dangers always incurred by making theology the basis of morals are now pretty well understood; but by no writer have they been pointed out more clearly than by M. Charles Comte; see the able exposition in his *Traité de Législation*, vol. i. pp. 223–247. There is a short and unsatisfactory account of Cumberland's book in *Mackintosh's Ethical Philosophy*, pp. 134–137. He was a man of considerable learning, and is noticed by M. Quatremère as one of the earliest students of Coptic. *Quatremère sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte*, p. 89. He was made a bishop in 1691, having published the *De Legibus* in 1672. *Chalmers' Biog. Dict.* vol. xi. pp. 133, 135.

but solely with a view to its general utility.[207] Nor were these mere barren principles which subsequent inquirers were unable to apply. The opinions of Cumberland, pushed to their furthest extent by Hume,[208] were shortly afterwards applied to practical conduct by Paley,[209] and to speculative jurisprudence by Bentham and Mill;[210] while the opinions of Warburton, spreading with still greater rapidity, have influenced our legislative policy, and are now professed, not only by advanced thinkers, but even by those ordinary men who, if they had lived fifty years earlier, would have shrunk from them with undissembled fear.[211]

Thus it was that, in England, theology was finally * severed from the two great departments of ethics and of government. As, however, this important change was at first not of a practical, but solely of an intellectual character, its operation was for many years confined to a small class, and has not yet produced the whole of those results which we have every reason to anticipate. But there

[207] This was in his work entitled *The Alliance between Church and State*, which first appeared, according to Hurd (*Life of Warburton*, 1794, 4to, p. 13) in 1736, and, as may be supposed, caused great scandal. The history of its influence I shall trace on another occasion; in the meantime the reader should compare, respecting its tendency, *Palmer on the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 313, 322, 323; *Parr's Works*, vol. i. pp. 657, 665, vol. vii. p. 128; *Whately's Dangers to Christian Faith*, p. 190; and *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. p. 18. In January, 1739–40, Warburton writes to Stukeley (*Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 53): "But you know how dangerous new roads in theology are, by the clamour of the bigots against me." See also some letters which passed between him and the elder Pitt, in 1762, on the subject of expediency, printed in *Chatham Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 184 seq. Warburton writes, p. 190, "My opinion is, and ever was, that the state has nothing at all to do with errors in religion, nor the least right so much as to attempt to repress them." To make such a man a bishop was a great feat for the eighteenth century, and would have been an impossible one for the seventeenth.

[208] The relation between Cumberland and Hume consists in the entirely secular plan according to which both investigated ethics: in other respects, there is great difference between their conclusions: but if the anti-theological method is admitted to be sound, it is certain that the treatment of the subject by Hume is more consequential from the premises, than is that by his predecessor. It is this which makes Hume a continuator of Cumberland; though with the advantage, not only of coming half a century after him, but of possessing a more comprehensive mind. The ethical speculations of Hume are in the third book of his *Treatise of Human Nature* (*Hume's Philosophical Works*, Edinb. 1826, vol. ii. pp. 219 seq.), and in his *Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, ibid. vol. iv. pp. 237–365.

[209] The moral system of Paley, being essentially utilitarian, completed the revolution in that field of inquiry; and as his work was drawn up with great ability, it exercised immense influence in an age already prepared for its reception. His *Moral and Political Philosophy* was published in 1785; in 1786 it became a standard book at Cambridge; and by 1805 it had passed "through fifteen editions." *Meadley's Memoirs of Paley*, pp. 127, 145. Compare *Whewell's Hist. of Moral Philosophy*, p. 176.

[210] That the writings of these two eminent men form part of the same scheme, is well known to those who have studied the history of the school to which they belong; and on the intellectual relation they bore to each other, I cannot do better than refer to a very striking letter by James Mill himself, in *Bentham's Works*, edit. Bowring, vol. x. pp. 481, 482.

[211] The repeal of the Test Act, the admission of Catholics into parliament, and the steadily increasing feeling in favour of the admission of the Jews, are the leading symptoms of this great movement. On the gradual diffusion among us of the doctrine of expediency, which, on all subjects not yet raised to sciences, ought to be the sole regulator of human actions, see a remarkable but a mournful letter, written in 1812, in the *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iv. p. 28. See also the speech of Lord Eldon in 1828, in *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 203.

[* The laxity of the phrase "was finally" has brought on Buckle a charge of serious error. But the previous sentence gives his true meaning. He should have written: "Thus . . . began to be severed . . ."—Ed.]

were other circumstances which tended in the same direction, and which, being known to all men of tolerable education, produced effects more immediate, though perhaps less permanent. To trace their details, and point out the connexion between them, will be the business of part of the future volumes of this work: at present I can only glance at the leading features. Of these the most prominent were: The great Arian controversy, which, rashly instigated by Whiston, Clarke, and Waterland, disseminated doubts among nearly all classes;[212] the Bangorian controversy, which, involving matters of ecclesiastical discipline hitherto untouched, led to discussions dangerous to the power of the church;[213] the great work of Blackburne on the Confessional, which at one moment almost caused a schism in the Establishment itself;[214] the celebrated dispute respecting miracles between Middleton, Church, and Dodwell, continued, with still larger views, by Hume, Campbell, and Douglas;[215] the exposure of the gross

[212] From a curious passage in *Hutton's Life of Himself*, p. 27, we learn that in 1739 the scepticism of the anti-Trinitarians had penetrated among the tradesmen at Nottingham. Compare, respecting the spread of this heresy, *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. viii. p. 375; *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 25, 26, 53; *Doddridge's Correspond. and Diary*, vol. ii. p. 477 note; and on Peirce, who took an active part, and whom Whiston boasts of having corrupted, see *Whiston's Memoirs*, pp. 143, 144. Sharp, who was Archbishop of York when the controversy began, foresaw its dangerous consequences. *Life of Sharp*, edited by Newcome, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8, 135, 136. See further *Maclaine's note* in *Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 293, 294; *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 338, 342, 351; and a note in *Butler's Reminisc.* vol. i. pp. 206, 207.

[213] Mr. Butler (*Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. iii. pp. 182–184, 347–350) notices with evident pleasure the effect of this famous controversy in weakening the Anglican church. Compare *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iii. pp. 135–141. Whiston (*Memoirs*, p. 244) says: "And, indeed, this Bangorian controversy seemed for a great while to engross the attention of the public." See more about it in *Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 372–383; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 152, vol. ix. pp. 433, 434, 516; *Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 840; *Bishop Newton's Life of Himself*, pp. 177, 178.

[214] *The Confessional*, a most able attack on the subscription of creeds and articles, was published in 1766; and according to a contemporary observer, "it excited a general spirit of inquiry." *Cappe's Memoirs*, pp. 147, 148. The consequence was that in 1772 a society was instituted by Blackburne and other clergy of the Church of England, with the avowed object of doing away with all subscriptions in religion. *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 570; *Illustrations*, vol. vi. p. 854. A petition against the Articles was at once drawn up, signed by 200 clergy (*Adolphus's George III.* vol. i. p. 506), and brought before the House of Commons. In the animated debate which followed, Sir William Meredith said that "the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were framed when the spirit of free inquiry, when liberal and enlarged notions, were yet in their infancy." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 246. He added, p. 247: "Several of the Articles are absolutely unintelligible, and, indeed, contradictory and absurd." Lord George Germain said: "In my apprehension, some of the Articles are incomprehensible, and some self-contradictory." p. 265. Mr. Sawbridge declared that the Articles are "strikingly absurd;" Mr. Salter that they are "too absurd to be defended;" and Mr. Dunning that they are "palpably ridiculous." p. 294. For further information on this attempt at reform, see *Disney's Life of Jebb*, pp. 31–36; *Meadley's Mem. of Paley*, pp. 88–94; *Hodgson's Life of Porteus*, pp. 38–40; *Memoirs of Priestley*, vol. ii. p. 582; and a characteristic notice in *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 270, 271.

[215] Hume says that on his return from Italy in 1749 he found "all England in a ferment on account of Dr. Middleton's *Free Inquiry*." *Hume's Life of Himself*, in his *Works*, vol. i. p. vii. See also, on the excitement caused by this masterly attack, *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 176; which should be compared with *Doddridge's Correspond.* vol. iv. pp. 536, 537; and on the "miraculous controversy" in general, see *Porteus's Life of Secker*, 1797, p. 38; *Phillimore's Mem. of Lyttleton*, vol. i. p. 161; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. pp. 440, 527, vol. iii. pp. 535, 750, vol. v. pp. 417, 418, 600; *Hull's Letters*, 1778, vol. i. p. 109; *Warburton's Letters to Hurd*, pp. 49, 50.

absurdities of the Fathers, which, already begun by Daillé and Barbeyrac, was followed up by Cave, Middleton, and Jortin; the important and unrefuted statements of Gibbon, in his fifteenth and sixteenth chapters; the additional strength conferred on those chapters by the lame attacks of Davis, Chelsum, Whitaker, and Watson;[216] while, not to mention inferior matters, the century was closed amid the confusion caused by that decisive controversy between Porson and Travis, respecting the text of the Heavenly Witnesses, which excited immense attention,[217] and was immediately accompanied by the discoveries of geologists, in which not only was the fidelity of the Mosaic cosmogony impugned, but its accuracy was shown to be impossible.[218] These things, following each other in rapid and startling succession, perplexed the faith of men, disturbed their easy credulity, and produced effects on the public mind which can only be estimated by those who have studied the history of that time in its original sources. Indeed, they cannot be understood, even in their general bearings, except by taking into consideration some other circumstances with which the great progress was intimately connected.

For, in the meantime, an immense change had begun, not only among speculative minds, but also among the people themselves. The increase of scepticism stimulated their curiosity; and the diffusion of education supplied the means of gratifying it. Hence we find that one of the leading characteristics of the

[216] *Gibbon's Decline and Fall* has now been jealously scrutinized by two generations of eager and unscrupulous opponents; and I am only expressing the general opinion of competent judges when I say that by each successive scrutiny it has gained fresh reputation. Against his celebrated fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, all the devices of controversy have been exhausted; but the only result has been, that while the fame of the historian is untarnished, the attacks of his enemies are falling into complete oblivion. The work of Gibbon remains; but who is there who feels any interest in what was written against him?

[217] On the effect produced by these matchless letters of Porson, see *Harford's Life of Bishop Burgess*, p. 374; and as to the previous agitation of the question in England, see *Calamy's Own Life*, vol. ii. pp. 442, 443; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. ii. pp. 16–19, 146, 286–289; *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 211. Compare *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 137, vol. xiii. p. 458.

[218] The sceptical character of geology was first clearly exhibited during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. Previously, the geologists had for the most part allied themselves with the theologians; but the increasing boldness of public opinion now enabled them to institute independent investigations, without regard to doctrines hitherto received. In this point of view, much was effected by the researches of Hutton, whose work, says Sir Charles Lyell, contains the first attempt "to explain the former changes of the earth's crust by reference exclusively to natural agents." *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, p. 50. To establish this method was, of course, to dissolve the alliance with the theologians; but an earlier symptom of the change was seen in 1773, that is, fifteen years before Hutton wrote: see a letter in *Watson's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 402, where it is stated that the "free-thinkers" attacked the "Mosaic account of the world's age, especially since the publication of Mr. Brydone's *Travels through Sicily and Malta*." According to Lowndes (*Bibliographer's Manual*, vol. i. p. 279) Brydone's book was published in 1773; and in 1784 Sir William Jones notices the tendency of these inquiries: see his *Discourse on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India*, in which he observes (*Works*, vol. i. p. 233) with regret, that he lived in "an age when some intelligent and virtuous persons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts delivered by Moses concerning the primitive world." Since then, the progress of geology has been so rapid, that the historical value of the writings of Moses is abandoned by all enlightened men, even among the clergy themselves. I need only refer to what has been said by two of the most eminent of that profession, Dr. Arnold and Mr. Baden Powell. See the observations of Arnold in *Newman's Phases of Faith*, p. 111 (compare pp. 122, 123); and the still more decisive remarks in *Powell's Sermons on Christianity without Judaism*, 1856, pp. 38, 39. For other instances, see *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, 1849, vol. i. pp. 219, 220.

eighteenth century, and one which pre-eminently distinguished it from all that preceded, was a craving after knowledge on the part of those classes from whom knowledge had hitherto been shut out. It was in that great age that there were first established schools for the lower orders on the only day they had time to attend them,[219] and newspapers on the only day they had time to read them.[220] It was then that there were first seen, in our country, circulating libraries ;[221] and it was then, too, that the art of printing, instead of being almost confined to London, began to be generally practised in country towns.[222] It was also in the eighteenth century that the earliest systematic efforts were made to popularize the sciences, and facilitate the acquisition of their general principles, by writing

[219] It is usually supposed that Sunday-schools were begun by Raikes, in 1781 ; but though he appears to have been the first to organize them on a suitable scale, there is no doubt that they were established by Lindsey, in or immediately after 1765. See *Cappe's Memoirs*, pp. 118, 122 ; *Harford's Life of Burgess*, p. 92 ; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. pp. 430, 431, vol. ix. p. 540 ; *Chalmers' Biog. Dict.* vol. xxv. p. 485 ; *Journ. of Stat. Soc.* vol. x. p. 196, vol. xiii. p. 265 ; *Hodgson's Life of Porteus*, p. 92. It is said, in *Spencer's Social Statics*, p. 343, that the clergy of the Church of England were, as a body, opposed to the establishment of Sunday-schools. (Compare *Watson's Observations on Southey's Wesley*, p. 149.) At all events, they increased rapidly, and by the end of the century had become common. See *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. v. pp. 678, 679 ; *Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 460 ; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 180, vol. ii. p. 296 ; *Wesley's Journals*, pp. 806, 897.

[220] Mr. Hunt (*Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. p. 273) makes no mention of Sunday newspapers earlier than a notice by Crabbe in 1785 ; but in 1799 Lord Belgrave said, in the House of Commons, that they first appeared "about the year 1780." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxiv. p. 1006. In 1799, Wilberforce tried to have a law enacted to suppress them. *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii. pp. 338, 424.

[221] When Franklin came to London, in 1725, there was not a single circulating library in the metropolis. See *Franklin's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 64 ; and in 1697, "the only library in London which approached the nature of a public library was that of Sion College, belonging to the London clergy." *Ellis's Letters of Literary Men*, p. 245. The exact date of the earliest circulating library I have not yet ascertained ; but according to Southey (*The Doctor*, edit. Warter, 1848, p. 271), the first set up in London was about the middle of the eighteenth century, by Samuel Fancourt. Hutton (*Life of Himself*, p. 279) says, "I was the first who opened a circulating library in Birmingham, in 1751." Other notices of them, during the latter half of the century, will be found in *Coleridge's Biographia Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 329, edit. 1847 ; *Leigh Hunt's Autobiography*, vol. i. p. 260 ; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. pp. 648, 682 ; *Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 424 ; *Whewell's Hist. of Moral Philosophy*, p. 190 ; *Sinclair's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 143. Indeed, they increased so rapidly, that some wise men proposed to tax them, "by a license, at the rate of *2s. 6d.* per 100 volumes per annum." *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. iii. p. 268.

[222] In 1746, Gent, the well-known printer, wrote his own life. In this curious work he states that in 1714 there were "few printers in England, except London, at that time ; none then, I am sure, at Chester, Liverpool, Whitehaven, Preston, Manchester, Kendal, and Leeds, as for the most part now abound." *Life of Thomas Gent*, pp. 20, 21. (Compare a list of country printing-houses, in 1724, in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 289.) How this state of things was remedied, is a most important inquiry for the historian : but in this note I can only give a few illustrations of the condition of different districts. The first printing-office in Rochester was established by Fisher, who died in 1786 (*Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. p. 675) ; the first in Whitby was in 1770 (*Illustrations*, vol. iii. p. 787) ; and Richard Greene, who died in 1793, "was the first who brought a printing-press to Lichfield" (*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 320). In the reign of Anne, there was not a single bookseller in Birmingham (*Southey's Commonplace Book*, 1st series, 1849, p. 568) ; but in 1749 we find a printer established there (*Hull's Letters*, Lond. 1778, vol. i. p. 92) ; and in 1774 there was a printer even in Falkirk (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 1099). In other parts the movement was slower ; and we are told that about 1780 "there was scarcely a bookseller in Cornwall." *Life of Samuel Drew, by his Son*, 1834, pp. 40, 41.

treatises on them in an easy and untechnical style ; [223] while at the same time the invention of Encyclopædias enabled their results to be brought together, and digested in a form more accessible than any hitherto employed.[224] Then, too, we first meet with literary periodical reviews ; by means of which large bodies of practical men acquired information, scanty indeed, but every way superior to their former ignorance.[225] The formation of societies for purchasing books now became general ; [226] and, before the close of the century, we hear of clubs instituted by reading men among the industrious classes.[227] In every department the same eager curiosity was shown. In the middle of the eighteenth century debating societies sprung up among tradesmen ; [228] and this was followed by a still bolder innovation, for, in 1769, there was held the first public meeting ever assembled in England, the first in which it was attempted to enlighten Englishmen respecting their political rights.[229] About the same time, the pro-

[223] Desaguliers and Hill were the two first writers who gave themselves up to popularizing physical truths. At the beginning of the reign of George I., Desaguliers was "the first who read lectures in London on experimental philosophy." *Southey's Commonplace Book*, 3rd series, 1850, p. 77. See also *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. viii. p. 430 ; and, on his elementary works, compare *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. vi. p. 81. As to Hill, he is said to have set the example of publishing popular scientific works in numbers ; a plan so well suited to that inquisitive age, that, if we believe Horace Walpole, he "earned fifteen guineas a week." *Letter to Henry Zouch*, January 3rd, 1761, in *Walpole's Letters*, vol. iv. p. 117, edit. 1840.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the demand for books on the natural sciences rapidly increased (see, among many other instances which might be quoted, a note in *Pulteney's Hist. of Botany*, vol. ii. p. 180) ; and, early in the reign of George III., Priestley began to write popularly on physical subjects. (*Memoirs of Priestley*, vol. i. pp. 288, 289.) Goldsmith did something in the same direction (*Prior's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. pp. 414, 469, vol. ii. p. 198) ; and Pennant, whose earliest work appeared in 1766, was "the first who treated the natural history of Britain in a popular and interesting style." *Swainson on the Study of Natural History*, p. 50. In the reign of George II., publishers began to encourage elementary works on chemistry. *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ix. p. 763.

[224] In 1704, 1708, and 1710, Harris published his *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* ; and from this, according to *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ix. pp. 770, 771, has "originated all the other dictionaries and cyclopædias that have since appeared." Compare vol. v. p. 659 ; and *Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of the Dissenters*, vol. iv. p. 500.

[225] Late in the seventeenth century, an attempt was first made in England to establish literary journals. *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 539 ; and *Dibdin's Bibliomania*, 1842, p. 16. Reviews, as we now understand the word, meaning a critical publication, were unknown before the accession of George II. ; but about the middle of his reign, they began to increase. Compare *Wright's England under the House of Hanover*, 1848, vol. i. p. 304, with *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. pp. 507, 508. At an earlier period the functions of reviews were performed, as Monk says, by pamphlets. *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. i. p. 112.

[226] As we find from many casual notices of book-clubs and book-societies. See, for example, *Doddridge's Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 57, 119 ; *Jesse's Life of Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 23 ; *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. pp. 184, 824, 825 : *Wakefield's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 528 ; *Memoirs of Sir J. E. Smith*, vol. i. p. 8 ; *Life of Roscoe, by his Son*, vol. i. p. 228 (though this last was perhaps a circulating library).

[227] "Numerous associations or clubs, composed principally of reading men of the lower ranks." *Life of Dr. Currie, by his Son*, vol. i. p. 175.

[228] Of which the most remarkable was that called the Robin-Hood Society ; respecting which the reader should compare *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 373 ; *Grosley's London*, vol. i. p. 150 ; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 301 ; *Southey's Commonplace Book*, 4th series, p. 339 ; *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. p. 310 ; *Prior's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. pp. 419, 420 ; *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 75 ; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. p. 154.

[229] "From the summer of 1769 is to be dated the first establishment of public meetings in England." *Albemarle's Mem. of Rockingham* vol. ii. p. 93. "Public meetings, . . .

ceedings in our courts of law began to be studied by the people, and communicated to them through the medium of the daily press.[230] Shortly before this, political newspapers arose,[231] and a sharp struggle broke out between them and the two Houses of Parliament touching the right of publishing the debates; the end of which was that both houses, though aided by the crown, were totally defeated; and for the first time the people were able to study the proceedings of the national legislature, and thus gain some acquaintance with the national affairs.[232] Scarcely was this triumph completed when fresh stimulus was given by the promulgation of that great political doctrine of personal representation,[233] which must eventually carry all before it; and the germ of which may be traced

through which the people might declare their newly-acquired consciousness of power, . . . cannot be distinctly traced higher than the year 1769; but they were now (*i.e.* in 1770) of daily occurrence." *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 187. See also *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p 420.

[230] The most interesting trials were first noticed in newspapers towards the end of the reign of George II. *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 52, vol. vi. p. 54.

[231] In 1696, the only newspapers were weekly; and the first daily paper appeared in the reign of Anne. Compare *Simmonds's Essay on Newspapers*, in *Journal of Statist. Society*, vol. iv. p. 113, with *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. pp. 167, 175, vol. ii. p. 90; and *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iv. p. 80. In 1710, they, instead of merely communicating news, as heretofore, began to take part in "the discussion of political topics" (*Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 443); and, as this change had been preceded a very few years by the introduction of cheap political pamphlets (see a curious passage in *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. p. 29), it became evident that a great movement was at hand in regard to the diffusion of such inquiries. Within twenty years after the death of Anne, the revolution was completed; and the press, for the first time in the history of the world, was made an exponent of public opinion. The earliest notice of this new power, which I have met with, in parliament, is in a speech delivered by Danvers, in 1738; which is worth quoting, both because it marks an epoch, and because it is characteristic of that troublesome class to which the man belonged. "But I believe," says this distinguished legislator,—"but I believe, the people of Great Britain are governed by a power that never was heard of, as a supreme authority, in any age or country before. This power, sir, does not consist in the absolute will of the prince, in the direction of parliament, in the strength of an army, in the influence of the clergy; neither, sir, is it a petticoat government: but, sir, it is the government of the press. The stuff which our weekly newspapers are filled with, is received with greater reverence than acts of parliament; and the sentiments of one of these scribblers have more weight with the multitude than the opinion of the best politician in the kingdom." *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. p. 448.

[232] This great contest was brought to a close in 1771 and 1772; when, as Lord Campbell says, "the right of publishing parliamentary debates was substantially established." *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 511, vol. vi. p. 90. For further information respecting this important victory, see *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. pp. 179–184; *Almon's Correspond. of Wilkes*, 1805, vol. v. p. 63; *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. i. pp. 329–351; *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 290; and, on its connexion with *Junius's Letters*, see *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. ii. pp. 183, 184.

George III., always consistent and always wrong, strenuously opposed this extension of the popular rights. In 1771, he wrote to Lord North: "It is highly necessary that this strange and lawless method of publishing debates in the papers should be put a stop to. But is not the House of Lords the best court to bring such miscreants before; as it can fine, as well as imprison, and has broader shoulders to support the odium of so salutary a measure?" *App. to Mahon*, vol. v. p. xlviii.; and *note* in *Walpole's George III.* vol. iv. p. 280, where the words, "in the papers," are omitted; but I copy the letter, as printed by Lord Mahon. In other respects, both versions are the same; so that we now know the idea George III. had of what constituted a miscreant.

[233] Lord John Russell, in his work on the *History of the English Constitution*, says: "Dr. Jebb, and after him Mr. Cartwright, broached the theory of personal representation;" but this appears to be a mistake, since the theory is said to have been first put forward by Cartwright, in 1776. Compare *Russell on the Constitution*, 1821, pp. 240, 241, with *Life and Corresp. of Cartwright*, 1826, vol. i. pp. 91, 92. A letter in the *Life of Dr.*

late in the seventeenth century, when the true idea of personal independence began to take root and flourish.[234] Finally, it was reserved for the eighteenth century to set the first example of calling on the people to adjudicate upon those solemn questions of religion in which hitherto they had never been consulted, although it is now universally admitted that to their growing intelligence these, and all other matters, must ultimately be referred.[235]

In connexion with all this there was a corresponding change in the very form and make of our literature. The harsh and pedantic method which our great writers had long been accustomed to employ, was ill suited to an impetuous and inquisitive generation, thirsting after knowledge, and therefore intolerant of obscurities formerly unheeded. Hence it was that, early in the eighteenth century, the powerful but cumbrous language, and the long, involved sentences, so natural to our ancient authors, were, notwithstanding their beauty, suddenly discarded, and were succeeded by a lighter and simpler style, which, being more rapidly understood, was better suited to the exigencies of the age.[236]

Currie, vol. ii. pp. 307–314, shows the interest which even sober and practical men were beginning to feel in the doctrine before the end of the century.

[234] On this I have a philological remark of some interest,—namely, that there is reason to believe that "the word 'independence,' in its modern acceptation," does not occur in our language before the early part of the eighteenth century. See *Hare's Guesses at Truth*, 2nd series, 1848, p. 262. A similar change, though at a later period, took place in France. See the observations on the word 'individualisme,' in *Tocqueville, Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. iv. p. 156; and in the later work by the same author, *L'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1856, pp. 148, 149.

[235] Archbishop Whately (*Dangers to Christian Faith*, pp. 76, 77) says: "Neither the attacks on our religion, nor the evidences in its support, were to any great extent brought forward in a popular form, till near the close of the last century. On both sides, the learned (or those who professed to be such) seem to have agreed in this,—that the mass of the people were to acquiesce in the decision of their superiors, and neither should, nor could, exercise their own minds on the question." This is well put, and quite true; and should be compared with the complaint in *Wakefield's Life of Himself*, vol. ii. p. 21; *Nichols's Lit. Anec. of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. viii. p. 144; and *Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteus*, pp. 73, 74, 122, 125, 126. See also a speech by Mansfield, in 1781 (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 265), when an attempt was made to put down the "Theological Society." The whole debate is worth reading; not on account of its merits, but because it supplies evidence of the prevailing spirit. [Whately and Buckle have overlooked the popular propaganda of Peter Annet, whose first pamphlet on "Judging for Ourselves" (1739), consists of "Two Lectures delivered at Plaisterers' Hall." He published a number of other popular free-thinking treatises, and in 1761, on his issuing nine numbers of *The Free Inquirer*, he was sentenced to the pillory and to imprisonment. Woolston's *Discourses on Miracles*, too (1726–28), had a great vogue, though Voltaire is probably over the mark in stating that 30,000 copies were sold. But the great mass of deistic literature was certainly read by many besides "the learned." Chubb in particular was not at all a learned man; and he had a large following.—Ed.]

[236] Coleridge (*Lit. Remains*, vol. i. pp. 230 seq.) has made some interesting remarks on the vicissitudes of English style; and he justly observes, p. 238, that, "after the Revolution, the spirit of the nation became much more commercial than it had been before; a learned body, or clerisy, as such, gradually disappeared; and literature in general began to be addressed to the common, miscellaneous public." He goes on to lament this change; though in that I disagree with him. See also *The Friend*, vol. i. p. 19, where he contrasts the modern style with "the stately march and difficult evolutions" of the great writers of the seventeenth century. Compare, on this alteration, the preface to Nader Shah, in *Works of Sir W. Jones*, vol. v. p. 544. See also, in *Harford's Life of Burgess*, pp. 40, 41, a curious letter from Monboddo, the last of our really great pedants, mourning over this characteristic of modern composition. He terms it contemptuously a "short cut of a style;" and wishes to return to "the true ancient taste," with plenty of "parentheses"!

The truth is that this movement was merely part of that tendency to approximate the

The extension of knowledge being thus accompanied by an increased simplicity in the manner of its communication, naturally gave rise to a greater independence in literary men, and a greater boldness in literary inquiries. As long as books, either from the difficulty of their style, or from the general incuriosity of the people, found but few readers, it was evident that authors must rely upon the patronage of public bodies, or of rich and titled individuals. And as men are always inclined to flatter those upon whom they are dependent, it too often happened that even our greatest writers prostituted their abilities, by fawning upon the prejudices of their patrons. The consequence was that literature, so far from disturbing ancient superstitions, and stirring up the mind to new inquiries, frequently assumed a timid and subservient air, natural to its subordinate position. But now all this was changed. Those servile and shameful dedications ;[237] that mean and crouching spirit ; that incessant homage to mere rank and birth ; that constant confusion between power and right ; that ignorant admiration for everything which is old, and that still more ignorant contempt for everything which is new ;—all these features became gradually fainter ; and authors, relying upon the patronage of the people, began to advocate the claims of their new allies with a boldness upon which they could not have ventured in any previous age.[238]

different classes of society, which was first clearly seen in the eighteenth century, and which influenced not only the style of authors, but also their social habits. Hume observes that in the "last age" learned men had separated themselves too much from the world ; but that in his time they were becoming more "conversible." *Essay V.*, in *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iv. pp. 539, 540. That "philosophers" were growing men of the world, is also noticed in a curious passage in *Alciphron*, dial. i., in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. p. 312 ; and, respecting the general social amalgamation, see a letter to the Countess of Bute, in 1753, in *Works of Lady Mary Montagu*, edit. 1803, vol. iv. pp. 194, 195. As to the influence of Addison, who led the way in establishing the easy, and therefore democratic style, and who, more than any single writer, made literature popular, compare *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. ii. p. 65, with *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 7. Subsequently a reaction was attempted by Johnson, Gibbon, and Parr ; but this, being contrary to the spirit of the age, was short-lived.

[237] And the servility was, for the most part, well paid ; indeed, rewarded for more than it was worth. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth century, a sum of money was invariably presented to the author in return for his dedication. Of course, the grosser the flattery, the larger the sum. On the relation thus established between authors and men of rank, and on the eagerness with which even eminent writers looked to their patrons for gratuities, varying from 40*s.* to 100*l.*, see *Drake's Shakespeare and his Times*, 1817, 4to, vol. ii. p. 225 ; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. i. pp. 194, 309 ; *Whiston's Memoirs*, p. 203 ; *Nichols's Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 709 ; *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. iii. p. 35 ; *Bunbury's Life of Hanmer*, p. 81. Compare a note in *Burton's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 52 ; and as to the importance of fixing on a proper person to whom to dedicate, see *Ellis's Letters of Lit. Men*, pp. 231–234 ; and the matter-of-fact remark in *Bishop Newton's Life*, p. 14 ; also *Hughes's Letters*, edit. 1773, vol. iii. p. xxxi. appendix.

About the middle of the eighteenth century was the turning-point of this deplorable condition ; and Watson, for instance, in 1769, laid it down as a rule, "never to dedicate to those from whom I expected favours." *Watson's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 54. So, too, Warburton, in 1758, boasts that his dedication was not, as usual, "occupied by trifles or falsehoods." See his letter, in *Chatham Correspond.* vol. i. p. 315. Nearly at the same period, the same change was effected in France, where D'Alembert set the example of ridiculing the old custom. See *Brougham's Men of Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 439, 440 ; *Correspond. de Madame Dudeffand*, vol. ii. p. 148 ; and *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xl. p. 41, vol. lxi. p. 285.

[238] When Le Blanc visited England, in the middle of the reign of George II., the custom of authors relying upon the patronage of individuals was beginning to die away, and the plan of publishing by subscription had become general. See the interesting details in *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un Français*, vol. i. pp. 305–308 ; and, for the former state of things,

From all these things there resulted consequences of vast importance. From this simplification, independence, and diffusion [239] of knowledge, it necessarily happened that the issue of those great disputes to which I have alluded became, in the eighteenth century, more generally known than would have been possible in any preceding century. It was now known that theological and political questions were being constantly agitated, in which genius and learning were on one side, and orthodoxy and tradition on the other. It became known that the points which were mooted were not only as to the credibility of particular facts, but also as to the truth of general principles, with which the interests and happiness of Man were intimately concerned. Disputes which had hitherto been confined to a very small part of society began to spread far and wide, and suggest doubts that served as materials for national thought. The consequence was that the spirit of inquiry became every year more active and more general; the desire for reform constantly increased; and if affairs had been allowed to run on in their natural course, the eighteenth century could not have passed away without decisive and salutary changes both in the church and the state. But soon after the middle of this period there unfortunately arose a series of political combinations which disturbed the march of events, and eventually produced a crisis so full of danger that, among any other people, it would certainly have ended either in a loss of liberty or in a dissolution of government. This disastrous reaction, from the effects of which England has, perhaps, barely recovered, has never been studied with anything like the care its importance demands; indeed, it is so little understood that no historian has traced the opposition between it and that great intellectual movement of which I have just sketched an outline. On this account, as also with the view of giving more completeness to the present chapter, I intend to examine its most important epochs, and point out, so far as I am able, the way in which they are connected with each other. According to the scheme of this Introduction, such an inquiry must of course be very cursory, as its sole object is to lay a foundation for those general principles, without which history is a mere assemblage of empirical observations, unconnected, and therefore unimportant. It must likewise be remembered that as the circumstances about to be considered were not social, but political, we are the more liable to err in our conclusions respecting them; and this partly because the materials for the history of a people are more extensive, more indirect, and therefore less liable to be garbled, than are those for the history of a government; and partly because the conduct of small bodies of men, such as ministers and kings, is always more capricious, that is to say, less regulated by known laws, than is the conduct of those large bodies collectively called society, or a nation.[240]

see vol. ii. pp. 148–153. Burke, who came to London in 1750, observes with surprise that "writers of the first talents are left to the capricious patronage of the public. Notwithstanding discouragement, literature is cultivated to a high degree." *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 21. This increasing independence also appears from the fact that in 1762 we find the first instance of a popular writer attacking public men by name; authors having previously confined themselves "to the initials only of the great men whom they assailed." *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 19. The feud between literature and rank may be further illustrated by an entry in Holcroft's diary for 1798, *Mem. of Holcroft*, vol. iii. p. 28.

[239] In England, the marked increase in the number of books took place during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and particularly after 1756. See some valuable evidence in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 383, 384. To this I may add that between 1753 and 1792 the circulation of newspapers was more than doubled. *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. p. 252.

[240] The apparent caprice and irregularity in small numbers arise from the perturbations produced by the operation of minor and usually unknown laws. In large numbers, these perturbations have a tendency to balance each other; and this I take to be the sole foundation of the accuracy obtained by striking an average. If we could refer all phenomena to their laws, we should never use averages. Of course the expression *capricious* is, strictly speaking, inaccurate, and is merely a measure of our ignorance.

With this precautionary remark, I will now endeavour to trace what, in a mere political point of view, is the reactionary and retrogressive period of English history.

It must be considered as a most fortunate circumstance that, after the death of Anne,[241] the throne should be occupied for nearly fifty years by two princes, aliens in manners and in country, of whom one spoke our language but indifferently, and the other knew it not at all.[242] The immediate predecessors of George III. were indeed of so sluggish a disposition, and were so profoundly ignorant of the people they undertook to govern,[243] that, notwithstanding their arbitrary temper, there was no danger of their organizing a party to extend the boundaries of the royal prerogative.[244] And as they were foreigners, they never had sufficient sympathy with the English church to induce them to aid the clergy in their natural desire to recover their former power.[245] Besides this, the fractious and disloyal conduct of many of the hierarchy must have tended to alienate the regard of the sovereign, as it had already cost them the affection of the people.[246]

[241] The temporary political reaction under Anne is well related by Lord Cowper, in his *Hist. of Parties*, printed in appendix to *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iv. pp. 411, 412. This able work of Lord Campbell's, though rather inaccurate for the earlier period, is particularly valuable for the history of the eighteenth century.

[242] See *Reminiscences of the Courts of George I. and George II. by Horace Walpole*, pp. lv. xciv. ; and *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. pp. 100, 235. The fault of George II. was in his bad pronunciation of English ; but George I. was not even able to pronounce it badly, and could only converse with his minister, Sir Robert Walpole, in Latin. The French court saw this state of things with great pleasure ; and in December, 1714, Madame de Maintenon wrote to the Princess des Ursins (*Lettres inédites de Maintenon*, vol. iii. p. 157) : "On dit que le nouveau roi d'Angleterre se dégoûte de ses sujets, et que ses sujets sont dégoûtés de lui. Dieu veuille remettre le tout en meilleur ordre ! " On the effect this produced on the language spoken at the English court, compare *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un Français*, vol. i. p. 159.

[243] In 1715, Leslie writes respecting George I. that he is "a stranger to you, and altogether ignorant of your language, your laws, customs, and constitution." *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 703.

[244] Great light has been thrown upon the character of George II. by the recent publication of *Lord Hervey's Memoirs* ; a curious work, which fully confirms what we know from other sources respecting the king's ignorance of English politics. Indeed, that prince cared for nothing but soldiers and women ; and his highest ambition was to combine the reputation of a great general with that of a successful libertine. Besides the testimony of Lord Hervey, it is certain, from other authorities, that George II. was despised as well as disliked, and was spoken of contemptuously by observers of his character, and even by his own ministers. See the *Marchmont Papers*, vol. i. pp. 29, 181, 187.

In reference to the decline of the royal authority it is important to observe that since the accession of George I. none of our sovereigns have been allowed to be present at state deliberations. See *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 47, and *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iii. p. 191.

[245] See the remarks said to be written by Bishop Atterbury, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xiii. p. 534, contrasting the affection Anne felt for the church with the coldness of George I. The whole of the pamphlet (pp. 521–541) ought to be read. It affords a curious picture of a baffled churchman.

[246] The ill-feeling which the Church of England generally bore against the government of the two first Georges was openly displayed, and was so pertinacious as to form a leading fact in the history of England. In 1722, Bishop Atterbury was arrested because he was known to be engaged in a treasonable conspiracy with the Pretender. As soon as he was seized, the church offered up prayers for him. "Under the pretence," says Lord Mahon,—"under the pretence of his being afflicted with the gout, he was publicly prayed for in most of the churches of London and Westminster." *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 38. See also *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 988, and vol. viii. p. 347.

At Oxford, where the clergy have long been in the ascendant, they made such efforts

These circumstances, though in themselves they may be considered trifling, were in reality of great importance, because they secured to the nation the progress of that spirit of inquiry which, if there had been a coalition between the crown and the church, it would have been attempted to stifle. Even as it was, some attempts were occasionally made; but they were comparatively speaking rare, and they lacked the vigour which they would have possessed if there had been an intimate alliance between the temporal and spiritual authorities. Indeed, the state of affairs was so favourable that the old Tory faction, pressed by the people and abandoned by the crown, was unable for more than forty years to take any share in the government.[247] At the same time, considerable progress, as we shall hereafter see, was made in legislation; and our statute-book during that period contains ample evidence of the decline of the powerful party by which England had once been entirely ruled.

But by the death of George II. the political aspect was suddenly changed, and the wishes of the sovereign became once more antagonistic to the interests of the people. What made this the more dangerous was that, to a superficial observer, the accession of George III. was one of the most fortunate events that could have occurred. The new king was born in England, spoke English as his mother tongue,[248] and was said to look upon Hanover as a foreign country, whose interests were to be considered of subordinate importance.[249] At the same time, the last hopes of the House of Stuart were now destroyed;[250] the Pretender

to instil their principles as to call down the indignation of the elder Pitt, who, in a speech in Parliament in 1754, denounced that university, which he said had for many years "been raising a succession of treason—there never was such a seminary!" *Walpole's Mem. of George II.* vol. i. p. 413. Compare the *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 594, 595, with *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. ii. p. 383; and on the temper of the clergy generally after the death of Anne, *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 541, 542; *Bowles's Life of Ken*, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189; *Monk's Life of Bentley*, vol. i. pp. 370, 426.

The immediate consequence of this was very remarkable. For the government and the dissenters, being both opposed by the church, naturally combined together: the dissenters using all their influence against the Pretender, and the government protecting them against ecclesiastical prosecutions. See evidence of this in *Doddridge's Correspond. and Diary*, vol. i. p. 30, vol. ii. p. 321, vol. iii. pp. 110, 125, vol. iv. pp. 428, 436, 437; *Hutton's Life of Himself*, pp. 159, 160; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. pp. 11, 393, vol. xxix. pp. 1434, 1463; *Memoirs of Priestley*, vol. ii. p. 506; *Life of Wakefield*, vol. i. p. 220.

[247] "The year 1762 forms an era in the history of the two factions, since it witnessed the destruction of that monopoly of honours and emoluments which the Whigs had held for forty-five years." *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. ii. p. 406. Compare *Albemarle's Memoirs of Rockingham*. vol. ii. p. 92. Lord Bolingbroke clearly foresaw what would happen in consequence of the accession of George I. Immediately after the death of Anne, he wrote to the Bishop of Rochester: "But the grief of my soul is this, I see plainly that the Tory party is gone." *Macpherson's Original Papers*, vol. ii. p. 651.

[248] Grosley, who visited England only five years after the accession of George III., mentions the great effect produced upon the English when they heard the king pronounce their language without "a foreign accent." *Grosley's Tour to London*, vol. ii. p. 106. It is well known that the king in his first speech boasted of being a Briton; but what is perhaps less generally known is that the honour was on the side of the country: "What a lustre," said the House of Lords in their address to him,—"what a lustre does it cast upon the name of Briton, when you, sir, are pleased to esteem it amongst your glories!" *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 986.

[249] *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 955; *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. pp. 4, 110.

[250] The accession of George III. is generally fixed on as the period when English Jacobinism became extinct. See *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 92. At the first court held by the new king, it was observed, says Horace Walpole, that "the Earl of Litchfield, Sir Walter Bagot, and the principal Jacobites, went to court." *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 14. Only three years earlier, the Jacobites had been active; and in 1757, Rigby writes to the Duke of Bedford: "Fox's election at Windsor is very doubtful. There is a Jacobite subscription of 5,000*l.* raised against him, with Sir James Dashwood's name at the head of it." *Bedford Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 261.

himself was languishing in Italy, where he shortly after died ; and his son, a slave to vices which seemed hereditary in that family, was consuming his life in an unpitied and ignominious obscurity.[251]

And yet these circumstances, which appeared so favourable, did of necessity involve the most disastrous consequences. The fear of a disputed succession being removed, the sovereign was emboldened to a course on which he otherwise would not have ventured.[252] All those monstrous doctrines respecting the rights of kings, which the Revolution was supposed to have destroyed, were suddenly revived.[253] The clergy, abandoning the now hopeless cause of the Pretender, displayed the same zeal for the House of Hanover which they had formerly displayed for the House of Stuart. The pulpits resounded with praises of the new king, of his domestic virtues, of his piety, but above all of his dutiful attachment to the English church. The result was the establishment of an alliance between the two parties more intimate than any that had been seen in England since the time of Charles I.[254] Under their auspices, the old Tory faction rapidly rallied, and were soon able to dispossess their rivals in the management of the government. This reactionary movement was greatly aided by the personal character of George III. ; for he, being despotic as well as superstitious, was equally anxious to extend the prerogative and strengthen the church. Every liberal sentiment, everything approaching to reform, nay, even the mere mention of inquiry, was an abomination in the eves of that narrow and ignorant prince. Without knowledge, without taste, without even a glimpse of one of the sciences, or a feeling for one of the fine arts, education had done nothing to enlarge a mind which nature had more than usually contracted.[255] Totally ignorant of the history and resources of foreign countries, and barely knowing their geographical position, his information was scarcely more extensive respecting the people over whom he was called to rule. In that immense mass of

[251] Charles Stuart was so stupidly ignorant, that at the age of twenty-five he could hardly write, and was altogether unable to spell. *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. pp. 165, 166, and appendix, p. ix. After the death of his father, in 1766, this abject creature, who called himself king of England, went to Rome, and took to drinking. *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 351–353. In 1779, Swinburne saw him at Florence, where he used to appear every night at the opera, perfectly drunk. *Swinburne's Courts of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 253–255 ; and in 1787, only the year before he died, he continued the same degrading practice. See a letter from Sir J. E. Smith, written from Naples in March, 1787, in *Smith's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 208. Another letter, written as early as 1761 (*Grenville Papers*, vol. i. p 366), describes "the young Pretender always drunk." [There is no ground, however, for charging drunkenness on all the Stuarts before him.—Ed.]

[252] On the connexion between the decline of the Stuart interest and the increased power of the crown under George III., compare *Thoughts on the Present Discontents.* in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 127, 128, with *Watson's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 136 ; and for an intimation that this result was expected, see *Grosley's London*, vol. i. p. 252.

[253] *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. v. p. 245 : "The divine indefeasible right of kings became the favourite theme—in total forgetfulness of its incompatibility with the parliamentary title of the reigning monarch." Horace Walpole (*Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 16) says, that in 1760 "prerogative became a fashionable word."

[254] The respect George III. always displayed for church-ceremonies, formed of itself a marked contrast with the indifference of his immediate predecessors ; and the change was gratefully noticed. Compare *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. pp. 54, 55, with the extract from Archbishop Secker, in *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 440. For other evidence of the admiration both parties felt and openly expressed for each other, see an address from the bishop and clergy of St. Asaph (*Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 352), and a letter from the king to Pitt (*Russell's Memorials of Fox*, vol. iii. p. 251), which should be compared with *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

[255] The education of George III. had been shamefully neglected ; and when he arrived at manhood he never attempted to repair its deficiencies, but remained during his long life in a state of pitiable ignorance. Compare *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. i. pp. 13–15 ; *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 55 ; *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. pp. 54, 207.

evidence now extant, and which consists of every description of private correspondence, records of private conversation and of public acts, there is not to be found the slightest proof that he knew any one of those numerous things which the governor of a country ought to know; or, indeed, that he was acquainted with a single duty of his position, except that mere mechanical routine of ordinary business, which might have been effected by the lowest clerk in the meanest office in his kingdom.

The course of proceeding which such a king as this was likely to follow could be easily foreseen. He gathered round his throne that great party, who, clinging to the traditions of the past, have always made it their boast to check the progress of their age. During the sixty years of his reign, he, with the sole exception of Pitt, never willingly admitted to his councils a single man of great ability;[256] not one whose name is associated with any measure of value either in domestic or in foreign policy. Even Pitt only maintained his position in the state by forgetting the lessons of his illustrious father, and abandoning those liberal principles in which he had been educated, and with which he entered public life. Because George III. hated the idea of reform, Pitt not only relinquished what he had before declared to be absolutely necessary,[257] but did not hesitate to persecute to the death the party with whom he had once associated in order to obtain it.[258] Because George III. looked upon slavery as one of those good old customs which the wisdom of his ancestors had consecrated, Pitt did not dare to use his power for procuring its abolition, but left to his successors the glory of destroying that infamous trade, on the preservation of which his royal master had set his heart.[259] Because George III. detested the French, of whom he knew as

[256] See some good remarks by Lord John Russell in his Introduction to the *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. lxii.

[257] In a motion for reform in Parliament in 1782, he declared that it was "essentially necessary." See his speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 1418. In 1784 he mentioned "the necessity of a parliamentary reform." Vol. xxiv. p. 349; see also pp. 998, 999. Compare *Disney's Life of Jebb*, p. 209. Nor is it true, as some have said, that he afterwards abandoned the cause of reform because the times were unfavourable to it. On the contrary, he, in a speech delivered in 1800, said (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxv. p. 47): "Upon this subject, sir, I think it right to state the inmost thoughts of my mind; I think it right to declare my most decided opinion, that, *even if the times were proper for experiments, any, even the slightest, change in such a constitution must be considered as an evil.*" It is remarkable that, even as early as 1783, Paley appears to have suspected the sincerity of Pitt's professions in favour of reform. *See Meadley's Memoirs of Paley*, p. 121.

[258] In 1794 Grey taunted him with this in the House of Commons: "William Pitt, the reformer of that day, was William Pitt, the prosecutor, ay and persecutor too, of reformers now." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 532; compare vol. xxxiii. p. 659. So too Lord Campbell (*Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 544): "He afterwards tried to hang a few of his brother reformers who continued steady in the cause." See further, on this damning fact in the career of Pitt, *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vii. p. 105; *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 21; *Belsham's History*, vol. ix. pp. 79, 242; *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 198; and even a letter from the mild and benevolent Roscoe, in *Life of Roscoe, by his Son*, vol. i. p. 113.

[259] Such was the king's zeal in favour of the slave-trade, that in 1770 "he issued an instruction under his own hand commanding the governor (of Virginia), upon pain of the highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. iii. p. 456: so that, as Mr. Bancroft indignantly observes, p. 469, while the courts of law had decided "that as soon as any slave set his foot on English soil he becomes free, the king of England stood in the path of humanity, and made himself the pillar of the colonial slave-trade." The shuffling conduct of Pitt in this matter makes it hard for any honest man to forgive him. Compare *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. ii. pp. 14, 103–105; *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. iii. pp. 131, 278, 279; *Belsham's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. x. pp. 34, 35; *Life of Wakefield*, vol. i. p. 197; *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, vol. iii. p. 426; *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 157; and the striking remarks of Francis, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxii. p. 949.

much as he knew of the inhabitants of Kamtchatka or of Tibet, Pitt, contrary to his own judgment, engaged in a war with France by which England was seriously imperilled, and the English people burdened with a debt that their remotest posterity will be unable to pay.[260] But notwithstanding all this, when Pitt, only a few years before his death, showed a determination to concede to the Irish some small share of their undoubted rights, the king dismissed him from office; and the king's friends, as they were called,[261] expressed their indignation at the presumption of a minister who could oppose the wishes of so benign and gracious a master.[262] And when, unhappily for his own fame, this great man determined to return to power, he could only recover office by conceding that very point for which he had relinquished it: thus setting the mischievous example of the minister of a free country sacrificing his own judgment to the personal prejudices of the reigning sovereign.

As it was hardly possible to find other ministers, who to equal abilities would add equal subservience, it is not surprising that the highest offices were constantly filled by men of notorious incapacity.[263] Indeed, the king seemed to have an instinctive antipathy to everything great and noble. During the reign of George II., the elder Pitt had won for himself a reputation which covered the world, and had carried to an unprecedented height the glories of the English name.[264] He, however, as the avowed friend of popular rights, strenuously opposed the despotic principles of the court; and for this reason he was hated by George III. with a hatred that seemed barely compatible with a sane mind.[265]

[260] That Pitt wished to remain at peace, and was hurried into the war with France by the influence of the court, is admitted by the best-informed writers, men in other respects of different opinions. See, for instance, *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 9; *Rogers's Introduction to Burke's Works*, p. lxxxiv.; *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. ii. pp. 155, 200.

[261] The mere existence of such a party, with such a name, shows how, in a political point of view, England was receding during this period from the maxims established at the Revolution. Respecting this active faction, compare the indignant remarks of Burke (*Works*, vol. i. p. 133) with *Albemarle's Rockingham*, vol. i. pp. 5, 307; *Buckingham's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 284, vol. ii. p. 154; *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 61, 120, vol. ii. pp. 50, 77: *Bedford Correspond.* vol. iii. p. xlv.; *Parr's Works*, vol. viii. p. 513; *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 74; *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 352; *Walpole's George III.* vol. iv. p. 315; *The Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34, vol. iii. p. 57, vol. iv. pp. 79, 152, 219, 303; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. pp. 841, 973, vol. xviii. pp. 1005, 1246, vol. xix. pp. 435, 856, vol. xxii. pp. 650, 1173.

[262] See an extraordinary passage in *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, vol. i. p. 334.

[263] This decline in the abilities of official men was noticed by Burke, in 1770, as a necessary consequence of the new system. Compare *Thoughts on the Present Discontents* (*Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 149) with his striking summary (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 879) of the degeneracy during the first nine years of George III. "Thus situated, the question at last was not, who could do the public business best, but who would undertake to do it at all. Men of talents and integrity would not accept of employments where they were neither allowed to exercise their judgment nor display the rectitude of their hearts." In 1780, when the evil had become still more obvious, the same great observer denounced it in his celebrated address to his Bristol constituents. "At present," he says, "it is the plan of the court to make its servants insignificant." *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 257. See further *Parr's Works*, vol. iii. pp. 256, 260, 261.

[264] The military success of his administration is related in very strong language, but not unfairly, in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. pp. 108, 185, 186, and see the admirable summary in *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. i. pp. 33, 34; and for evidence of the fear with which he inspired the enemies of England, compare *Mahon*, vol. v. p. 165 note; *Bedford Correspond.* vol. iii. pp. 87, 246, 247; *Walpole's Letters to Mann*, vol. i. p. 304, edit. 1843; *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 232; and the reluctant admission in *Georgel, Mémoires*, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

[265] Lord Brougham (*Sketches of Statesmen*, vol. i. pp. 22, 33) has published striking evidence of what he calls "the truly savage feelings" with which George III. regarded Lord Chatham (compare *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. p. 129). Indeed, the sentiments

Fox was one of the greatest statesmen of the eighteenth century, and was better acquainted than any other with the character and resources of those foreign nations with which our own interests were intimately connected.[266] To this rare and important knowledge he added a sweetness and an amenity of temper which extorted the praises even of his political opponents.[267] But he too was the steady supporter of civil and religious liberty; and he too was so detested by George III. that the king, with his own hand, struck his name out of the list of privy councillors,[268] and declared that he would rather abdicate the throne than admit him to a share in the government.[269]

While this unfavourable change was taking place in the sovereign and ministers of the country, a change equally unfavourable was being effected in the second branch of the imperial legislature. Until the reign of George III., the House of Lords was decidedly superior to the House of Commons in the liberality and general accomplishments of its members. It is true that in both houses there prevailed a spirit which must be called narrow and superstitious, if tried by the larger standard of the present age. But among the peers such feelings were tempered by an education that raised them far above those country gentlemen and ignorant fox-hunting squires of whom the lower house was then chiefly composed. From this superiority in their knowledge, there naturally followed a larger and more liberal turn of thought than was possessed by those who were called the representatives of the people. The result was that the old Tory spirit, becoming gradually weaker in the upper house, took refuge in the lower; where, for about sixty years after the Revolution, the high-church party and the friends of the Stuarts formed a dangerous faction.[270] Thus, for instance, the two men who rendered the most eminent services to the Hanoverian dynasty, and therefore to the liberties of England, were undoubtedly Somers and Walpole. Both of them were remarkable for their principles of toleration, and both of them owed their safety to the interference of the House of Lords. Somers, early in the eighteenth century, was protected by the peers from the scandalous prosecu-

of the king were even displayed in the arrangements at the funeral of the great minister. *Note in Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 568; and for other evidence of ill-will, see two notes from the king to Lord North, in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. appendix, pp. iii. liv.; *The Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. p. 386; *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 438.

[266] Lord Brougham (*Sketches of Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 219) says: "It may be questioned if any politician, in any age, ever knew so thoroughly the various interests and the exact position of all the countries with which his own had dealings to conduct or relations to maintain." See also *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 14, 15; *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 320, 321, vol. ii. pp. 91, 243; *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 338.

[267] Burke, even after the French revolution, said, that Fox "was of the most artless, candid, open, and benevolent disposition, disinterested in the extreme; of a temper mild and placable even to a fault, without one drop of gall in his whole constitution." Speech on the Army Estimates in 1790, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. p. 356. For further evidence, compare *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. vii. p. 171; *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. i. pp. 3, 273; *Trotter's Mem. of Fox*, pp. xi. xii., 24, 178, 415.

[268] *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. vi. p. 692. A singular circumstance connected with this wanton outrage is related in the *Mem. of Holcroft*, vol. iii. p. 60.

[269] Compare *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. iv. pp. 107, 108, with *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 191, 287, 288, vol. ii. p. 44. Dutens, who had much intercourse with English politicians, heard of the threat of abdication in 1784. *Dutens' Mémoires*, vol. iii. p. 104. Lord Holland says that during the fatal illness of Fox "the king had watched the progress of Mr. Fox's disorder. He could hardly suppress his indecent exultation at his death." *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 49.

[270] In 1725, the Duke of Wharton, in a letter to the Pretender, after mentioning some proceedings in the Commons, adds, "In the House of Lords our number is so small that any behaviour there will be immaterial." *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. appendix, p. xxiii. See also, respecting the greater strength of the Tories in the House of Commons, *Somers Tracts*, vol. xi. p. 242, vol. xiii. pp. 524, 531; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. iv. p. 158; *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 156.

tion instituted against him by the other house of parliament.[271] Forty years after this, the Commons, who wished to hunt Walpole to the death, carried up a bill encouraging witnesses to appear against him by remitting to them the penalties to which they might be liable.[272] This barbarous measure had been passed through the lower house without the least difficulty; but in the Lords it was rejected by a preponderance of nearly two to one.[273] In the same way the Schism Act, by which the friends of the church subjected the dissenters to a cruel persecution,[274] was hurried through the Commons by a large and eager majority.[275] In the Lords, however, the votes were nearly balanced; and although the bill was passed, amendments were added by which the violence of its provisions was in some degree softened.[276]

This superiority of the upper house over the lower was, on the whole, steadily maintained during the reign of George II.;[277] the ministers not being anxious to strengthen the high-church party in the Lords, and the king himself so rarely suggesting fresh creations as to cause a belief that he particularly disliked increasing their numbers.[278]

It was reserved for George III., by an unsparing use of his prerogative, entirely to change the character of the upper house, and thus lay the foundation for that disrepute into which since then the peers have been constantly falling. The creations he made were numerous beyond all precedent; their object evidently being to neutralize the liberal spirit hitherto prevailing, and thus turn the House of Lords into an engine for resisting the popular wishes, and stopping the progress of reform.[279] How completely this plan succeeded is well known to the readers of our history; indeed, it was sure to be successful, considering the character of the men who were promoted. They consisted almost entirely of two classes: of country gentlemen, remarkable for nothing but their wealth, and the number of votes their wealth enabled them to control;[280] and of mere lawyers, who had

[271] Compare *Vernon Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 149, with *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 504. Burnet says, "All the Jacobites joined to support the pretensions of the Commons." The Commons complained that the Lords had shown "such an indulgence to the person accused as is not to be paralleled in any parliamentary proceedings." *Parl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 1294. See also their angry remonstrance, pp. 1314, 1315.

[272] *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 122.

[273] "Content, 47; non-content, 92." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xii. p. 711. Mr. Phillimore (*Mem. of Lyttleton*, vol. i. p. 213) ascribes this to the exertions of Lord Hardwicke; but the state of parties in the upper house is sufficient explanation; and even in 1735 it was said that "the Lords were betwixt the devil and the deep sea," the devil being Walpole. *Marchmont Papers*, vol. ii. p. 59. Compare *Bishop Newton's Life of Himself*, p. 60.

[274] See an account of some of its provisions in *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. pp. 80, 81. The object of the bill is frankly stated in *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 1349, where we are informed that, "as the farther discouragement and even ruin of the dissenters was thought necessary for accomplishing this scheme, it was begun with the famous Schism Bill."

[275] By 237 to 126. *Parl. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 1351.

[276] *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 83; *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 48. The bill was carried in the Lords by 77 against 72.

[277] "If we scrutinize the votes of the peers from the period of the revolution to the death of George II., we shall find a very great majority of the old English nobility to have been the advocates of Whig principles." *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 363.

[278] Compare *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. iii. p. 519, with the conversation between Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Hervey, in *Hervey's Mem. of George II.* vol. ii. p. 251, edit. 1848.

[279] *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. pp. 363, 364, 365, 463; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. p. 1418, vol. xxiv. p. 493, vol. xxvii. p. 1069, vol. xxix. pp. 1334, 1494, vol. xxxiii. pp. 90, 602, 1315.

[280] This was too notorious to be denied: and in the House of Commons, in 1800, Nicholls taunted the government with "holding out a peerage, or elevation to a higher rank in the peerage, to every man who could procure a nomination to a certain number

risen to judicial appointments partly from their professional learning, but chiefly from the zeal with which they repressed the popular liberties, and favoured the royal prerogative.[281]

That this is no exaggerated description may be ascertained by any one who will consult the lists of the new peers made by George III. Here and there we find an eminent man, whose public services were so notorious that it was impossible to avoid rewarding them; but putting aside those who were in a manner forced upon the sovereign, it would be idle to deny that the remainder, and of course the overwhelming majority, were marked by a narrowness and illiberality of sentiment, which, more than anything else, brought the whole order into contempt.[282] No great thinkers: no great writers; no great orators; no great statesmen; none of the true nobility of the land,—were to be found among these spurious nobles created by George III. Nor were the material interests of the country better represented in this strange composition. Among the most important men in England, those engaged in banking and commerce held a high place: since the end of the seventeenth century their influence had rapidly increased; while their intelligence, their clear, methodical habits, and their general knowledge of affairs, made them every way superior to those classes from whom the upper house was now recruited. But in the reign of George III. claims of this sort were little heeded; and we are assured by Burke, whose authority on such a subject no one will dispute, that there never had been a time in which so few persons connected with commerce were raised to the peerage.[283]

It would be endless to collect all the symptoms which mark the political degeneracy of England during this period; a degeneracy the more striking, because it was opposed to the spirit of the time,* and because it took place in spite of a great progress, both social and intellectual. How that progress eventually stopped the political reaction, and even forced it to retrace its own steps, will appear in another part of this work; but there is one circumstance which I cannot refrain from noticing at some length, since it affords a most interesting

of seats in parliament." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxv. p. 762. So too Sheridan, in 1792, said (vol. xxix. p. 1333), "In this country peerages had been bartered for election interest."

[281] On this great influx of lawyers into the House of Lords, most of whom zealously advocated arbitrary principles, see *Belsham's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. vii. pp. 266, 267; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. iii. p. 363; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxv. p. 1523.

[282] It was foretold at the time that the effect of the numerous creations made during Pitt's power would be to lower the House of Lords. Compare *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 76, with Erskine's speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 1330; and see Sheridan's speech, vol. xxxiii. p. 1197. But their language, indignant as it is, was restrained by a desire of not wholly breaking with the court. Other men, who were more independent in their position, and cared nothing for the chance of future office, expressed themselves in terms such as had never before been heard within the walls of Parliament. Rolle, for instance, declared that "there had been persons created peers during the present minister's power, who were not fit to be his grooms." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxvii. p. 1198. Out of doors, the feeling of contempt was equally strong; see *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 278; and see the remark even of the courtly Sir W. Jones on the increasing disregard for learning shown by "the nobles of our days." *Preface to Persian Grammar*, in *Jones's Works*, vol. ii. p. 125.

[283] In his *Thoughts on French Affairs*, written in 1791, he says, "At no period in the history of England have so few peers been taken out of trade, or from families newly created by commerce." *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 566. Indeed, according to Sir Nathaniel Wraxall (*Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 66, 67, Lond. 1836), the only instance when George III. broke this rule was when Smith the banker was made Lord Carrington. Wraxall is an indifferent authority, and there may be other cases; but they were certainly very few, and I cannot call any to mind.

[* Buckle is apt to make "the spirit of the time" alternately that of a majority and that of a minority. It simplifies matters to realize that in every age there are more "spirits" than one.—Ed.]

illustration of the tendency of public affairs, while at the same time it exhibits the character of one of the greatest men, and, Bacon alone excepted, the greatest thinker, who has ever devoted himself to the practice of English politics.

The slightest sketch of the reign of George III. would indeed be miserably imperfect, if it were to omit the name of Edmund Burke. The studies of this extraordinary man not only covered the whole field of political inquiry,[284] but extended to an immense variety of subjects, which, though apparently unconnected with politics, do in reality bear upon them as important adjuncts ; since, to a philosophic mind, every branch of knowledge lights up even those that seem most remote from it. The eulogy passed upon him by one who was no mean judge of men,[285] might be justified, and more than justified, by passages from his works, as well as by the opinions of the most eminent of his contemporaries.[286] Thus it is, that while his insight into the philosophy of jurisprudence has gained the applause of lawyers,[287] his acquaintance with the whole range and theory of the fine arts has won the admiration of artists ; [288] a striking combination of two pursuits, often, though erroneously, held to be incompatible with each other. At the same time, and notwithstanding the occupations of political life, we know, on good authority, that he had paid great attention to the history and filiation of languages ; [289] a vast subject, which within the last thirty years has become an important resource for the study of the human mind, but the very idea of which had, in its large sense, only begun to dawn upon a few solitary thinkers.

[284] Nicholls, who knew him, says, " The political knowledge of Mr. Burke might be considered almost as an encyclopædia ; every man who approached him received instruction from his stores." *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. p. 20.

[285] " The excursions of his genius are immense. His imperial fancy has laid all nature under tribute, and has collected riches from every scene of the creation, and every walk of art." *Works of Robert Hall*, London, 1846, p. 196. So too Wilberforce says of him, " He had come late into Parliament, and had had time to lay in vast stores of knowledge. The field from which he drew his illustrations was magnificent. Like the fabled object of the fairy's favours, whenever he opened his mouth pearls and diamonds dropped from him." *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. p. 159.

[286] Lord Thurlow is said to have declared, what I suppose is now the general opinion of competent judges, that the fame of Burke would survive that of Pitt and Fox. *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 169. But the noblest eulogy on Burke was pronounced by a man far greater than Thurlow. In 1790, Fox stated in the House of Commons, " that if he were to put all the political information which he had learnt from books, all which he had gained from science, and all which any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale, and the improvement which he had derived from his right hon. friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, he should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. p. 363.

[287] Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 443) says, " Burke, a philosophic statesman, deeply imbued with the scientific principles of jurisprudence." See also on his knowledge of law, *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 131 ; and *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 230.

[288] Barry, in his celebrated Letter to the Dilettanti Society, regrets that Burke should have been diverted from the study of the fine arts into the pursuit of politics, because he had one of those " minds of an admirable expansion and catholicity, so as to embrace the whole concerns of art, ancient as well as modern, domestic as well as foreign." *Barry's Works*, vol. ii. p. 538, 4to, 1809. In the *Annual Register* for 1798, p. 329, 2nd edit., it is stated that Sir Joshua Reynolds " deemed Burke the best judge of pictures that he ever knew." See further, *Works of Sir J. Reynolds*, Lond. 1846, vol. i. p. 185 ; and *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. p. 257. A somewhat curious conversation between Burke and Reynolds, on a point of art, is preserved in *Holcroft's Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 276, 277.

[289] See a letter from Winstanley, the Camden Professor of Ancient History, in *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. pp. 390, 391, and in *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 427. Winstanley writes, " It would have been exceedingly difficult to have met with a person who knew more of the philosophy, the history, and filiation of languages, or of the principles of etymological deduction, than Mr. Burke."

And, what is even more remarkable, when Adam Smith came to London full of those discoveries which have immortalized his name, he found to his amazement that Burke had anticipated conclusions the maturing of which cost Smith himself many years of anxious and unremitting labour.[290]

To these great inquiries, which touch the basis of social philosophy, Burke added a considerable acquaintance with physical science, and even with the practice and routine of mechanical trades. All this was so digested and worked into his mind that it was ready on every occasion; not, like the knowledge of ordinary politicians, broken and wasted in fragments, but blended into a complete whole, fused by a genius that gave life even to the dullest pursuits. This, indeed, was the characteristic of Burke, that in his hands nothing was barren. Such was the strength and exuberance of his intellect that it bore fruit in all directions, and could confer dignity upon the meanest subjects, by showing their connexion with general principles, and the part they have to play in the great scheme of human affairs.

But what has always appeared to me still more remarkable in the character of Burke is the singular sobriety with which he employed his extraordinary acquirements. During the best part of his life, his political principles, so far from being speculative, were altogether practical. This is particularly striking, because he had every temptation to adopt an opposite course. He possessed materials for generalization far more ample than any politician of his time, and he had a mind eminently prone to take large views. On many occasions, and indeed whenever an opportunity occurred, he showed his capacity as an original and speculative thinker. But the moment he set foot on political ground, he changed his method. In questions connected with the accumulation and distribution of wealth, he saw that it was possible, by proceeding from a few simple principles, to construct a deductive science available for the commercial and financial interests of the country. Further than this he refused to advance, because he knew that, with this single exception, every department of politics was purely empirical, and was likely long to remain so. Hence it was that he recognized in all its bearings that great doctrine which even in our own days is too often forgotten, that the aim of the legislator should be, not truth, but expediency.* Looking at the actual state of knowledge, he was forced to admit that all political principles have been raised by hasty induction from limited facts; and that therefore it is the part of a wise man, when he adds to the facts, to revise the induction, and, instead of sacrificing practice to principles, modify the principles that he may change the practice. Or, to put this in another way, he lays it down that political principles are at best but the product of human reason; while political practice has to do with human nature and human passions, of which reason forms but a part;[291] and that, on this account, the proper business of a statesman is to contrive the means by which certain ends may be

[290] Adam Smith told Burke, "after they had conversed on subjects of political economy, that he was the only man who, without communication, thought on these topics exactly as he did." *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. p. 429; and see *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 58; and on his knowledge of political economy, *Brougham's Sketches of Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 205.

[291] "Politics ought to be adjusted, not to human reasonings, but to human nature; of which the reason is but a part, and by no means the greatest part." *Observations on a late State of the Nation*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 113. [This very sentence is precisely an appeal to the reason—a process of reasoning. The dichotomy here is again fallacious.—Ed.] Hence the distinction he had constantly in view between the generalizations of philosophy, which ought to be impregnable, and those of politics, which must

[* This is somewhat crudely put. There is no real antithesis; and Buckle has above taught that, in the matter of the repeal of the Corn Laws, all that was required to work the reform was the dissemination of the relevant *knowledge*. Where Burke's preaching of the principle of expediency was valid was in opposition to the insistence on theoretic "rights" at the point of the sword—as in America—in disregard of the practical dilemma.—Ed.]

effected, leaving it to the general voice of the country to determine what those ends shall be, and shaping his own conduct, not according to his own principles, but according to the wishes of the people for whom he legislates, and whom he is bound to obey.[292]

It is these views, and the extraordinary ability with which they were advocated, which make the appearance of Burke a memorable epoch in our political history.[293] We had, no doubt, other statesmen before him who denied the validity of general principles in politics; but their denial was only the happy guess of ignorance, and they rejected theories which they had never taken the pains to study. Burke rejected them because he knew them. It was his rare merit that, notwithstanding every inducement to rely upon his own generalizations, he resisted the temptation; that, though rich in all the varieties of political knowledge, he made his opinions subservient to the march of events; that he recognized as the object of government, not the preservation of particular institutions, nor the propagation of particular tenets, but the happiness of the people at large; and, above all, that he insisted upon an obedience to the popular wishes which no statesman before him had paid, and which too many statesmen since him have forgotten. Our country, indeed, is still full of those vulgar politicians against whom Burke raised his voice; feeble and shallow men, who, having spent their little force in resisting the progress of reform, find themselves at length compelled

be fluctuating; and hence in his noble work, *Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents*, he says (vol. i. p. 136), "No lines can be laid down for civil or political wisdom. They are a matter incapable of exact definition." See also p. 151, on which he grounds his defence of the spirit of party; it being evident that if truth were the prime object of the political art, the idea of party, as such, would be indefensible. Compare with this the difference between "la vérité en soi" and "la vérité sociale," as expounded by M. Rey in his *Science Sociale*, vol. ii. p. 322, Paris, 1842.

[292] In 1780 he plainly told the House of Commons that "the people are the masters. They have only to express their wants at large and in gross. We are the expert artists; we are the skilful workmen, to shape their desires into perfect form, and to fit the utensil to the use. They are the sufferers, they tell the symptoms of the complaint; but we know the exact seat of the disease, and how to apply the remedy according to the rules of art. How shocking would it be to see us pervert our skill into a sinister and servile dexterity, for the purpose of evading our duty, and *defrauding our employers, who are our natural lords*, of the object of their just expectations!" *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 254. In 1777, in his *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol* (*Works*, vol. i. p. 216), "In effect, to follow, not to force, the public inclination; to give a direction, a form, a technical dress, and a specific sanction, to the general sense of the community,—is the true end of legislature." In his *Letter on the Duration of Parliament* (vol. ii. p. 430), "It would be dreadful, indeed, if there was any power in the nation capable of resisting its unanimous desire, or even the desire of any very great and decided majority of the people. The people may be deceived in their choice of an object. *But I can scarcely conceive any choice they can make to be so very mischievous, as the existence of any human force capable of resisting it.*" So, too, he says (vol. i. pp. 125, 214), that when government and the people differ, government is generally in the wrong: compare pp. 217, 218, 276, vol. ii. p. 440. And to give only one more instance, but a very decisive one, he, in 1772, when speaking on a Bill respecting the Importation and Exportation of Corn, said, "On this occasion I give way to the present Bill, not because I approve of the measure in itself, but because I think it prudent to yield to the spirit of the times. *The people will have it so; and it is not for their representatives to say nay.* I cannot, however, help entering my protest against the general principles of policy on which it is supported, because I think them extremely dangerous." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 480.

[293] The effect which Burke's profound views produced in the House of Commons, where, however, few men were able to understand them in their full extent, is described by Dr. Hay, who was present at one of his great speeches; which, he says, "seemed a kind of new political philosophy." *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 103. Compare a letter from Lee, written in the same year, 1766, in *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39; and in *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 458

to yield ; and then, so soon as they have exhausted the artifices of their petty schemes, and by their tardy and ungraceful concessions have sown the seed of future disaffection, turn upon the age by which they have been baffled ; they mourn over the degeneracy of mankind ; they lament the decay of public spirit ; and they weep for the fate of a people, who have been so regardless of the wisdom of their ancestors as to tamper with a constitution already hoary with the prescription of centuries.

Those who have studied the reign of George III. will easily understand the immense advantage of having a man like Burke to oppose these miserable delusions ; delusions which have been fatal to many countries, and have more than once almost ruined our own.[294] They will also understand that, in the opinion of the king, this great statesman was at best but an eloquent declaimer, to be classed in the same category with Fox and Chatham ; all three ingenious men, but unsafe, unsteady, quite unfit for weighty concerns, and by no means calculated for so exalted an honour as admission into the royal councils. In point of fact, during the thirty years Burke was engaged in public life, he never once held an office in the cabinet ;[295] and the only occasions on which he occupied even a subordinate post, were in those very short intervals when the fluctuations of politics compelled the appointment of a liberal ministry.

Indeed, the part taken by Burke in public affairs must have been very galling to a king who thought everything good that was old, and everything right that was established.[296] For, so far was this remarkable man in advance of his contemporaries, that there are few of the great measures of the present generation which he did not anticipate and zealously defend. Not only did he attack the absurd laws against forestalling and regrating,[297] but, by advocating the freedom of trade, he struck at the root of all similar prohibitions.[298] He supported those

[294] Burke was never weary of attacking the common argument that, because a country has long flourished under some particular custom, therefore the custom must be good. See an admirable instance of this in his speech, on the power of the attorney-general to file informations *ex officio* ; where he likens such reasoners to the father of Scriblerus, who " venerated the rust and canker which exalted a brazen pot-lid into the shield of a hero." He adds : " But, sir, we are told, that the time during which this power existed, is the time during which monarchy most flourished ; and what, then, can no two things subsist together but as cause and effect ? May not a man have enjoyed better health during the time that he walked with an oaken stick, than afterwards, when he changed it for a cane, without supposing, like the Druids, that there are occult virtues in oak, and that the stick and the health were cause and effect ? " *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. pp. 1190, 1191.

[295] This, as Mr. Cooke truly says, " is an instance of aristocratic prejudice : but it is certain that a hint from George III. would have remedied the shameful neglect." *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278. [This is not quite certain. See Mr. Morley's *Burke* (" Men of Letters " Series), pp. 140–1, as to the difficulties created by Burke's temper.—Ed.]

[296] It is easy to imagine how George III. must have been offended by such sentiments as these : " I am not of the opinion of those gentlemen who are against disturbing the public repose ; I like a clamour whenever there is an abuse. The fire-bell at midnight disturbs your sleep, but it keeps you from being burnt in your bed. The hue and cry alarms the county, but preserves all the property of the province." Burke's speech on Prosecutions for Libels, in 1771, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 54.

[297] He moved their repeal. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxvi. p. 1169. Even Lord Chatham issued, in 1766, a proclamation against forestallers and regraters, very much to the admiration of Lord Mahon, who says, " Lord Chatham acted with characteristic energy." *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 166. More than thirty years later, and after Burke's death, Lord Kenyon, then chief-justice, eulogized these preposterous laws. *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. i. p. 167. Compare *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. vii. p. 406 ; and *Cockburn's Memorials of his Time*, Edinb. 1856, p. 73.

[298] " That liberality in the commercial system which, I trust, will one day be adopted." *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 223. And, in his letter to Burgh (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 409), " But

just claims of the Catholics [299] which, during his lifetime, were obstinately refused; but which were conceded, many years after his death, as the only means of preserving the integrity of the empire. He supported the petition of the Dissenters, that they might be relieved from the restrictions to which, for the benefit of the Church of England, they were subjected.[300] Into other departments of politics he carried the same spirit. He opposed the cruel laws against insolvents,[301] by which, in the time of George III., our statute-book was still defaced; and he vainly attempted to soften the penal code,[302] the increasing severity of which was one of the worst features of that bad reign.[303] He wished to abolish the old plan of enlisting soldiers for life; [304] a barbarous and impolitic practice, as the English legislature began to perceive several years later.[305] He attacked the slave-trade; [306] which, being an ancient usage, the king wished to preserve, as part of the British constitution.[307] He refuted,[308] but, owing to the prejudices of the age, was unable to subvert, the dangerous power exercised by the judges, who, in criminal prosecutions for libel, confined the jury to the mere question of publication; thus taking the real issue into their own hands, and making themselves the arbiters of the fate of those who were so unfortunate as to be placed at their bar.[309] And, what many will think not the least of his

that to which I attached myself the most particularly, was to fix the principle of a free trade in all the ports of these islands, as founded in justice, and beneficial to the whole; but principally to this, the seat of the supreme power."

[299] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 467; *Burke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 263, 271, 537–561, vol. ii. pp. 431–447. He refutes (vol. i. p. 548) the notion that the coronation-oath was intended to bind the crown in its legislative capacity. Compare *Mem. of Mackintosh*, vol. i. pp. 170, 171, with *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 134.

[300] *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. pp. 435, 436, vol. xx. p. 306. See also *Burke's Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18; and *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 143.

[301] *Burke's Works*, vol. i. pp. 261, 262, part of his speech at Bristol.

[302] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 317. See also his admirable remarks, in *Works*, vol. ii. p. 417; and his speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. p. 146.

[303] On this increasing cruelty of the English laws, compare *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 150, 259, with *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxii. p. 271, vol. xxiv. p. 1222, vol. xxvi. p. 1057, vol. xxviii. p. 143; and, in regard to the execution of them, see *Life of Romilly, by Himself*, vol. i. p. 65; and *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. ix. p. 620.

[304] In one short speech (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xx. pp. 150, 151), he has almost exhausted the arguments against enlistment for life.

[305] In 1806, that is nine years after the death of Burke, parliament first authorized enlistment for a term of years. See an account of the debates in *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. vii. pp. 380–391. Compare *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 475; and *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 116.

[306] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 316; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxvii. p. 502, vol. xxviii. pp. 69, 96; and *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. pp. 152, 171, contain evidence of his animosity against the slave-trade, and a more than sufficient answer to the ill-natured, and, what is worse, the ignorant remark about Burke, in the *Duke of Buckingham's Mem. of George III.* vol. i. p. 350.

[307] On the respect which George III. felt for the slave trade, see note 259 to this chapter. I might also have quoted the testimony of Lord Brougham: "The court was decidedly against abolition. George III. always regarded the question with abhorrence, as savouring of innovation." *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. ii. p. 104. Compare *Combe's North America*, vol. i. p. 332.

[308] *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 490–496; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. pp. 44–55, a very able speech, delivered in 1771. Compare a letter to Dowdeswell, in *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. pp. 251, 252.

[309] The arguments of Burke anticipated, by more than twenty years, Fox's celebrated Libel Bill, which was not passed till 1792; although in 1752 juries had begun, in spite of the judges, to return general verdicts on the merits. See *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. v. pp. 238, 243, 341–345, vol. vi. p. 210; and *Meyer, Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. ii. pp. 204, 205, Paris, 1823.

merits, he was the first in that long line of financial reformers to whom we are deeply indebted.[310] Notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in his way, he carried through parliament a series of bills by which several useless places were entirely abolished, and, in the single office of paymaster-general, a saving effected to the country of 25,000*l.* a year.[311]

These things alone are sufficient to explain the animosity of a prince whose boast it was that he would bequeath the government to his successor in the same state as that in which he had received it. There was, however, another circumstance by which the royal feelings were still further wounded. The determination of the king to oppress the Americans was so notorious that when the war actually broke out it was called "the king's war;" and those who opposed it were regarded as the personal enemies of their sovereign.[312] In this, however, as in all other questions, the conduct of Burke was governed, not by traditions and principles such as George III. cherished, but by large views of general expediency. Burke, in forming his opinions respecting this disgraceful contest, refused to be guided by arguments respecting the right of either party.[313] He would not enter into any discussion as to whether a mother-country has the right to tax her colonies, or whether the colonies have a right to tax themselves. Such points he left to be mooted by those politicians who, pretending to be guided by principles, are in reality subjugated by prejudice.[314] For his own part, he was content to compare the cost with the gain. It was enough for Burke that, considering the power of our American colonies, considering their distance from us, and considering the probability of their being aided by France, it was not advisable to exercise the power; and it was therefore idle to talk of the right.

[310] Mr. Farr, in his valuable essay on the statistics of the civil service (in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. xii. pp. 103–125), calls Burke "one of the first and ablest financial reformers in parliament." p. 104. The truth, however, is, that he was not only one of the first, but the first. He was the first man who laid before parliament a general and systematic scheme for diminishing the expenses of government; and his preliminary speech on that occasion is one of the finest of all his compositions. [Buckle should have noted that Burke was avowedly following the lead given in France by M. Necker.—Ed.]

[311] *Prior's Life of Burke*, pp. 206, 234. See also, on the retrenchments he effected, *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. ii. pp. 84, 85; *Burke's Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 14; and *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. pp. 57–60.

[312] In 1778, Lord Rockingham said, in the House of Lords, "Instead of calling the war, the war of parliament, or of the people, it was called the king's war, his majesty's favourite war." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 857. Compare *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 235, with the pungent remarks in *Walpole's George III.* vol. iv. p. 114. Nicholls (*Recollections*, vol. i. p. 35) says: "The war was considered as the war of the king personally. Those who supported it were called the king's friends; while those who wished the country to pause, and reconsider the propriety of persevering in the contest, were branded as disloyal."

[313] "I am not here going into the distinction of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them." Speech on American taxation in 1774, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 173. In 1775 (vol. i. p. 192): "But my consideration is narrow, confined, and wholly limited to the policy of the question." At p. 183: we should act in regard to America not "according to abstract ideas of right, by no means according to mere general theories of government; the resort to which appears to me, in our present situation, no better than arrant trifling." In one of his earliest political pamphlets, written in 1769, he says that the arguments of the opponents of America "are conclusive; conclusive as to right; but the very reverse as to policy and practice;" vol. i p. 112. Compare a letter, written in 1775, in *Burke's Correspond.* vol ii. p. 12.

[314] In 1766, George III. writes to Lord Rockingham (*Albemarle's Rockingham*, vol. i. pp. 271, 272): "Talbot is as right as I can desire, in the Stamp Act; strong for our declaring our right, but willing to repeal." In other words, willing to offend the Americans by a speculative assertion of an abstract right, but careful to forego the advantage which that right might produce.

Hence he opposed the taxation of America, not because it was unprecedented, but because it was inexpedient. As a natural consequence, he likewise opposed the Boston-Port Bill, and that shameful bill to forbid all intercourse with America, which was not inaptly called the starvation plan; violent measures by which the king hoped to curb the colonies, and break the spirit of those noble men, whom he hated even more than he feared.[315]

It is certainly no faint characteristic of those times that a man like Burke, who dedicated to politics abilities equal to far nobler things, should during thirty years have received from his prince neither favour nor reward. But George III. was a king whose delight it was to raise the humble and exalt the meek. His reign, indeed, was the golden age of successful mediocrity; an age in which little men were favoured, and great men depressed; when Addington was cherished as a statesman, and Beattie pensioned as a philosopher; and when, in all the walks of public life, the first conditions of promotion were, to fawn upon ancient prejudices, and support established abuses.

This neglect of the most eminent of English politicians is highly instructive; but the circumstances which followed, though extremely painful, have a still deeper interest, and are well worth the attention of those whose habits of mind lead them to study the intellectual peculiarities of great men.

For, at this distance of time, when his nearest relations are no more, it would be affectation to deny that Burke, during the last few years of his life, fell into a state of complete hallucination. When the French Revolution broke out, his mind, already fainting under the weight of incessant labour, could not support the contemplation of an event so unprecedented, so appalling, and threatening results of such frightful magnitude. And when the crimes of that great revolution, instead of diminishing, continued to increase, then it was that the feelings of Burke finally mastered his reason; the balance tottered; the proportions of that gigantic intellect were disturbed. From this moment, his sympathy with present suffering was so intense, that he lost all memory of the tyranny by which the sufferings were provoked. His mind, once so steady, so little swayed by prejudice and passion, reeled under the pressure of events which turned the brains of thousands.[316] And whoever will compare the spirit of his latest works with the dates of their publication, will see how this melancholy change was aggravated by that bitter bereavement from which he never rallied, and which alone was sufficient to prostrate the understanding of one in whom the severity of the reason was so tempered, so nicely poised, by the warmth of the affections. Never, indeed, can there be forgotten those touching, those exquisite allusions to the death of that only son who was the joy of his soul and the pride of his

[315] The intense hatred with which George III. regarded the Americans was so natural to such a mind as his, that one can hardly blame his constant exhibition of it during the time that the struggle was actually impending. But what is truly disgraceful is that after the war was over he displayed this rancour on an occasion when, of all others, he was bound to suppress it. In 1786, Jefferson and Adams were in England officially, and as a matter of courtesy to the king made their appearance at court. So regardless, however, was George III. of the common decencies of his station, that he treated these eminent men with marked incivility, although they were then paying their respects to him in his own palace. See *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. p. 220; and *Mem. and Corresp. of Jefferson*, vol. i. p. 54.

[316] All great revolutions have a direct tendency to increase insanity, as long as they last, and probably for some time afterwards; but in this as in other respects the French revolution stands alone in the number of its victims. On the horrible but curious subject of madness caused by the excitement of the events which occurred in France late in the eighteenth century, compare *Prichard on Insanity in relation to Jurisprudence*, 1842, p. 90; his *Treatise on Insanity*, 1835, pp. 161, 183, 230, 339; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. pp. 43, 53, 54, 66, 211, 447, vol. ii. pp. 193, 726; *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, p. 254; *Georget, de la Folie*, p. 156; *Pinel, Traité sur l'Aliénation Mentale*, pp. 30, 108, 109, 177, 178, 185, 207, 215, 257, 349, 392, 457, 481; *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 112.

heart, and to whom he fondly hoped to bequeath the inheritance of his imperishable name. Never can we forget that image of desolation, under which the noble old man figured his immeasurable grief. "I live in an inverted order. They who ought to have succeeded me, have gone before me. They who should have been to me as posterity, are in the place of ancestors. . . . The storm has gone over me, and I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honours; I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth."[317]

It would perhaps be displaying a morbid curiosity, to attempt to raise the veil, and trace the decay of so mighty a mind.[318] Indeed, in all such cases, most of the evidence perishes; for those who have the best opportunities of witnessing the infirmities of a great man, are not those who most love to relate them. But it is certain that the change was first clearly seen immediately after the breaking out of the French Revolution; that it was aggravated by the death of his son; and that it became progressively worse till death closed the scene.[319] In his *Reflections on the French Revolution*; in his *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies*; in his *Letter to Elliot*; in his *Letter to a Noble Lord*; and in his *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, we may note the consecutive steps of an increasing, and at length an uncontrollable violence. To the single principle of hatred of the French Revolution, he sacrificed his oldest associations and his dearest friends. Fox, as is well known, always looked up to Burke as to a master, from whose lips he had gathered the lessons of political wisdom.[320] Burke, on his side, fully recognized the vast abilities of his friend, and loved him for that affectionate disposition, and for those winning manners, which, it has often been said, none who saw them could ever resist. But now, without the slightest pretence of a personal quarrel, this long intimacy[321] was rudely severed. Because Fox would not abandon that love of popular liberty which they had long cherished in common, Burke publicly, and in his place in parliament, declared that their friendship was at an end; for that he would never more hold communion with a man who lent his support to the French people.[322] At the same time, and indeed the very evening on which this occurred, Burke, who had hitherto been remarkable for the courtesy of his manners,[323] deliberately insulted another of his friends, who was taking him home in his carriage; and, in a state of frantic excitement, in-

[317] *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 268.

[318] The earliest unmistakeable instances of those violent outbreaks which showed the presence of disease, were in the debates on the regency bill, in February, 1789, when Sir Richard Hill, with brutal candour, hinted at Burke's madness, even in his presence. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxvii. p. 1249. Compare a letter from Sir William Young, in *Buckingham's Mem. of George III.* 1853, vol. ii. p. 73: "Burke finished his wild speech in a manner next to madness." This was in December, 1788: and, from that time until his death, it became every year more evident that his intellect was disordered. See a melancholy description of him in a letter written by Dr. Currie in 1792 (*Life of Currie*, vol. ii. p. 150); and, above all, see his own incoherent letter, in 1796, in his *Correspond. with Laurence*, p. 67.

[319] His son died in August, 1794 (*Burke's Correspond.* vol. iv. p. 224); and his most violent works were written between that period and his own death, in July, 1797.

[320] "This disciple, as he was proud to acknowledge himself." *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 218. In 1791, Fox said that Burke "had taught him everything he knew in politics." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxix. p. 379. See also *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. iv. pp. 472, 610; and a letter from Fox to Parr, in *Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 287.

[321] It had begun in 1766, when Fox was only seventeen. *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. p. 26.

[322] On this painful rupture, compare with the *Parliamentary History*, *Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. i. pp. 10, 11; *Prior's Life of Burke*, pp. 375–379; *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. pp. 385–395. The complete change in Burke's feelings towards his old friend also appears in a very intemperate letter, written to Dr. Laurence in 1797. *Burke's Correspond. with Laurence*, p. 152. Compare *Parr's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 67–80, 84–90, 109.

[323] Which used to be contrasted with the bluntness of Johnson; these eminent men being the two best talkers of their time. See *Bisset's Life of Burke*, vol. i. p. 127.

sisted on being immediately set down, in the middle of the night in a pouring rain, because he could not, he said, remain seated by a "friend to the revolutionary doctrines of the French." [324]

Nor is it true, as some have supposed, that this mania of hostility was solely directed against the criminal part of the French people. It would be difficult, in that or in any other age, to find two men of more active, or indeed enthusiastic benevolence, than Condorcet and La Fayette. Besides this, Condorcet was one of the most profound thinkers of his time, and will be remembered as long as genius is honoured among us.[325] La Fayette was no doubt inferior to Condorcet in point of ability; but he was the intimate friend of Washington, on whose conduct he modelled his own,[326] and by whose side he had fought for the liberties of America; his integrity was, and still is, unsullied; and his character had a chivalrous and noble turn, which Burke, in his better days, would have been the first to admire.[327] Both, however, were natives of that hated country whose liberties they vainly attempted to achieve. On this account, Burke declared Condorcet to be guilty of "impious sophistry;" [328] to be a "fanatic atheist, and furious democratic republican;" [329] and to be capable of "the lowest as well as the highest and most determined villanies." [330] As to La Fayette, when an attempt was made to mitigate the cruel treatment he was receiving from the Prussian government, Burke not only opposed the motion made for that purpose in the House of Commons, but took the opportunity of grossly insulting the unfortunate captive, who was then languishing in a dungeon.[331] So dead had he become on this subject, even to the common instincts of our nature, that, in his place in parliament, he could find no better way of speaking of this injured and

[324] *Rogers's Introduction to Burke's Works*, p. xliv.; *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 384.

[325] There is an interesting account of the melancholy death of this remarkable man, in *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. viii. pp. 76–80; and a contemporary relation in *Musset-Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. ii. pp. 42–47.

[326] This is the honourable testimony of a political opponent; who says that after the dissolution of the Assembly "La Fayette se conforma à la conduite de Washington, qu'il avait pris pour modèle." *Cassagnac, Révolution Française*, vol. iii. pp. 370, 371. Compare the grudging admission of his enemy Bouillé, *Mém. de Bouillé*, vol. i. p. 125: and for proofs of the affectionate intimacy between Washington and La Fayette, see *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. pp. 16, 21, 29, 44, 55, 83, 92, 111, 165, 197, 204, 395, vol. ii. p. 123.

[327] The Duke of Bedford, no bad judge of character, said in 1794 that La Fayette's "whole life was an illustration of truth, disinterestedness, and honour." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 664. So, too, the continuator of Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxx. p. 355), "La Fayette, le chevalier de la liberté d'Amérique;" and Lamartine (*Hist. des Girondins*, vol. iii. p. 200), "Martyr de la liberté après en avoir été le héros." Ségur, who was intimately acquainted with him, gives some account of his noble character, as it appeared when he was a boy of nineteen. *Mém de Ségur*, vol. i. pp. 106, 107. Forty years later, Lady Morgan met him in France; and what she relates shows how little he had changed, and how simple his tastes and the habits of his mind still were. *Morgan's France*, vol. ii. pp. 285–312. Other notices, from personal knowledge, will be found in *Life of Roscoe*, vol. ii. p. 178; and in *Trotter's Mem. of Fox*, pp. 319 seq.

[328] "The impious sophistry of Condorcet." *Letter to a Noble Lord*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 273.

[329] *Thoughts on French Affairs*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 574.

[330] "Condorcet (though no marquis, as he styled himself before the Revolution) is a man of another sort of birth, fashion, and occupation from Brissot; but in every principle and every disposition, to the lowest as well as the highest and most determined villanies, fully his equal." *Thoughts on French Affairs*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 579.

[331] "Groaning under the most oppressive cruelty in the dungeons of Magdeburg." *Belsham's Hist. of Great Brit.* vol. ix. p. 151. See the afflicting details of his sufferings, in *Mem. de Lafayette*, vol. i. p. 479, vol. ii. pp. 75, 77, 78, 80, 91, 92; and on the noble equanimity with which he bore them, see *De Staël, Rév. Française*, Paris, 1820, vol. ii. p. 103.

high-souled man, than by calling him a ruffian : " I would not," says Burke,— " I would not debase my humanity by supporting an application in behalf of such a horrid ruffian." [332]

As to France itself, it is " Cannibal Castle ; " [333] it is " the republic of assassins ; " [334] it is " a hell ; " [335] its government is composed of " the dirtiest, lowest, most fraudulent, most knavish, of chicaners ; " [336] its National Assembly are " miscreants ; " [337] its people are " an allied army of Amazonian and male cannibal Parisians ; " [338] they are " a nation of murderers ; " [339] they are " the basest of mankind ; " [340] they are " murderous atheists ; " [341] they are " a gang of robbers ; " [342] they are " the prostitute outcasts of mankind ; " [343] they are " a desperate gang of plunderers, murderers, tyrants, and atheists." [344] To make the slightest concessions to such a country in order to preserve peace, is offering victims " on the altars of blasphemed regicide ; " [345] even to enter into negotiations is " exposing our lazar sores at the door of every proud servitor of the French republic, where the court-dogs will not deign to lick them." [346] When our ambassador was actually in Paris, he " had the honour of passing his mornings in respectful attendance at the office of a regicide pettifogger ; " [347] and we were taunted with having sent a " peer of the realm to the scum of the earth." [348] France has no longer a place in Europe ; it is expunged from the map ; its very name should be forgotten.[349] Why, then, need men travel in it ? Why need our children learn its language ? and why are we to endanger the morals of our ambassadors, who can hardly fail to return from such a land with their principles corrupted, and with a wish to conspire against their own country.[350]

[332] It is hardly credible that such language should have been applied to a man like La Fayette ; but I have copied it from the *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxxi. p. 51, and from *Adolphus*, vol. v. p. 593. The only difference is, that in Adolphus the expression is " I would not debase my humanity," but in the *Parl. Hist.*, " I would not debauch my humanity." But both authorities are agreed as to the term " horrid ruffian " being used by Burke. Compare *Burke's Correspondence with Laurence*, pp. 91, 99.

[333] *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 319. In every instance I quote the precise words employed by Burke.

[334] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 279.

[335] Burke's speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 379.

[336] *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 335.

[337] *Burke's Corresp.* vol. iii. p. 140.

[338] *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 322.

[339] *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. p. 115.

[340] *Ibid.* p. 112.

[341] *Ibid.* p. 188.

[342] *Ibid.* p. 435.

[343] *Ibid.* p. 646 ; the concluding sentence of one of Burke's speeches in 1793.

[344] *Ibid.* vol. xxxi. p. 426.

[345] *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 320.

[346] *Ibid.* p. 286.

[347] *Ibid.* p. 322.

[348] *Ibid.* p. 318.

[349] *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxviii. p. 353, vol. xxx. p. 390 ; *Adolphus*, vol. iv. p. 467.

[350] In the *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, published the year before he died, he says, " These ambassadors may easily return as good courtiers as they went : but can they ever return from that degrading residence loyal and faithful subjects ; or with any true affection to their master, or true attachment to the constitution, religion, or laws of their country ? There is great danger that they who enter smiling into this Tryphonian cave, will come out of it sad and serious conspirators ; and such will continue as long as they live." *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 282. He adds in the same work, p. 381, " Is it for this benefit we open ' the usual relations of peace and amity ' ? Is it for this our youth of both sexes are to form themselves by travel ? Is it for this that with expense and pains we form their lisping infant accents to the language of France ? . . . Let it be remembered that no young man can go to any part of Europe without taking this place of pestilential contagion in his way ; and, whilst the less active part of the community will be debauched by this travel, whilst children are poisoned at these schools, our trade will put the finishing hand to our ruin. No factory will be settled in France that will not become a club of complete French Jacobins. The minds of young men of that description will receive a taint in their religion, their morals, and their politics, which they will in a short time communicate to the whole kingdom."

This is sad, indeed, from such a man as Burke once was; but what remains shows still more clearly how the associations and composition of his mind had been altered. He who, with humanity not less than with wisdom, had strenuously laboured to prevent the American war, devoted the last few years of his life to kindle a new war, compared to which that with America was a light and trivial episode. In his calmer moments, no one would have more willingly recognized that the opinions prevalent in any country are the inevitable results of the circumstances in which that country had been placed. But now he sought to alter those opinions by force. From the beginning of the French Revolution, he insisted upon the right, and indeed upon the necessity, of compelling France to change her principles ;[351] and, at a later period, he blamed the allied sovereigns for not dictating to a great people the government they ought to adopt.[352] Such was the havoc circumstances had made in his well-ordered intellect, that to this one principle he sacrificed every consideration of justice, of mercy, and of expediency. As if war, even in its mildest form, were not sufficiently hateful, he sought to give to it that character of a crusade[353] which increasing knowledge had long since banished ; and loudly proclaiming that the contest was religious rather than temporal, he revived old prejudices in order to cause fresh crimes.[354] He also declared that the war should be carried on for revenge as well as for defence, and that we must never lay down our arms until we had utterly destroyed the men by whom the Revolution was brought about.[355] And, as if these things were not enough, he insisted that this, the most awful of all wars, being begun, was not to be hurried over ; although it was to be carried on for revenge as well as for religion, and the resources of civilized men were to be quickened by the ferocious passions of crusaders, still it was not to be soon ended ; it was to be durable ; it must have permanence ; it must, says Burke, in the spirit of a burning hatred, be protracted in a long war : " I speak it emphatically, and with a desire that it should be marked, in a *long* war." [356]

It was to be a war to force a great people to change their government. It was to be a war carried on for the purpose of punishment. It was also to be a religious war. Finally, it was to be a long war. Was there ever any other man who

[351] In *Observations on the Conduct of the Minority*, 1793, he says, that during four years he had wished for " a general war against jacobins and jacobinism." *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 611.

[352] " For, in the first place, the united sovereigns very much injured their cause by admitting that they had nothing to do with the interior arrangements of France." *Heads for Consideration on the Present State of Affairs*, written in November, 1792, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 583. And that he knew that this was not merely a question of destroying a faction, appears from the observable circumstance that even in January, 1791, he wrote to Trevor respecting war, " France is weak indeed, divided and deranged ; but God knows, when the things came to be tried, whether the invaders would not find that their enterprize *was not to support a party, but to conquer a kingdom.*" *Burke's Correspond.* vol. iii. p. 184.

[353] As Lord J. Russell truly calls it, *Mem. of Fox*, vol. iii. p. 34. See also *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 93, vol. v. p. 109, vol. vi. p. 291 ; *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. p. 300 ; *Parr's Works*, vol. iii. p. 242.

[354] " We cannot, if we would, delude ourselves about the true state of this dreadful contest. *It is a religious war.*" *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 600.

[355] See the long list of proscriptions in *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 604. And the principle of revenge is again advocated in a letter written in 1793, in *Burke's Correspond.* vol. iv. p. 183. And in 1794, he told the House of Commons that " the war must no longer be confined to the vain attempt of raising a barrier to the lawless and savage power of France ; but must be directed to the only rational end it can pursue ; namely, the entire destruction of the desperate horde which gave it birth." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 427.

[356] *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, in *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 291. In this horrible sentence, perhaps the most horrible ever penned by an English politician, the italics are not my own ; they are in the text.

wished to afflict the human race with such extensive, searching, and protracted calamities? Such cruel, such reckless, and yet such deliberate opinions, if they issued from a sane mind, would immortalize even the most obscure statesman, because they would load his name with imperishable infamy. For where can we find, even among the most ignorant or most sanguinary politicians, sentiments like these? Yet they proceed from one who, a very few years before, was the most eminent political philosopher England has ever possessed. To us it is only given to mourn over so noble a wreck. More than this no one should do. We may contemplate with reverence the mighty ruin; but the mysteries of its decay let no man presume to invade, unless, to use the language of the greatest of our masters, he can tell how to minister to a diseased mind, pluck the sorrows which are rooted in the memory, and raze out the troubles that are written in the brain.

It is a relief to turn from so painful a subject, even though we descend to the petty, huckstering politics of the English court. And truly, the history of the treatment experienced by the most illustrious of our politicians is highly characteristic of the prince under whom he lived. While Burke was consuming his life in great public services, labouring to reform our finances, improve our laws, and enlighten our commercial policy,—while he was occupied with these things, the king regarded him with coldness and aversion.[357] But when the great statesman degenerated into an angry brawler; when, irritated by disease, he made it the sole aim of his declining years to kindle a deadly war between the two first countries of Europe, and declared that to this barbarous object he would sacrifice all other questions of policy, however important they might be;[358]—then it was that a perception of his vast abilities began to dawn upon the mind of the king. Before this, no one had been bold enough to circulate in the palace even a whisper of his merits. Now, however, in the successive, and eventually the rapid decline of his powers, he had fallen almost to the level of the royal intellect; and now he was first warmed by the beams of the royal favour. Now he was a man after the king's own heart.[359] Less than two years before his death there were settled upon him, at the express desire of George III., two considerable pensions;[360] and the king even wished to raise him to the peerage, in order that the house of Lords might benefit by the services of so great a counsellor.[361]

This digression respecting the character of Burke has been longer than I had anticipated; but it will not, I hope, be considered unimportant; for, in addition

[357] "I know," said Burke, in one of those magnificent speeches which mark the zenith of his intellect,—"I know the map of England as well as the noble lord, or as any other person; and I know that the way I take is not the road to preferment." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvii. p. 1269.

[358] See, among many other instances, an extraordinary passage on "Jacobinism" in his *Works*, vol. ii. p. 449, which should be compared with a letter he wrote in 1792, respecting a proposed coalition ministry. *Correspond.* vol. iii. pp. 519, 520: "But my advice was, that as a foundation of the whole, the political principle must be settled as the preliminary, namely, 'a total hostility to the French system, at home and abroad.'"

[359] The earliest evidence I have met with of the heart of George III. beginning to open towards Burke is in August, 1791; see, in *Burke's Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 278, an exquisitely absurd account of his reception at the levee. Burke must have been fallen indeed, before he could write such a letter.

[360] "Said to have originated in the express wish of the king." *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 489. Mr. Prior estimates these pensions at 3700*l.* a-year; but if we may rely on Mr. Nicholls, the sum was even greater: "Mr. Burke was rewarded with two pensions, estimated to be worth 40,000*l.*" *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. p. 136. Burke was sixty-five; and a pension of 3700*l.* a-year would not be worth 40,000*l.*, as the tables were then calculated. The statement of Mr. Prior is, however, confirmed by Wansey, in 1794. See *Nichols's Lit. Anec. of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 81.

[361] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 460; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. p. 81; *Bissel's Life of Burke*, vol. ii. p. 414.

to the intrinsic interest of the subject, it illustrates the feelings of George III. towards great men, and it shows what the opinions were which in his reign it was thought necessary to hold. In the sequel of this work I shall trace the effect of such opinions upon the interests of the country, considered as a whole ; but for the object of the present Introduction it will be sufficient to point out the connexion in one or two more of those prominent instances the character of which is too notorious to admit of discussion.

Of these leading and conspicuous events the American war was the earliest, and for several years it almost entirely absorbed the attention of English politicians. In the reign of George II. a proposal had been made to increase the revenue by taxing the colonies ; which, as the Americans were totally unrepresented in parliament, was simply a proposition to tax an entire people without even the form of asking their consent. This scheme of public robbery was rejected by that able and moderate man who was then at the head of affairs ; and the suggestion, being generally deemed impracticable, fell to the ground, and seems indeed hardly to have excited attention.[362] But what was deemed by the government of George II. to be a dangerous stretch of arbitrary power, was eagerly welcomed by the government of George III. For the new king, having the most exalted notion of his own authority, and being, from his miserable education, entirely ignorant of public affairs, thought that to tax the Americans for the benefit of the English would be a masterpiece of policy. When, therefore, the old idea was revived, it met with his cordial acquiescence ; and when the Americans showed their intention of resisting this monstrous injustice, he was only the more confirmed in his opinion that it was necessary to curb their unruly will. Nor need we be surprised at the rapidity with which such angry feelings broke out. Indeed, looking on the one hand at the despotic principles which, for the first time since the Revolution, were now revived at the English court, and looking on the other hand at the independent spirit of the colonists,—it was impossible to avoid a struggle between the two parties ; and the only questions were as to what form the contest would take, and towards which side victory was most likely to incline.[363]

On the part of the English government, no time was lost. Five years after the accession of George III., a bill was brought into parliament to tax the Americans ;[364] and so complete had been the change in political affairs, that not the least difficulty was found in passing a measure which, in the reign of George II., no minister had dared to propose. Formerly, such a proposal, if made, would certainly have been rejected ; now the most powerful parties in the state were united in its favour. The king, on every occasion, paid a court to the clergy, to which, since the death of Anne, they had been unaccustomed ; he was therefore sure of their support, and they zealously aided him in every attempt to oppress

[362] "It had been proposed to Sir Robert Walpole to raise the revenue by imposing taxes on America ; but that minister, who could foresee beyond the benefit of the actual moment, declared it must be a bolder man than himself who should venture on such an expedient." *Walpole's George III.* vol. ii. p. 70. Compare *Phillimore's Mem. of Lyttleton*, vol. ii. p. 662 ; *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 96 ; *Belsham's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. v. p. 102.

[363] That some sort of rupture was unavoidable, must, I think, be admitted ; but we are not bound to believe the assertion of Horace Walpole, who says (*Mem. of George II.* vol. i. p. 397) that in 1754 he predicted the American rebellion. Walpole, though a keen observer of the surface of society, was not the man to take a view of this kind ; unless, as is hardly probable, he heard an opinion to that effect expressed by his father. Sir Robert Walpole may have said something respecting the increasing love of liberty in the colonies ; but it was impossible for him to foresee how that love would be fostered by the arbitrary proceedings of the government of George III.

[364] The general proposition was introduced in 1764 ; the bill itself early in 1765. See *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. pp. 82, 85 ; and *Grenville Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 373, 374. On the complete change of policy which this indicated, see *Brougham's Polit. Philos.* part iii. p. 328.

the colonies.[365] The aristocracy, a few leading Whigs alone excepted, were on the same side, and looked to the taxation of America as the means of lessening their own contributions.[366] As to George III., his feelings on the subject were notorious ; [367] and the more liberal party not having yet recovered from the loss of power consequent on the death of George II., there was little fear of difficulties from the cabinet ; it being well known that the throne was occupied by a prince whose first object was to keep ministers in strict dependence on himself, and who, whenever it was practicable, called into office such weak and flexible men as would yield unhesitating submission to his wishes.[368]

Everything being thus prepared, there followed those events which were to be expected from such a combination. Without stopping to relate details which are known to every reader, it may be briefly mentioned that in this new state of things the wise and forbearing policy of the preceding reign was set at naught, and the national councils guided by rash and ignorant men, who soon brought the greatest disasters upon the country, and within a few years actually dismembered the empire. In order to enforce the monstrous claim of taxing a whole people without their consent, there was waged against America a war ill-conducted, unsuccessful, and, what is far worse, accompanied by cruelties disgrace-

[365] The correspondence of that time contains ample proof of the bitterness of the clergy against the Americans. Even in 1777, Burke wrote to Fox : " The Tories do universally think their power and consequence involved in the success of this American business. The clergy are astonishingly warm in it ; and what the Tories are when embodied and united with their natural head, the crown, and animated by their clergy, no man knows better than yourself." *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 390. Compare *Bishop Newton's Life of Himself*, pp. 134, 157.

[366] " The overbearing aristocracy desired some reduction of the land-tax, at the expense of America." *Bancroft's Hist. of the American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 414. The merchants, on the other hand, were opposed to these violent proceedings. See, on this contrast between the landed and commercial interests, a letter from Lord Shelburne, in 1774, and another from Lord Camden, in 1775, in *Chatham Correspond.* vol. iv. pp. 341, 401. See also the speeches of Trecothick and Vyner, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 507, vol. xviii. p. 1361.

[367] It was believed at the time, and it is not improbable, that the king himself suggested the taxation of America, to which Grenville at first objected. Compare *Wraxall's Mem. of his own Time*, vol. ii. pp. 111, 112, with *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. pp. 205, 386. This may have been merely a rumour ; but it is quite consistent with everything we know of the character of George III., and there can at all events be no doubt as to his feelings respecting the general question. It is certain that he over-persuaded Lord North to engage in the contest with America, and induced that minister to go to war, and to continue it even after success had become hopeless. See *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. iii. pp. 307, 308 ; *Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. pp. 247, 254 ; and the *Bedford Correspond.* vol. iii. p. li. See also, in regard to the repeal of the Stamp Act, the *Grenville Papers*, vol. iii. p. 373 ; a curious passage, with which Lord Mahon, the last edition of whose history was published in the same year (1853), appears to have been unacquainted. *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 139. In America, the sentiments of the king were well known. In 1775, Jefferson writes from Philadelphia : " We are told, and everything proves it true, that he is the bitterest enemy we have." *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 153. And in 1782 Franklin writes to Livingston, " The king hates us most cordially." *Life of Franklin*, vol. ii. p. 126.

[368] " A court," as Lord Albemarle observes,—" a court that required ministers to be, not the public servants of the state, but the private domestics of the sovereign." *Albemarle's Mem. of Rockingham*, vol. i. p. 248. Compare *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 109. In the same way, Burke, in 1767, writes : " His majesty never was in better spirits. He has got a ministry weak and dependant ; and, what is better, willing to continue so." *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 133. Ten years later, Lord Chatham openly taunted the king with this disgraceful peculiarity : " Thus to pliable men, not capable men, was the government of this once glorious empire intrusted," *Chatham's Speech* in 1777, in *Adolphus*, vol. ii. pp. 499, 500.

ful to a civilized nation.[369] To this may be added, that an immense trade was nearly annihilated; every branch of commerce was thrown into confusion;[370] we were disgraced in the eyes of Europe;[371] we incurred an expense of 140,000,000*l.*;[372] and we lost by far the most valuable colonies any nation has ever possessed.

Such were the first fruits of the policy of George III. But the mischief did not stop there. The opinions which it was necessary to advocate in order to justify this barbarous war, recoiled upon ourselves. In order to defend the attempt to destroy the liberties of America, principles were laid down which, if carried into effect, would have subverted the liberties of England. Not only in the courts but in both houses of parliament, from the episcopal bench, and from the pulpits of the church-party, there were promulgated doctrines of the most dangerous kind,—doctrines unsuited to a limited monarchy, and, indeed, incompatible with it. The extent to which this reaction proceeded is known to very few readers, because the evidence of it is chiefly to be found in the parliamentary debates, and in the theological literature, particularly the sermons, of that time, none of which are now much studied. But, not to anticipate matters belonging to another part of this work, it is enough to say that the danger was so imminent as to make the ablest defenders of popular liberty believe that every thing was at stake; and that if the Americans were vanquished, the next step would be to attack the liberties of England, and endeavour to extend to the mother-country the same arbitrary government which by that time would have been established in the colonies.[373]

[369] For some evidence of the ferocity with which this war was conducted by the English, see *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139, 160; *Jefferson's Mem. and Correspond.* vol. i. pp. 352, 429, vol. ii. pp. 336, 337; *Almon's Correspond. of Wilkes*, vol. v. pp. 229–232, edit. 1805; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. ii. pp. 362, 391. These horrible cruelties were frequently mentioned in parliament, but without producing the least effect on the king or his ministers. See *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. pp. 371, 403, 423, 424, 432, 438, 440, 477, 487, 488, 489, 567, 578, 579, 695, 972, 1393, 1394, vol. xx. p. 43. Among the expenses of the war which government laid before parliament, one of the items was for "five gross of scalping knives." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix. pp. 971, 972. See further, *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. pp. 23, 25, 99.

[370] In Manchester, "in consequence of the American troubles nine in ten of the artizans in that town had been discharged from employment." This was stated in 1766, by no less an authority than Conway. *Mahon's Hist. of England*, vol. v, p. 135. As the struggle became more obstinate the evil was more marked, and ample evidence of the enormous injury inflicted on England will be found by comparing *Franklin's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 352; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 261; *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 111; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xviii. pp. 734, 951, 963, 964, vol. xix. pp. 259, 341, 710, 711 1072. *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 218.

[371] Even Mr. Adolphus, in his Tory history, says, that in 1782 "the cause of Great Britain seemed degraded to the lowest state; ill success and the prevalent opinion of mismanagement rendered the espousal of it among the selfish powers of the continent almost disreputable." *Hist. of George III.* vol. iii. pp. 391, 392. For proof of the opinions held in foreign countries respecting this, I cannot do better than refer to *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. iii. pp. 184, 185; *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ix. p. 377; *Soulavie, Mém. de Louis XVI.* vol. iv. pp. 363, 364; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. ii. pp. 190–194; *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 37.

[372] Sir John Sinclair, in his *Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. ii. p. 114, says 139,171,876*l.*

[373] Dr. Jebb, an able observer, thought that the American war "must be decisive of the liberties of both countries." *Disney's Life of Jebb*, p. 92. So, too, Lord Chatham wrote in 1777, "poor England will have fallen upon her own sword." *The Grenville Papers*, vol. iv. p. 573. In the same year, Burke said of the attempt made to rule the colonies by military force, "that the establishment of such a power in America will utterly ruin our finances (though its certain effect), is the smallest part of our concern. It will become an apt, powerful, and certain engine for the destruction of our freedom here." *Burke's Works*, vol. ii. p. 399. Compare vol. i. pp. 189, 210 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. pp. 104,

Whether or not these fears were exaggerated is a question of considerable difficulty ; but after a careful study of that time, and a study too from sources not much used by historians, I feel satisfied that they who are best acquainted with the period will be the most willing to admit that, though the danger may have been overrated, it was far more serious than men are now inclined to believe. At all events, it is certain that the general aspect of political affairs was calculated to excite great alarm. It is certain that, during many years, the authority of the crown continued to increase, until it reached a height of which no example had been seen in England for several generations. It is certain that the Church of England exerted all her influence in favour of those despotic principles which the king wished to enforce. It is also certain that, by the constant creation of new peers, all holding the same views, the character of the House of Lords was undergoing a slow but decisive change ; and that, whenever a favourable opportunity arose, high judicial appointments and high ecclesiastical appointments were conferred upon men notorious for their leaning towards the royal prerogative. These are facts which cannot be denied ; and putting them together, there remains, I think, no doubt that the American war was a great crisis in the history of England, and that if the colonists had been defeated, our liberties would have been for a time in considerable jeopardy. From that risk we were saved by the Americans, who with heroic spirit resisted the royal armies, defeated them at every point, and at length, separating themselves from the mother-country, began that wonderful career which in less than eighty years has raised them to an unexampled prosperity, and which to us ought to be deeply interesting, as showing what may be effected by the unaided resources of a free people.

Seven years after this great contest had been brought to a successful close, and the Americans, happily for the interests of mankind, had finally secured their independence, another nation rose up and turned against its rulers. The history of the causes of the French Revolution will be found in another part of this volume ; at present we have only to glance at the effects it produced upon the policy of the English government. In France, as is well known, the movement was extremely rapid ; the old institutions, which were so corrupted as to be utterly unfit for use, were quickly destroyed ; and the people, frenzied by centuries of oppression, practised the most revolting cruelties, saddening the hour of their triumph by crimes that disgraced the noble cause for which they struggled.

All this, frightful as it was, did nevertheless form a part of the natural course of affairs ; it was the old story of tyranny exciting revenge, and revenge blinding men to every consequence except the pleasure of glutting their own passions. If, under these circumstances, France had been left to herself, the Revolution, like all other revolutions, would soon have subsided, and a form of government have arisen suited to the actual condition of things. What the form would have been, it is impossible now to say ; that, however, was a question with which no foreign country had the slightest concern. Whether it should be an oligarchy, or a despotic monarchy, or a republic, it was for France to decide ; but it was evidently not the business of any other nation to decide for her. Still less was it likely that, on so delicate a point, France would submit to dictation from a country which had always been her rival, and which not unfrequently had been her bitter and successful enemy.

But these considerations, obvious as they are, were lost upon George III., and upon those classes which were then in the ascendant. The fact that a great people had risen against their oppressors, disquieted the consciences of men in high places. The same evil passions, and indeed the same evil language, which a few years before were directed against the Americans, were now turned against the French ; and it was but too clear that the same results would follow.[374] In

107, 651, 652, vol. xix. pp. 11, 1056, vol. xx. p. 119, vol. xxi. p. 907. Hence it was that Fox wished the Americans to be victorious (*Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. i. p. 143) ; for which some writers have actually accused him of want of patriotism !

[374] In 1792, and therefore before the war broke out, Lord Lansdowne, one of the extremely few peers who escaped from the prevailing corruption, said, " The present instance

defiance of every maxim of sound policy, the English ambassador was recalled from France simply because that country chose to do away with the monarchy, and substitute a republic in its place. This was the first decisive step towards an open rupture, and it was taken, not because France had injured England, but because France had changed her government.[375] A few months later, the French, copying the example of the English in the preceding century,[376] brought their king to a public trial, sentenced him to die, and struck off his head in the midst of his own capital. It must be allowed that this act was needless, that it was cruel, and that it was grossly impolitic. But it is palpably evident that they who consented to the execution were responsible only to God and their country; and that any notice of it from abroad which bore the appearance of a threat, would rouse the spirit of France, would unite all parties into one, and would induce the nation to adopt as its own a crime of which it might otherwise have repented, but which it could not now abjure without incurring the shame of having yielded to the dictation of a foreign power.

In England, however, as soon as the fate of the king was known, the government, without waiting for explanation, and without asking for any guarantee as to the future, treated the death of Louis as an offence against itself, and imperiously ordered the French resident to quit the country:[377] thus wantonly originating a war which lasted twenty years, cost the lives of millions, plunged all Europe into confusion, and more than any other circumstance stopped the march of civilization, by postponing for a whole generation those reforms which, late in the eighteenth century, the progress of affairs rendered indispensable.

The European results of this, the most hateful, the most unjust, and the most atrocious war England has ever waged against any country, will be hereafter considered:[378] at present I confine myself to a short summary of its leading effects on English society.

What distinguishes this sanguinary contest from all preceding ones, and what gives to it its worst feature, is, that it was eminently a war of opinions,—a war which we carried on, not with a view to territorial acquisitions, but with the object of repressing that desire for reforms of every kind which had now become the marked

recalled to his memory the proceedings of this country previous to the American war. The same abusive and degrading terms were applied to the Americans that were now used to the National Convention,—*the same consequences might follow*." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. p. 155.

[375] Compare *Belsham's Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. viii. p. 490, with *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 548. The letter to Lord Gower, the English minister in Paris, is printed in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. pp. 143, 144. Its date is 17th August, 1792.

[376] Just before the Revolution, Robert de Saint-Vincent pertinently remarked, by way of caution, that the English "have dethroned seven of their kings, and beheaded the eighth." *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 140: and we are told in *Alison's Europe* (vol. ii. pp. 199, 296, 315), that in 1792 Louis "anticipated the fate of Charles I." Compare *Williams's Letters from France*, 2nd edit. 1793, vol. iv. p. 2.

[377] Belsham (*Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. viii. p. 525) supposes, and probably with reason, that the English government was bent upon war even before the death of Louis; but it appears (*Tomline's Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 590) that it was not until the 24th of January, 1793, that Chauvelin was actually ordered to leave England, and that this was in consequence of "the British ministers having received information of the execution of the king of France." Compare *Belsham*, vol. viii. p. 530. The common opinion, therefore, seems correct, that the proximate cause of hostilities was the execution of Louis. See *Alison's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 522, vol. v. p. 249, vol. vi. p. 656; and *Newmarch*, in *Journal of Statistical Society*, vol. xviii. p. 108.

[378] Lord Brougham (*Sketches of Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 79) rightly says of this war, that "the youngest man living will not survive the fatal effects of this flagrant political crime." So eager, however, was George III. in its favour, that when Wilberforce separated himself from Pitt on account of the war, and moved an amendment on the subject in the House of Commons, the king showed his spite by refusing to take any notice of Wilberforce the next time he appeared at court. *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii. pp. 1.., 72.

characteristic of the leading countries of Europe.[379] As soon, therefore, as hostilities began, the English government had a twofold duty to perform : it had to destroy a republic abroad, and it had to prevent improvement at home. The first of these duties it fulfilled by squandering the blood and the treasure of England, till it had thrown nearly every family into mourning, and reduced the country to the verge of national bankruptcy. The other duty it attempted to execute by enacting a series of laws intended to put an end to the free discussion of political questions, and stifle that spirit of inquiry which was every year becoming more active. These laws were so comprehensive, and so well calculated to effect their purpose, that if the energy of the nation had not prevented their being properly enforced, they would either have destroyed every vestige of popular liberty, or else have provoked a general rebellion. Indeed, during several years the danger was so imminent that, in the opinion of some high authorities, nothing could have averted it but the bold spirit with which our English juries, by their hostile verdicts, resisted the proceedings of government, and refused to sanction laws which the crown had proposed, and to which a timid and servile legislature had willingly consented.[380]

We may form some idea of the magnitude of the crisis by considering the steps which were actually taken against the two most important of all our institutions, namely, the freedom of the public press, and the right of assembling in meetings for the purpose of public discussion. These are, in a political point of view, the two most striking peculiarities which distinguish us from every other European people. As long as they are preserved intact, and as long as they are fearlessly and frequently employed, there will always be ample protection against those encroachments on the part of government which cannot be too jealously watched and to which even the freest country is liable. To this may be added, that these institutions possess other advantages of the highest order. By encouraging political discussion, they increase the amount of intellect brought to bear upon the political business of the country. They also increase the total strength of the nation, by causing large classes of men to exercise faculties which would otherwise lie dormant, but which by these means are quickened into activity, and become available for other purposes of social interest.

But in the period we are now considering, it was deemed advisable that the influence of the people should be lessened ; it was therefore thought improper that they should strengthen their abilities by exercising them. To relate the details of that bitter war which, late in the eighteenth century, the English government carried on against every kind of free discussion, would lead me far beyond the limits of this Introduction ; and I can only hastily refer to the vindictive prosecutions, and, whenever a verdict was obtained, the vindictive punishments, of

[379] In 1793 and subsequently, it was stated both by the opposition, and also by the supporters of government, that the war with France was directed against doctrines and opinions, and that one of its main objects was to discourage the progress of democratic institutions. See, among many other instances, *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. pp. 413, 417, 1077, 1199, 1200, 1283, vol. xxxi. pp. 466, 592, 649, 680, 1036, 1047, vol. xxxiii. pp. 603, 604 ; *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. ii. pp. 156, 157.

[380] Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 449) says that if the laws passed in 1794 had been enforced, "the only chance of escaping servitude would have been civil war." Compare *Brougham's Statesmen*, vol. i. p. 237, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64, on our "escape from proscription and from arbitrary power . . . during the almost hopeless struggle from 1793 to 1801." Both these writers pay great and deserved honour to the successful efforts of Erskine with juries. Indeed the spirit of our jurors was so determined that in 1794, at Tooke's trial, they only consulted eight minutes before bringing in a verdict of acquittal. *Stephens's Mem. of Horne Tooke*, vol. ii. p. 147 ; see also, on this crisis, *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 210. The people sympathized throughout with the victims ; and while the trial of Hardy was pending, the attorney-general, Scott, was always mobbed when he left the court, and on one occasion his life was in danger. *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186. Compare *Holcroft's Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.

men like Adams, Bonney, Crossfield, Frost, Gerald, Hardy, Holt, Hodson, Holcroft, Joyce, Kidd, Lambert, Margarot, Martin, Muir, Palmer, Perry, Skirving, Stannard, Thelwall, Tooke, Wakefield, Wardell, Winterbotham: all of whom were indicted, and many of whom were fined, imprisoned, or transported, because they expressed their sentiments with freedom, and because they used language such as in our time is employed with perfect impunity, by speakers at public meetings, and by writers in the public press.

As, however, juries in several cases refused to convict men who were prosecuted for these offences, it was determined to recur to measures still more decisive. In 1795, a law was passed by which it was manifestly intended to put an end for ever to all popular discussions either on political or religious matters. For by it every public meeting was forbidden, unless notice of it were inserted in a newspaper five days beforehand;[381] such notice to contain a statement of the objects of the meeting, and of the time and place where it was to assemble. And, to bring the whole arrangement completely under the supervision of government, it was ordered that not only should the notice, thus published, be signed by householders, but that the original manuscripts should be preserved, for the information of the justices of the peace, who might require a copy of it; a significant threat, which, in those days, was easily understood.[382] It was also enacted that, even after these precautions had been taken, any single justice might compel the meeting to disperse, if, in his opinion, the language held by the speakers was calculated to bring the sovereign or the government into contempt; while, at the same time, he was authorized to arrest those whom he considered to be the offenders.[383] The power of dissolving a public meeting, and of seizing its leaders, was thus conferred upon a common magistrate, and conferred too without the slightest provision against its abuse. In other words, the right of putting an end to all public discussions on the most important subjects, was lodged in the hands of a man appointed by the crown, and removable by the crown at its own pleasure. To this it was added, that if the meeting should consist of twelve, or upwards of twelve persons, and should remain together for one hour after being ordered to separate,—in such case, the penalty of death was to be inflicted, even if only twelve disobeyed this the arbitrary command of a single and irresponsible magistrate.[384]

In 1799, another law was passed, forbidding any open field, or place of any kind, to be used for lecturing, or for debating, unless a specific licence for such place had been obtained from the magistrates. It was likewise enacted, that all circulating libraries, and all reading-rooms, should be subject to the same provision; no person, without leave from the constituted authorities, being permitted to lend on hire in his own house, newspapers, pamphlets, or even books of any kind.[385] Before shops of this sort could be opened, a licence must first be obtained from

[381] "Five days at least." *Stat.* 36 *George III.* c. 8. § 1. This applied to meetings "holden for the purpose or on the pretext of considering of or preparing any petition, complaint, remonstrance, or declaration, or other address to the king, or to both houses, or either house, of parliament, for alteration of matters established in church or state, or for the purpose or on the pretext of deliberating upon any grievance in church or state." The only exceptions allowed were in the case of meetings called by magistrates, officials, and the majority of the grand jury.

[382] The insertor of the notice in the newspaper "shall cause such notice and authority to be carefully preserved, . . . and cause a true copy thereof (if required) to be delivered to any justice of the peace for the county, city, town, or place where such person shall reside, or where such newspaper shall be printed, and who shall require the same." 36 *Geo. III.* c. 8, § 1.

[383] C. 8, §§ 6 and 7, referring to "meetings on notice;" and to persons holding language which shall even "tend to incite." These two sections are very remarkable.

[384] "It shall be adjudged," says the act, "felony without benefit of clergy; and the offenders therein shall be adjudged felons, and shall suffer death as in case of felony without benefit of clergy." 36 *George III.* c. 8, § 6.

[385] *Stat.* 39 *George III.* c. 79, § 15.

two justices of the peace : which, however, was to be renewed at least once a year, and might be revoked at any intermediate period.[386] If a man lent books without the permission of the magistrates, or if he allowed lectures or debates, "on any subject whatever," to be held under his roof, then, for such grievous crime, he was to be fined 100*l.* a day ; and every person who aided him, either by presiding over the discussion, or by supplying a book, was for each offence to be fined 20*l.* The proprietor of so pernicious an establishment was not only to suffer from these ruinous fines, but was declared liable to still further punishment as the keeper of a disorderly house.[387]

To modern ears it sounds somewhat strange that the owner of a public reading-room should not only incur extravagant fines, but should also be punished as the keeper of a disorderly house ; and that all this should happen to him simply because he opened his shop without asking permission from the local magistrates. Strange however as this appears, it was at all events consistent, since it formed part of a regular plan for bringing, not only the actions of men, but even their opinions, under the direct control of the executive government. Thus it was that the laws, now for the first time passed, against newspapers, were so stringent, and the prosecution of authors so unrelenting, that there was an evident intention to ruin every public writer who expressed independent sentiments.[388] These measures, and others of a similar character, which will hereafter be noticed, excited such alarm that in the opinion of some of the ablest observers the state of public affairs was becoming desperate, perhaps irretrievable. The extreme despondency with which, late in the eighteenth century, the best friends of liberty looked to the future, is very observable, and forms a striking feature in their private correspondence.[389] And although comparatively few men ventured to

[386] The licence "shall be in force for the space of one year and no longer, or for any less space of time therein to be specified ; and which licence it shall be lawful for the justices of the peace," etc., "to revoke and declare void, and no longer in force, by any order of such justices ; . . . and thereupon such licence shall cease and determine, and be thenceforth utterly void and of no effect." 39 *George III.* c. 79, § 18.

[387] Such things are so incredible, that I must again quote the words of the Act : "Every house, room, or place, which shall be opened or used as a place of meeting for the purpose of reading books, pamphlets, newspapers, or other publications, and to which any person shall be admitted by payment of money" (if not regularly licenced by the authorities), . . . "shall be deemed a disorderly house ;" "and the person opening it shall "be otherwise punished as the law directs in case of disorderly houses." 39 *George III.* c. 79, § 15. The germ of this law may be found in 36 *George III.* c. 8, §§ 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Nowhere are the weakest parts of the human mind more clearly seen than in the history of legislation.

[388] See the particulars in *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. pp. 281–4. Mr. Hunt says, p. 284 : "In addition to all these laws, directed solely towards the press, other statutes were made to bear upon it, for the purpose of repressing the free expression of popular opinion." In 1793, Dr. Currie writes : "The prosecutions that are commenced by government all over England against printers, publishers, etc., would astonish you ; and most of these are for offences committed many months ago. The printer of the *Manchester Herald* has had seven different indictments preferred against him for paragraphs in his paper , and six *different* indictments for selling or disposing of six different copies of Paine,—all previous to the *trial* of Paine. The man was opulent, supposed worth 20,000*l* ; but these different actions will ruin him, as they were intended to do." *Currie's Life*, vol. i. pp. 185, 186. See also a letter from Roscoe to Lord Lansdowne, in *Life of Roscoe*, vol. i. p. 124 ; and *Mem. of Holcroft*, vol. ii. pp. 151, 152 : "Printers and booksellers all over the kingdom were hunted out for prosecution." See further, *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200 ; *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. v. pp. 525, 526 ; *Mem. of Wakefield*, vol. ii. p. 69.

[389] In 1793, Dr. Currie, after mentioning the attempts made by government to destroy the liberty of the press, adds : "For my part, I foresee troubles, and conceive the nation was never in such a dangerous crisis." *Currie's Mem.* vol. i. p. 186. In 1795, Fox writes (*Russell's Mem. of Fox*, vol. iii. pp. 124, 125) ; "There appears to me to be no choice at

express such sentiments in public, Fox, whose fearless temper made him heedless of risk, openly stated what would have checked the government if anything could have done so. For this eminent statesman, who had been minister more than once, and was afterwards minister again, did not hesitate to say, from his place in parliament in 1795, that if these and other shameful laws which were proposed should be actually passed, forcible resistance to the government would be merely a question of prudence; and that the people, if they felt themselves equal to the conflict, would be justified in withstanding the arbitrary measures by which their rulers sought to extinguish their liberties.[390]

Nothing, however, could stop the government in its headlong career. The ministers, secure of a majority in both houses of parliament, were able to carry their measures in defiance of the people, who opposed them by every mode short of actual violence.[391] And as the object of these new laws was to check the spirit of inquiry, and prevent reforms which the progress of society rendered indispensable, there were also brought into play other means subservient to the same end. It is no exaggeration to say that for some years England was ruled by a system of absolute terror.[392] The ministers of the day, turning a struggle of party into a war of proscription, filled the prisons with their political opponents, and allowed

present but between an absolute surrender of the liberties of the people and a vigorous exertion, attended, I admit, with considerable hazard, at a time like the present. My view of things is, I own, very gloomy; and I am convinced that, in a very few years, this government will become completely absolute, or that confusion will arise of a nature almost as much to be deprecated as despotism itself." In the same year, Dr. Raine writes (*Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 533): "The mischievous conduct of men in power has long made this country an uneasy dwelling for the moderate and peaceful man; their present proceedings render our situation alarming, and our prospects dreadful." See also p. 530. In 1796, the Bishop of Llandaff writes (*Life of Watson*, vol. ii. pp. 36, 37): "The malady which attacks the constitution (influence of the crown) is without remedy; violent applications might be used; their success would be doubtful, and I, for one, never wish to see them tried." Compare vol. i. p. 222. And, in 1799, Priestley dreaded a revolution; but, at the same time, thought there was "no longer any hope of a peaceable and gradual reform." *Mem. of Priestley*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199.

[390] In this memorable declaration, Fox said, that "he had a right to hope and expect that these bills, which positively repealed the Bill of Rights, and cut up the whole of the constitution by the roots, by changing our limited monarchy into an absolute despotism, would not be enacted by parliament against the declared sense of a great majority of the people. If, however, ministers were determined by means of the corrupt influence they possessed in the two houses of parliament, to pass the bills in direct opposition to the declared sense of a great majority of the nation, and they should be put in force with all their rigorous provisions, if his opinion were asked by the people as to their obedience, he should tell them, that it was no longer a question of moral obligation and duty, but of prudence. It would, indeed, be a case of extremity alone which could justify resistance; and the only question would be, whether that resistance was prudent." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxii. p. 383. On this, Windham remarked, and Fox did not deny, that "the meaning obviously was, that the right hon. gentleman would advise the people, whenever they were strong enough, to resist the execution of the law;" and to this both Sheridan and Grey immediately assented. Pp. 385–387.

[391] "Never had there appeared, in the memory of the oldest man, so firm and decided a plurality of adversaries to the ministerial measures, as on this occasion (*i.e.* in 1795); the interest of the public seemed so deeply at stake, that individuals, not only of the decent, but of the most vulgar professions, gave up a considerable portion of their time and occupations in attending the numerous meetings that were called in every part of the kingdom, to the professed intent of counteracting this attempt of the ministry." *Note* in *Parl. History*, vol. xxxii. p. 381. It was at this period that Fox made the declaration which I have quoted in the previous note.

[392] It was called at the time the "Reign of Terror;" and so indeed it was for every opponent of government. See *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 441; *Mem. of Wakefield* vol. ii. p. 67; and *Trotter's Mem. of Fox*, p. 1

them, when in confinement, to be treated with shameful severity.[393] If a man was known to be a reformer, he was constantly in danger of being arrested ; and if he escaped that, he was watched at every turn, and his private letters were opened as they passed through the post-office.[394] In such cases, no scruples were allowed. Even the confidence of domestic life was violated. No opponent of government was safe under his own roof, against the tales of eaves-droppers and the gossip of servants. Discord was introduced into the bosom of families, and schisms caused between parents and their children.[395] Not only were the most strenuous attempts made to silence the press, but the booksellers were so constantly prosecuted, that they did not dare to publish a work if its author were obnoxious to the court.[396] Indeed, whoever opposed the government was proclaimed an enemy to his country.[397] Political associations and public meetings were strictly forbidden. Every popular leader was in personal danger ; and every popular assemblage was dispersed, either by threats or by military execution. That hateful machinery, familiar to the worst days of the seventeenth century, was put into motion. Spies were paid ; witnesses were suborned ; juries were packed.[398] The coffee-houses, the inns, and the clubs, were filled with emissaries of the government, who reported the most hasty expressions of common conversation.[399] If by these means no sort of evidence could be collected there

[393] " The iniquitous system of secret imprisonment, under which Pitt and Dundas had now filled all the gaols with parliamentary reformers : men who were cast into dungeons without any public accusation, and from whom the habeas-corpus suspension act had taken every hope of redress." *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 447. On the cruelty with which these political opponents of government were treated when in prison, see *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 121, 125, 423 ; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxiv. pp. 112, 113, 126, 129, 170, 515, vol. xxxv. pp. 742, 743 ; *Cloncurry's Recollections*, pp. 46, 86, 87, 140, 225.

[394] *Life of Currie*, vol. ii. p. 160 ; *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 118, 119.

[395] In 1793, Roscoe writes : " Every man is called on to be a spy upon his brother." *Life of Roscoe*, vol. i. p. 127. Compare Fox's statement (*Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. p. 21), that what government had done was, " to erect every man, not merely into an inquisitor, but into a judge, a spy, an informer,—to set father against father, brother against brother ; and in this way you expect to maintain the tranquillity of the country." See also vol. xxx. p. 1529 ; and a remarkable passage in *Coleridge's Biog. Lit.* (vol. i. p. 192), on the extent of " secret defamation," in and after 1793. For further evidence of this horrible state of society, see *Mem. of Holcroft*, vol. ii. pp. 150, 151 ; *Stephens's Mem. of Horne Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 115, 116.

[396] There was even considerable difficulty in finding a printer for Tooke's great philological work, *The Diversions of Purley*. See *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. pp. 345–348. In 1798, Fox wrote to Cartwright (*Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 248) : " The decision against Wakefield's publisher appears to me decisive against the liberty of the press ; and indeed, after it, one can hardly conceive how any prudent tradesman can venture to publish anything that can in any way be disagreeable to the ministers."

[397] Those who opposed the slave-trade were called jacobins, and " enemies to the ministers ; " and the celebrated Dr. Currie was pronounced to be a jacobin, and an " enemy to his country," because he remonstrated against the shameful manner in which the English government, in 1800, allowed the French prisoners to be treated. *Life of Currie*, vol. i. pp. 330, 332 ; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. i. pp. 342–344, vol. ii. pp. 18, 133 ; *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. p. 654, vol. xxxi. p. 467, vol. xxxiii. p. 1387, vol. xxxiv, pp. 1119, 1485.

[398] *Life of Cartwright*, vol. i. p. 209 ; *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. ii. p. 104 ; *Belsham's Hist.* vol. ix. p. 227 ; *Adolphus's Hist.* vol. vi. p. 264 ; *Annual Register for* 1795, pp. 156, 160 ; *Stephens's Mem. of Tooke*, vol. ii. p. 118 ; *Life of Currie*, vol. i. p. 172 ; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 316, vol. vii. p. 316 ; *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. iv. pp. 369, 377 *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. pp. 543, 667, 668, 1067, vol. xxxii. pp. 296, 302, 366, 367, 374, 664, vol. xxxv. pp. 1538, 1540 ; *Holcroft's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 190.

[399] In addition to the passages referred to in the preceding note, compare *Hutton's Life of Himself*, p. 209, with *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 441, vol. vii. p. 104, and *Adolphus's Hist. of George III.* vol. vi. p. 45. In 1798, Caldwell wrote to Sir James Smith

was another resource, which was unsparingly used. For, the habeas-corpus act being constantly suspended, the crown had the power of imprisoning, without inquiry and without limitation, any person offensive to the ministry, but of whose crime no proof was attempted to be brought.[400]

Such was the way in which, at the end of the eighteenth century, the rulers of England, under pretence of protecting the institutions of the country, oppressed the people, for whose benefit alone those institutions ought to exist. Nor was even this the whole of the injury they actually inflicted. Their attempts to stop the progress of opinions were intimately connected with that monstrous system of foreign policy, by which there has been entailed upon us a debt of unexampled magnitude. To pay the interest of this, and to meet the current expenses of a profuse and reckless administration, taxes were laid upon nearly every product of industry and of nature. In the vast majority of cases, these taxes fell upon the great body of the people,[401] who were thus placed in a position of singular hardship. For the upper classes not only refused to the rest of the nation the reforms which were urgently required, but compelled the country to pay for the precautions which, in consequence of the refusal, it was thought necessary to take. Thus it was that the government diminished the liberties of the people, and wasted the fruit of their industry, in order to protect that very people against opinions which the growth of their knowledge had irresistibly forced upon them.

It is not surprising that, in the face of these circumstances, some of the ablest observers should have despaired of the liberties of England, and should have believed that, in the course of a few years, a despotic government would be firmly established. Even we, who, looking at these things half a century after they occurred, are able to take a calmer view, and who moreover possess the advantages of a larger knowledge and a riper experience, must nevertheless allow that, so far as political events were concerned, the danger was more imminent than at any moment since the reign of Charles I. But what was forgotten then, and what is too often forgotten now, is that political events form only one of the many parts which compose the history of a great country. In the period we have been considering, the political movement was no doubt more threatening than it had been for several generations. On the other hand, the intellectual movement was, as we have seen, highly favourable, and its influence was rapidly spreading. Hence it was that, while the government of the country tended in one direction, the knowledge of the country tended in another; and while political events kept us back, intellectual events urged us forward.* In this way, the despotic prin-

(*Correspondence of Sir J. E. Smith*, vol. ii. p. 143): "The power of the crown is become irresistible. The new scheme of inquisition into every man's private circumstances is beyond any attempt I have ever heard of under Louis XIV."

[400] In 1794, Fox said, in his speech on the habeas-corpus suspension bill: "Every man who talked freely, every man who detested, as he did from his heart, this war, might be and would be in the hands and at the mercy of ministers. Living under such a government, and being subject to insurrection, comparing the two evils, he confessed he thought the evil they were pretending to remedy was less than the one they were going to inflict by the remedy itself." *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 509. In 1800, Lord Holland stated, in the House of Lords, that "of the seven years of the war, the habeas-corpus act had been suspended five; and, of the multitudes who had been imprisoned in virtue of that suspension, few had been brought to trial, and only one convicted." vol. xxxiv. p. 1486. See also vol. xxxv. pp. 609, 610. On the effect of the suspension of the habeas-corpus act upon literature, see *Life of Currie*, vol. i. p. 506.

[401] See decisive evidence of this, in *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, vol. ii. pp. 283–285; and, on the enormous increase of expense and taxation, see *Pellew's Life of Sidmouth*, vol. i. p. 358, vol. ii. p. 47.

[* The pressures which finally brought about the Reform Bill were simply "political events" of a different order from those which spelt retrogression. And while the political retrogression lasted, the "intellectual" life was undoubtedly retrograde also. Every political movement, in short, has its intellectual aspect; and *vice versa*. The dichotomy in the text is therefore inexact.—Ed.]

ciples that were enforced were in some degree neutralized ; and although it was impossible to prevent them from causing great suffering, still the effect of that suffering was to increase the determination of the people to reform a system under which such evils could be inflicted. For while they felt the evils, the knowledge which they had obtained made them see the remedy. They saw that the men who were at the head of affairs were despotic ; but they saw too that the system must be wrong which could secure to such men such authority. This confirmed their dissatisfaction, and justified their resolution to effect some fresh arrangement, which should allow their voices to be heard in the councils of the state.[402] And that resolution, I need hardly add, grew stronger and stronger, until it eventually produced those great legislative reforms which have already signalized the present century, have given a new tone to the character of public men, and changed the structure of the English parliament.

It is thus that, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the increase and diffusion of knowledge were, in England, directly antagonistic to the political events which occurred during the same period. The extent and the nature of that antagonism I have endeavoured to explain as clearly as the complexity of the subject and the limits of this Introduction enable me to do. We have seen that, looking at our country as a whole, the obvious tendency of affairs was to abridge the authority of the church, the nobles, and the crown, and thus give greater play to the power of the people. Looking, however, at the country, not as a whole, but looking merely at its political history, we find that the personal peculiarities of George III., and the circumstances under which he came to the throne, enabled him to stop the great progress, and eventually cause a dangerous reaction. Happily for the fortunes of England, those principles of liberty which he and his supporters wished to destroy, had before his reign become so powerful and so widely diffused, that they not only resisted this political reaction, but seemed to gain fresh strength from the contest. That the struggle was arduous, and at one time extremely critical, it is impossible to deny. Such, however, is the force of liberal opinions, when they have once taken root in the popular mind, that notwithstanding the ordeal to which they were exposed, and notwithstanding the punishments inflicted on their advocates, it was found impossible to stifle them ; it was found impossible even to prevent their increase. Doctrines subversive of every principle of freedom were personally favoured by the sovereign, openly avowed by the government, and zealously defended by the most powerful classes; and laws in accordance with these doctrines were placed on our statute-book, and enforced in our courts. All, however, was in vain. In a few years that generation began to pass away ; a better one succeeded in its place ; and the system of tyranny fell to the ground. And thus it is that in all countries which are even tolerably free, every system must fall, if it opposes the march of opinions, and gives shelter to maxims and institutions repugnant to the spirit of the age. In this sort of contest, the ultimate result is never doubtful. For the vigour of an arbitrary government depends merely on a few individuals, who, whatever their abilities may be, are liable, after their death, to be replaced by timid and incompetent successors. But the vigour of public opinion is not exposed to these casualties ; it is unaffected by the laws of mortality ; it does not flourish to-day and decline to-morrow ; and so far from depending on the lives of individual men, it is governed by large general causes, which from their very comprehensiveness are in short periods scarcely seen, but on a comparison of long periods are found to outweigh all other considerations, and reduce to insignificance those little stratagems by which princes and statesmen think to disturb the order of events, and mould to their will the destinies of a great and civilized people.

[402] A careful observer of what was going on late in the eighteenth century, expresses what, early in the nineteenth century, was becoming the conviction of most men of plain sound understanding, who had no interest in the existing corruption : "Immoderate taxation, the result of the unnecessary wars of the reign of George III., is the cause of our embarrassments ; and that immoderate taxation has been occasioned by the House of Commons being composed of men not interested to protect the property of the people." *Nicholls's Recollections*, vol. i. p. 213.

These are broad and general truths, which will hardly be questioned by any man who, with a competent knowledge of history, has reflected much on the nature and conditions of modern society. But during the period we have been considering, they were utterly neglected by our political rulers, who not only thought themselves able to check the growth of opinions, but entirely mistook the very end and object of government. In those days it was believed that government is made for the minority, to whose wishes the majority are bound humbly to submit. It was believed that the power of making laws must always be lodged in the hands of a few privileged classes; that the nation at large has no concern with those laws, except to obey them;[403] and that it is the duty of a wise government to secure the obedience of the people by preventing them from being enlightened by the spread of knowledge.[404] We may surely deem it a remarkable circumstance that these notions, and the schemes of legislation founded upon them, should, within half a century, have died away so completely, that they are no longer advocated, even by men of the most ordinary abilities. What is still more remarkable is, that this great change should have been effected, not by any external events, nor by a sudden insurrection of the people, but by the unaided action of moral force,—the silent though overwhelming pressure of public opinion. This has always seemed to me a decisive proof of the natural, and, if I may so say, the healthy march of English civilization. It is a proof of an elasticity and yet a sobriety of spirit, such as no other nation has ever displayed. No other nation could have escaped from such a crisis, except by passing through a revolution, of which the cost might well have exceeded the gain. The truth however is that in England the course of affairs, which I have endeavoured to trace since the sixteenth century, had diffused among the people a knowledge of their own resources, and a skill and independence in the use of them, imperfect indeed, but still far superior to that possessed by any other of the great European countries. Besides this, other circumstances, which will be hereafter related,[405] had, so early as the eleventh century, begun to affect our national character, and had assisted in imparting to it that sturdy boldness, and at the same time those habits of foresight and of cautious reserve, to which the English mind owes its leading peculiarities. With us, therefore, the love of liberty has been tempered by a spirit of prudence, which has softened its violence without impairing its strength. It is this which, more than once, has taught our countrymen to bear even considerable oppression rather than run the risk of rising against their oppressors. It has taught them to stay their hands; it has taught them to husband their force until they can use it with irresistible effect. To this great and valuable habit we owe the safety of England late in the eighteenth century. If the people had risen, they would have staked their all; and what the result of that desperate game would have been, no man can say. Happily for them, and for their posterity, they were content to wait yet a little; they were willing to bide their time, and watch the issue of things. Of this noble conduct their descendants reap the reward. After the lapse of a few years, the political crisis began to subside, and the people re-entered on their former rights. For although their rights had been in abeyance they were not destroyed, simply because the spirit still existed by which they were originally won. Nor can any one doubt that, if those evil days had been prolonged, that same spirit which had animated their fathers in the reign of Charles I. would have again broken forth,

[403] Bishop Horsley, the great champion of the existing state of things, said in the House of Lords, in 1795, that he "did not know what the mass of the people in any country had to do with the laws, but to obey them." *Cooke's Hist. of Party*, vol. iii. p. 435. Compare *Godwin on Population*, p. 569.

[404] Lord Cockburn (*Life of Jeffrey*, 1852 vol. i. pp. 67, 68) says: "If there was any principle that was reverenced as indisputable by almost the whole adherents of the party in power sixty, or even fifty, or perhaps even forty years ago, it was that the ignorance of the people was necessary for their obedience to the law." One argument was "that to extend instruction would be to multiply the crime of forgery:" *Porter's Progress of the Nation*, vol. iii. p. 205.

[405] See chapters ix. and x., on the history of the protective spirit.

and society have been convulsed by a revolution, the bare idea of which is frightful to contemplate. In the meantime, all this was avoided; and although popular tumults did arise in different parts of the country, and although the measures of government caused a disaffection of the most serious kind,[406] still the people, taken as a whole, remained firm, and patiently reserved their force till a better time, when, for their benefit, a new party was organized in the state, by whom their interests were successfully advocated even within the walls of parliament.*

This great and salutary reaction began early in the present century; but the circumstances which accompanied it are so extremely complicated, and have been so little studied, that I cannot pretend in this Introduction to offer even a sketch of them. It is sufficient to say, what must be generally known, that for nearly fifty years the movement has continued with unabated speed. Everything which has been done has increased the influence of the people. Blow after blow has been directed against those classes which were once the sole depositaries of power. The Reform Bill, the Emancipation of the Catholics, and the Repeal of the Corn-laws, are admitted to be the three greatest political achievements of the present generation. Each of these vast measures has depressed a powerful party. The extension of the suffrage has lessened the influence of hereditary rank, and has broken up that great oligarchy of landowners, by which the House of Commons had long been ruled. The abolition of Protection has still further enfeebled the territorial aristocracy; while those superstitious feelings by which the ecclesiastical order is mainly upheld, received a severe shock, first by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and afterwards by the admission of Catholics into the legislature; steps which are with reason regarded as supplying precedents of mischievous import for the interests of the Established Church.[407] These measures, and others which are now obviously inevitable, have taken, and will continue to take, power from particular sections of society, in order to confer it upon the people at large. Indeed, the rapid progress of democratic opinions is a fact which no one in the present day ventures to deny. Timid and ignorant men are alarmed at the movement; but that there is such a movement is notorious to all the world. No one now dares to talk of bridling the people, or of resisting their united wishes. The utmost that is said is that efforts should be made to inform them as to their real interests, and enlighten public opinion; but every one allows that, so soon as public opinion is formed, it can no longer be withstood. On this point all are agreed; and this new power, which is gradually superseding every other, is now obeyed by those very statesmen who, had they lived sixty

[406] Sir A. Alison notices in his *History* (vol. iv. p. 213) "how widely the spirit of discontent was diffused" in 1796; and the only wonder is, that the people were able to keep it in bounds. That, however, is a question which writers of his stamp never consider.

[407] Bishop Burgess, in a letter to Lord Melbourne, bitterly complained that Catholic emancipation was "the extinction of the purely Protestant character of the British legislature." *Harford's Life of Burgess*, p. 506: see also pp. 238. 239, 369, 370. There can be no doubt that the bishop rightly estimated the danger to his own party; and as to the Corporation and Test Acts, which, says another bishop (*Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 604), "were justly regarded as the firmest bulwarks of the British constitution," the feeling was so strong, that at an episcopal meeting in 1787 there were only two members who were willing to repeal these persecuting laws. See *Bishop Watson's Life of Himself*, vol. i. p. 262. Lord Eldon, who to the last stood up for the church, pronounced the bill for repealing these acts to be "a revolutionary bill." *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 202.

[* The account here given of the people as "husbanding their force till they could use it with irresistible effect" is somewhat fanciful. Political force is not thus storable: and it was not even the same "people" who ultimately benefited by a democratic revival. New conditions gradually arose, in which such a revival was possible; but the greater part of one generation had to pass away under the bad conditions. Nor are we entitled to assert that if the stress of the tyranny "had been prolonged," there would have been a frightful revolution.—ED.]

years ago, would have been the first to deny its authority, ridicule its pretensions, and, if possibe, extinguish its liberty.

Such is the great gap which separates the public men of our time from those who flourished under that bad system which George III. sought to perpetuate. And it is evident that this vast progress was brought about rather by destroying the system than by improving the men. It is also evident that the system perished because it was unsuited to the age—in other words, because a progressive people will never tolerate an unprogressive government. But it is a mere matter of history that our legislators, even to the last moment, were so terrified by the idea of innovation that they refused every reform, until the voice of the people rose high enough to awe them into submission, and forced them to grant what, without such pressure, they would by no means have conceded.

These things ought to serve as a lesson to our political rulers. They ought also to moderate the presumption of legislators, and teach them that their best measures are but temporary expedients which it will be the business of a later and riper age to efface. It would be well if such considerations were to check the confidence and silence the loquacity of those superficial men who, raised to temporary power, think themselves bound to guarantee certain institutions, and uphold certain opinions. They ought clearly to understand that it does not lie within their function thus to anticipate the march of affairs, and provide for distant contingencies. In trifling matters, indeed, this may be done without danger ; though, as the constant changes in the laws of every country abundantly prove, it is also done without benefit. But in reference to those large and fundamental measures which bear upon the destiny of a people, such anticipation is worse than useless,—it is highly injurious. In the present state of knowledge, politics, so far from being a science, is one of the most backward of all the arts ; and the only safe course for the legislator is to look upon his craft as consisting in the adaptation of temporary contrivances to temporary emergencies.[408] His business is to follow the age, and not at all to attempt to lead it. He should be satisfied with studying what is passing around him ; and should modify his schemes, not according to the notions hes ha inherited from his fathers, but according to the actual exigencies of his own time. For he may rely upon it that the movements of society have now become so rapid that the wants of one generation are no measure of the wants of another ; and that men, urged by a sense of their own progress, are growing weary of idle talk about the wisdom of their ancestors, and are fast discarding those trite and sleepy maxims which have hitherto imposed upon them, but by which they will not consent to be much longer troubled.

[408] Sir C. Lewis, though in his learned work he over-estimates the resources possessed by politicians, does nevertheless allow that they are rarely able to anticipate the manner in which their measures will work. *Lewis on the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, 1852, vol. ii. pp. 360–362. A writer of repute, M. Flassan, says (*Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. i. p. 19) : " On doit être très indulgent sur les erreurs de la politique, à cause de la facilité qu'il y a à en commettre ; erreurs auxquelles la sagesse même quelquefois entraîne." The first part of this sentence is true enough ; but it conveys a truth which ought to repress that love of interfering with the natural march of affairs which still characterizes politicians, even in the freest countries. [As has been already noted, Buckle's resort to the term " natural " is pre-scientific apriorism. Strictly interpreted, his advice would veto the making of any laws, and leave society to the free play of animal forces and passions, which are so obviously " natural." As he cannot have meant this, he must be held to have counted those interferences " natural " of which he approved. Obviously, however, if crime and rapine be natural, mistaken legislation is equally so. There is, in short, no refuge for social science in such a question-begging formula. The only common test for collective as for individual action is the test of total utility, which in turn is differently estimated by different minds. Hence the perpetual mutation of politics.—Ed.]

CHAPTER VIII

Outline of the History of the French Intellect from the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the Accession to Power of Louis XIV

The consideration of these great changes in the English mind has led me into a digression, which, so far from being foreign to the design of this Introduction, is absolutely necessary for a right understanding of it.* In this, as in many other respects, there is a marked analogy between investigations concerning the structure of society and investigations concerning the human body. Thus it has been found that the best way of arriving at a theory of disease is by beginning with the theory of health : and that the foundation of all sound pathology must be first sought in an observation, not of the abnormal, but of the normal functions of life.† Just in the same way, it will I believe be found that the best method of arriving at great social truths is by first investigating those cases in which society has developed itself according to its own laws, and in which the governing powers have least opposed themselves to the spirit of their times.[1] It is on this account that, in order to understand the position of France,

[1] The question as to whether the study of normal phenomena should or should not precede the study of abnormal ones, is of the greatest importance ; and a neglect of it has introduced confusion into every work I have seen on general or comparative history. For, this preliminary being unsettled, there has been no recognized principle of arrangement ; and historians, instead of following a scientific method suited to the actual exigencies of our knowledge, have adopted an empirical method suited to their own exigencies ; and have given priority to different countries, sometimes according to their size, sometimes according to their antiquity, sometimes according to their geographical position, sometimes according to their wealth, sometimes according to their religion, sometimes according to the brilliancy of their literature, and sometimes according to the facilities which the historian himself possessed for collecting materials. All these are factitious considerations ; and, in a philosophic view, it is evident that precedence should be given to countries by the historian solely in reference to the ease with which their history can be generalized ; following in this respect the scientific plan of proceeding from the simple to the complex. [On this, see above, pp. 132, 133, 149, *notes*.—Ed.] This leads us to the conclusion, that in the study of Man, as in the study of Nature, the question of priority resolves itself into a question of aberration ; and that the more aberrant any people have been, that is to say, the more they have

[* It need hardly be remarked that this is a "bull." That which is absolutely necessary to an exposition is not a digression.—Ed.]

[† As the perception of normality implies that of abnormality, there can be no such severance as is here contended for. The normality of the sociological case of England has in point of fact been ostensibly demonstrated above only in contrast with the alleged abnormality of France. But seeing that in the terms of the case the alleged normal type is only one instance among many abnormal, the analogy cannot from any point of view hold good.—Ed.]

I have begun by examining the position of England. In order to understand the way in which the diseases of the first country were aggravated by the quackery of ignorant rulers, it was necessary to understand the way in which the health of the second country was preserved by being subjected to smaller interference, and allowed with greater liberty to continue its natural march. With the light, therefore, which we have acquired by a study of the normal condition of the English mind, we can with the greater ease now apply our principles to that abnormal condition of French society, by the operations of which, at the close of the eighteenth century, some of the dearest interests of civilization were imperilled.

In France, a long train of events, which I shall hereafter relate, had from an early period given to the clergy a share of power larger than that which

been interfered with, the lower they must be placed in an arrangement of the history of various countries. Coleridge (*Lit. Remains*, vol. i. p. 326, and elsewhere in his works) seems to suppose that the order should be the reverse of what I have stated, and that the laws both of mind and body can be generalized from pathological data. Without wishing to express myself too positively in opposition to so profound a thinker as Coleridge, I cannot help saying that this is contradicted by an immense amount of evidence, and, so far as I am aware, is supported by none. It is contradicted by the fact that those branches of inquiry which deal with phenomena little affected by foreign causes have been raised to sciences sooner than those which deal with phenomena greatly affected by foreign causes. The organic world, for example, is more perturbed by the inorganic world, than the inorganic world is perturbed by it. Hence we find that the inorganic sciences have always been cultivated before the organic ones, and at the present moment are far more advanced than they. In the same way, human physiology is older than human pathology; and while the physiology of the vegetable kingdom has been successfully prosecuted since the latter half of the seventeenth century, the pathology of the vegetable kingdom can scarcely be said to exist, since none of its laws have been generalized, and no systematic researches, on a large scale, have yet been made into the morbid anatomy of plants. It appears, therefore, that different ages and different sciences bear unconscious testimony to the uselessness of paying much attention to the abnormal, until considerable progress has been made in the study of the normal; and this conclusion might be confirmed by innumerable authorities, who, differing from Coleridge, hold that physiology is the basis of pathology, and that the laws of disease are to be raised, not from the phenomena presented in disease, but from those presented in health; in other words, that pathology should be investigated deductively rather than inductively, and that morbid anatomy and clinical observations may verify the conclusions of science, but can never supply the means of creating the science itself. On this extremely interesting question, compare *Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Hist. des Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10, 127; *Bowman's Surgery*, in *Encyclop. of the Medical Sciences*, p. 824; *Bichat, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. p. 20; *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 424; *Comte, Philos. Positive*, vol. iii. pp. 334, 335; *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. p. 68; *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. i. p. 111; *Georget, de la Folie*, pp. 2, 391, 392; *Brodie's Pathology and Surgery*, p. 3; *Blainville, Physiologie Comparée*, vol. i. p. 20; *Feuchtersleben's Medical Psychology*, p. 200; *Lawrence's Lectures on Man*, 1844, p. 45; *Simon's Pathology*, p. 5.

Another confirmation of the accuracy of this view is, that pathological investigations of the nervous system, numerous as they have been, have effected scarcely anything; the reason evidently being that the preliminary knowledge of the normal state is not sufficiently advanced. See *Noble on the Brain*, pp. 76–92, 337, 338; *Henry on the Nervous System*, in *Third Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 78; *Holland's Medical Notes*, p. 608; *Jones and Sieveking's Patholog. Anat.* p. 211. [On Buckle's view, the "laws of disease" would consist in the notation of any departure from an accepted healthy norm. But abnormality is not disease, and health is compatible with much variety of structure, nutrition, and functioning. The deduction he prescribes would thus be invalid. It would be more accurate to say that the "laws of health" have been reached through the phenomena of disease. Plant pathology is necessarily backward precisely because his deductive plan cannot be applied to it.—Ed.]

they possessed in England.* The results of this were for a time decidedly beneficial, inasmuch as the church restrained the lawlessness of a barbarous age, and secured a refuge for the weak and oppressed. But as the French advanced in knowledge, the spiritual authority, which had done so much to curb their passions, began to press heavily upon their genius, and impede its movements. That same ecclesiastical power which to an ignorant age is an unmixed benefit, is to a more enlightened age a serious evil. The proof of this was soon apparent. For when the Reformation broke out, the church had in England been so weakened that it fell almost at the first assault; its revenues were seized by the crown,[2] and its offices, after being greatly diminished both in authority and in wealth, were bestowed upon new men, who, from the uncertainty of their tenure, and the novelty of their doctrines, lacked that long-established prescription by which the claims of the profession are mainly supported. This, as we have already seen, was the beginning of an uninterrupted progress, in which, at every successive step, the ecclesiastical spirit lost some of its influence. In France, on the other hand, the clergy were so powerful, that they were able to withstand the Reformation,† and thus preserve for themselves those exclusive privileges which their English brethren vainly attempted to retain.

This was the beginning of that second marked divergence between French and English civilization,[3] which had its origin, indeed, at a much earlier period, but which now first produced conspicuous results. Both countries had in their infancy been greatly benefited by the church, which always showed itself ready to protect the people against the oppressions of the crown and the nobles.[4]

[2] A circumstance which Harris relates with evident delight, and goes out of his way to mention. *Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. p. 300. On the amount of loss the church thus sustained, see *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. pp. 181–184, and *Eccleston's English Antiquities*, p. 228. [It is not the fact that the church "had been weakened." The Lollard movement had come to nothing; the nation was orthodox; and Henry VIII. in his youth "cherished churchmen more than any king in England had ever done." "England had for above three hundred years been the tamest part of Christendom to the papal authority." (*Burnet, History of the Reformation*, Nares' ed. i. 17, 18. Compare *Froude, Hist. of England*, ed. 1872, i. 173). As Shaftesbury put it later: "For religion we were highly famed above all nations, by being the most subject to our ecclesiastics at home, and the best tributaries and servants to the Holy See abroad." (*Characteristics*, ed. 1900, ii. 249). It was in fact the "abnormal" power of the Tudor kings, built up after the dissolution of the feudal nobility in the Wars of the Roses, that made possible the action of Henry VIII., and even that was resisted in a widespread rebellion.—Ed.]

[3] The first divergence arose from the influence of the protective spirit, as I shall endeavour to explain in the next chapter.

[4] On the obligations Europe is under to the Catholic clergy, see some liberal and very just remarks in *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. ii. pp. 374, 375; and in *Guizot's Civilisation en France*. See also *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. iii. pp. 199–206, 255–257, vol. v. p. 138, vol. vi. pp. 406, 407; *Palgrave's Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 655; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 44; *Klimrath, Travaux sur l'Hist. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 394; *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 157.

[* This is doubtful. The Chancellor du Prat declared in 1517 that under the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII., which greatly restricted the power of the church, France was isolated among the Christian powers, and regarded as heretical. *Vie d'Antoine du Prat*, par le Marquis du Prat, 1857, p. 152.—Ed.]

[† This is again misleading. The clergy in England were beaten down by the power of the crown, the weakened nobility being unable to sustain them. In France they had the crown with them. A similar combination would certainly have sustained the church in England. As to the swerving of Francis I. from his first leaning to a reformation, cp. *Herbert's Hist. of England under Henry VIII.*, ed. 1870, pp. 528, 720, and *Lutteroth, La Réform. en France pend. sa prem. période*, 1859, pp. 14–17.—Ed.]

But in both countries, as society advanced, there arose a capacity for self-protection; and early in the sixteenth, or probably even in the fifteenth century, it became urgently necessary to diminish that spiritual authority, which, by prejudging the opinions of men, has impeded the march of their knowledge.[5] It is on this account that Protestantism, so far from being, as its enemies have called it, an aberration arising from accidental causes, was essentially a normal movement, and was the legitimate expression of the wants of the European intellect. Indeed, the Reformation owed its success, not to a desire of purifying the church, but to a desire of lightening its pressure; and it may be broadly stated that it was adopted in every civilized country except in those where preceding events had increased the influence of the ecclesiastical order, either among the people or among their rulers. This was, unhappily, the case with France, where the clergy not only triumphed over the Protestants, but appeared for a time to have gained fresh authority by the defeat of such dangerous enemies.[6]

The consequence of all this was that in France everything assumed a more theological aspect than in England. In our country, the ecclesiastical spirit had by the middle of the sixteenth century become so feeble that even * intelligent foreigners were struck by the peculiarity.[7] The same nation which during the Crusades had sacrificed innumerable lives in the hope of planting the Christian standard in the heart of Asia,[8] was now almost indifferent to the

[5] The way in which this acted is concisely stated by Tennemann: "Wenn sich nun auch ein freierer Geist der Forschung regte, so fand er sich gleich durch zwei Grundsätze, welche aus jenem Supremat der Theologie flossen, beengt und gehemmt. Der erste war: die menschliche Vernunft kann nicht über die Offenbarung hinausgehen. . . . Der zweite: die Vernunft kann nichts als wahr erkennen, was dem Inhalte der Offenbarung widerspricht, und nichts für falsch erkennen, was derselben angemessen ist,—folgte aus dem ersten." *Gesch. der Philos.* vol. viii. part i. p. 8.

[6] As to the influence of the Reformation generally, in increasing the power of the Catholic clergy, see M. Ranke's important work on the *History of the Popes*; and as to the result in France, see *Monteil, Hist. des divers états*, vol. v. pp. 233–235. Corero, who was ambassador in France in 1569, writes, "Il papa può dire a mio giudizio, d' aver in questi romori piuttosto guadagnato che perduto, perciochè tanta era la licenza del vivere, secondo che ho inteso, prima che quel regno si dividesse in due parti, era tanta poca la devozione che avevano in Roma e in quei che vi abitavano, che il papa era più considerato come principe grande in Italia, che come capo della chiesa e pastore universale. Ma scoperti che si furono gli ugonotti, cominciarono i cattolici a riverire il suo nome, e riconoscerlo per vero vicario di Cristo, confirmandosi tanto più in opinione di doverlo tener per tale, quanto più lo sentivano sprezzare e negare da essi ugonotti." *Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. ii. p. 162. This interesting passage is one of many proofs that the immediate advantages derived from the Reformation have been overrated; though the remote advantages were undoubtedly immense.

[7] The indifference of the English to theological disputes, and the facility with which they changed their religion, caused many foreigners to censure their fickleness. See, for instance, *Essais de Montaigne*, livre ii. chap. xii. p. 365. Perlin, who travelled in England in the middle of the sixteenth century, says, "The people are reprobates, and thorough enemies to good manners and letters; for they don't know whether they belong to God or the devil, which St. Paul has reprehended in many people, saying Be not transported with divers sorts of winds, but be constant and steady to your belief." *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv. p. 511, 4to, 1809. See also the remarks of Michele in 1557, and of Crespet in 1590; *Ellis's Original Letters*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 239; *Hallam's Constitutional History*, vol. i. p. 102; *Southey's Commonplace Book*, 3rd series, p. 408.

[8] An historian of the thirteenth century strikingly expresses the theological feelings of the English Crusaders, and the complete subordination of the political ones: "Indignum quippe judicabant animarum suarum salutem omittere, et obsequium cœlestis

[* The "even" is scarcely appropriate. A French Catholic would denounce the English situation as a matter of course.—Ed.]

religion even of its own sovereign. Henry VIII., by his sole will, regulated the national creed, and fixed the formularies of the church, which, if the people had been in earnest, he could not possibly have done; for he had no means of compelling submission; he had no standing army; and even his personal guards were so scanty that at any moment they could have been destroyed by a rising of the warlike apprentices of London.[9] After his death there came Edward, who, as a Protestant king, undid the work of his father; and a few years later there came Mary, who, as a Popish queen, undid the work of her brother; while she in her turn was succeeded by Elizabeth, under whom another great alteration was effected in the established faith.[10] Such was the indifference of the people, that these vast changes were accomplished without any serious risk.[11] In France, on the other hand, at the mere name of religion, thousands of men were ready for the field. In England, our civil wars have all been secular *; they have been waged, either for a change of dynasty, or for an increase of liberty. But those far more horrible wars by which in the sixteenth century France was desolated, were conducted in the name of Christianity, and even the political struggles of the great families were merged in a deadly contest between Catholics and Protestants.[12]

The effect this difference produced on the intellect of the two countries is very obvious. The English, concentrating their abilities upon great secular matters, had by the close of the sixteenth century produced a literature which never can perish. But the French, down to that period, had not put forth a single work the destruction of which would now be a loss to Europe.† What makes

Regis, clientelæ regis alicujus terreni postponere; constituerunt igitur terminum, videlicet festum nativitatis beati Johannis Baptistæ." *Matthæi Paris Historia Major*, p. 671. It is said, that the first tax ever imposed in England on personal property was in 1166, and was for the purpose of crusading. *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. p. 88: "It would not probably have been easily submitted to, had it not been appropriated for so popular a purpose."

[9] Henry VIII. had at one time fifty horse-guards, but they being expensive were soon given up; and his only protection consisted of "the yeomen of the guard, fifty in number, and the common servants of the king's household." *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 46. These "yeomen of the guard were raised by Henry VII. in 1485." *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 167. Compare *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. vii. p. 54; and *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 298.

[10] Locke, in his First Letter on Toleration, has made some pungent, and, I should suppose, very offensive observations on these rapid changes. *Locke's Works*, vol. v. p. 27.

[11] But although Mary easily effected a change of religion, the anti-ecclesiastical spirit was far too strong to allow her to restore to the church its property. "In Mary's reign, accordingly, her parliament, so obsequious in all matters of religion, adhered with a firm grasp to the possession of church-lands." *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 77. See also *Short's Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 213; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. pp. 339, 340; *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. i. p. 253; and *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. i. p. 346. [For "the anti-ecclesiastical spirit" we should here read simply the spirit of self-interest. Parliament represented especially the class which had acquired the church-lands.—Ed.]

[12] "Quand éclata la guerre des opinions religieuses, les antiques rivalités des barons se transformèrent en haine du prêche ou de la messe." *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*

[* See above, pp. 203-4 *notes*. In the rebellion against the confiscations of Henry VIII., 40,000 men took the field.—Ed.]

[† This surprising assertion, which dismisses as insignificant the works of Froissart, Commynes, Villon, Du Bellay, Marot, Rabelais, Brantôme, and Montaigne, is explicitly contradicted below as regards Montaigne. As Buckle has above (p. 152) defined literature so as to make light of *belles lettres*, it is difficult to divine what he had in view in English literature before 1600. Hooker must be his main ground, since he nowhere mentions Pecock's *Repressor*, or More's *Utopia*; and Hooker is subsequent to Montaigne, having only in 1594 published the first four books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*.—Ed.]

this contrast the more remarkable is that in France the civilization, such as it was, had a longer standing; the material resources of the country had been earlier developed; its geographical position made it the centre of European thought;[13] and it had possessed a literature at a time when our ancestors were a mere tribe of wild and ignorant barbarians.

The simple fact is that this is one of those innumerable instances which teach us that no country can rise to eminence so long as the ecclesiastical power possesses much authority.* For the predominance of the spiritual classes is necessarily accompanied by a corresponding predominance of the topics in which those classes delight. Whenever the ecclesiastical profession is very influential, ecclesiastical literature will be very abundant, and what is called profane literature will be very scanty. Hence it occurred that the minds of the French, being almost entirely occupied with religious disputes, had no leisure for those great inquiries into which we in England were beginning to enter;[14] and there was, as we shall presently see, an interval of a whole generation between the progress of the French and English intellects, simply because there was about the same interval between the progress of their scepticism. The theological literature, indeed, rapidly increased;[15] but it was not until the seventeenth century that France produced that great secular literature, the counterpart of which was to be found in England before the sixteenth century had come to a close.

Such was, in France, the natural consequence of the power of the church being prolonged beyond the period which the exigencies of society required. But while this was the intellectual result, the moral and physical results were still more serious. While the minds of men were thus heated by religious strife, it would have been idle to expect any of those maxims of charity to which theological faction is always a stranger. While the Protestants were murdering the Catholics,[16] and the Catholics murdering the Protestants, it was hardly likely that either sect should feel tolerance for the opinions of its enemy.[17]

et de la Ligue, vol. iv. p. 32. Compare *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 422, 563; and *Boullier, Maison Militaire des Rois de France*, p. 25, "des querelles d'autant plus vives, qu'elles avoient la religion pour base."

[13] The intellectual advantages of France, arising from its position between Italy, Germany, and England, are very fairly stated by M. Lerminier (*Philosophie du Droit*, vol. i. p. 9).

[14] Just in the same way, the religious disputes in Alexandria injured the interests of knowledge. See the instructive remarks of M. Matter (*Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. p 131).

[15] *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vi. p. 136. Indeed, the theological spirit seized the theatre, and the different sectarians ridiculed each other's principles on the stage. See a curious passage at p. 182 of the same learned work.

[16] The crimes of the French Protestants, though hardly noticed in *Felice's History of the Protestants of France*, pp. 138–143, were as revolting as those of the Catholics, and quite as numerous relatively to the numbers and power of the two parties. Compare *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xviii. pp. 516, 517, with *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. ii. p. 173, vol. vi. p. 54; and *Smedley, Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200, 237.

[17] In 1569 Corero writes: "Ritrovai quel regno, certo, posto in grandissima confusione; perche, stante quella divisione di religione (convertita quasi in due fazioni e inimicizie particolari), era causa ch' ognuno, senza che amicizia o parentela potesse aver luoco, stava con l' orecchie attente; e pieno di sospetto ascoltava da che parte nasceva qualche romore." *Relat. des Ambassad. Vénitiens*, vol. ii. p. 106. He emphatically adds, "Temevano gl' ugonotti, temevano li cattolici, temeva il prencipe, temevano li sudditi." See also, on this horrible state of opinions, *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xviii. pp. 21, 22, 118–120, 296, 430. On both sides, the grossest calumnies were propagated and believed; and one of the charges brought against Catherine de

[* This is another oversight. The cases of Spain and Italy are sufficient to the contrary.—Ed.]

During the sixteenth century treaties were occasionally made between the two parties; but they were only made to be immediately broken;[18] and, with the single exception of l'Hôpital, the bare idea of toleration does not seem to have entered the head of any statesman of the age. It was recommended by him;[19] but neither his splendid abilities nor his unblemished integrity could make head against the prevailing prejudices, and he eventually retired into private life without effecting any of his noble schemes.[20]

Indeed, in the leading events of this period of French history, the predominance of the theological spirit was painfully shown. It was shown in the universal determination to subordinate political acts to religious opinions.[21] It was shown in the conspiracy of Amboise, and in the conference of Poissy; and still more was it shown in those revolting crimes so natural to superstition, the massacres of Vassy and of St. Bartholomew, the murder of Guise by Poltrot, and of Henry III. by Clement. These were the legitimate results of the spirit of religious bigotry.* They were the results of that accursed spirit, which, whenever it has had the power, has punished even to the death those who dared to differ from it; and which, now that the power has passed away, still continues to dogmatize on the most mysterious subjects, tamper with the most sacred principles of the human heart, and darken with its miserable superstitions those sublime questions that no one should rudely touch, because they are for each according to the measure of his own soul, because they lie in that unknown tract which separates the Finite from the Infinite, and because they are as a secret and individual covenant between Man and his God.

How long these sad days[22] would, in the ordinary course of affairs, have

Medici was that she caused the Cesarean operation to be performed on the wives of Protestants, in order that no new heretics might be born. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. vii. p. 294.

[18] *Mably, Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 149. In the reign of Charles IX. alone, there were no less than five of these religious wars, each of which was concluded by a treaty. See *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. ii. p. 69.

[19] For which l'Hôpital was accused of atheism: "Homo doctus, sed verus atheus." *Dict. Philos.* article *Athéisme*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxvii. pp. 181, 182.

[20] I have not been able to meet with any good life of this great man: that by Charles Butler is very superficial, and so is that by Bernardi, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. pp. 412–424. My own information respecting l'Hôpital is from *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xviii. pp. 431–436; *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. ii. pp. 135–137, 168–170; *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. pp. 519–523, vol. iv. pp. 2–8, 152–159, vol. v. pp. 180–182, 520, 521, 535, vol. vi. pp. 703, 704; *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. i. p. 234. Duvernet (*Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. i. pp. 215–218) is unsatisfactory, though fully recognizing his merit. [A short *Vie de l'Hôpital* had been published by Villemain, and appears in the revised ed. of his *Études d'histoire moderne*, 1846. It shows, among other things, that other statesmen besides l'Hôpital longed for toleration. See pp. 363–8, 428.—Ed.]

[21] "Ce fut alors que la nation ne prit conseil que de son fanatisme. Les esprits, de jour en jour plus échauffés, ne virent plus d'autre objet que celui de la religion, et par piété se firent les injures les plus atroces." *Mably, Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 145.

[22] The 19th and 20th volumes of *Sismondi's Histoire des Français* contain painful evidence of the internal condition of France before the accession of Henry IV. Indeed, as Sismondi says (vol. xx. pp. 11–16), it seemed at one time as if the only prospect was a relapse into feudalism. See also *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. v. pp. 242–249 · "plus de trois cent mille maisons détruites." De Thou, in the memoirs of his own life, says, "Les loix furent méprisées, et l'honneur de la France fut presque anéanti . . . et sous le voile de la religion, on ne respiroit que la haine, la vengeance, le massacre et l'incendie." *Mém. de la Vie*, in *Histoire Univ.* vol. i. p. 120; and the same writer, in

[* It is relevant here to remember that Henry VIII. brought to the block More, Fisher, and Pole, twelve nobles of the higher ranks, eighteen lords and knights, thirteen abbots and priors, seventy-seven monks and priests, "and many more of both religions." *Heylyn, Hist. of the Reformation*, ed. 1849, i. 31.—Ed.]

been prolonged in France, is a question which we now perhaps have no means of answering; though there is no doubt that the progress even of empirical knowledge must, according to the process already pointed out, have eventually sufficed to rescue so great a country from her degraded position. Fortunately, however, there now took place what we must be content to call an accident, but which was the beginning of a most important change. In the year 1589, Henry IV. ascended the throne of France. This great prince, who was far superior to any of the French sovereigns of the sixteenth century,[23] made small account of those theological disputes which his predecessors had thought to be of paramount importance. Before him, the kings of France, animated by the piety natural to the guardians of the church, had exerted all their authority to uphold the interests of the sacred profession. Francis I. said that if his right hand were a heretic, he would cut it off.[24] Henry II., whose zeal was still greater,[25] ordered the judges to proceed against the Protestants, and publicly declared that he would "make the extirpation of the heretics his principal business."[26] Charles IX., on the celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, attempted to relieve the church by destroying them at a single blow. Henry III. promised to "oppose heresy even at the risk of his life;" for he said "he could not find a prouder grave than amidst the ruins of heresy."[27]

his great history, gives almost innumerable instances of the crimes and persecutions constantly occurring. See, for some of the most striking cases, vol. ii. p. 383, vol. iv. pp. 378, 380, 387, 495, 496, 539, vol. v. pp. 189, 518, 561, 647, vol. vi. pp. 421, 422, 424, 426, 427, 430, 469. Compare *Duplessis, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 41, 42, 322, 335, 611, 612, vol. iii. pp. 344, 445, vol. iv. pp. 112–114; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. pp. 307, 308; *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. i. p. 217.

[23] This, indeed, is not saying much; and far higher praise might be justly bestowed. As to his domestic policy, there can be only one opinion: and M. Flassan speaks in the most favourable terms of his management of foreign affairs. *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Franç.* vol. ii. pp. 191, 192, 294–297, vol. iii. p. 243. And see, to the same effect, the testimony of M. Capefigue, an unfriendly judge. *Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. vii. p. xiv., vol. viii. p. 156. Fontenay Mareuil, who was a contemporary of Henry IV., though he wrote many years after the king was murdered, says, "Ce grand roy, qui estoit en plus de considération dans le monde que pas un de ses prédécesseurs n'avoit esté depuis Charlesmagne." *Mém. de Fontenay*, vol. i. p. 46. Duplessis Mornay calls him "le plus grand roy que la chrestienté ait porté depuis cinq cens ans;" and Sully pronounces him to be "le plus grand de nos rois." *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. xi. pp. 30, 77, 131. *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. vii. p. 15. Compare vol. vi. pp. 397, 398, vol. ix. pp. 35, 242, with some sensible remarks in *Mém. de Genlis*, Paris, 1825, vol. ix. p. 299.

[24] So it is generally related: but there is a slightly different version of this orthodox declaration in *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformation in France*, vol. i. p. 30. Compare *Maclaine's note* in *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 24, with *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xvi. pp. 453, 454, and *Relat. des Ambassad. Vénitiens*, vol. i. p. 50, vol. ii. p. 48. It was also Francis I. who advised Charles V. to expel all the Mohammedans from Spain. *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. p. 429.

[25] The historian of the French Protestants says, in 1548, "le nouveau roi Henri II. fut encore plus rigoureux que son père." *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 12.

[26] M. Ranke (*Civil Wars in France*, vol. i. pp. 240, 241) says, that he issued a circular "addressed to the parliaments and to the judicial tribunals, in which they were urged to proceed against the Lutherans with the greatest severity, and the judges informed that they would be held responsible, should they neglect these orders: and in which he declared plainly, that as soon as the peace with Spain was concluded, he was determined to make the extirpation of the heretics his principal business." See also, on Henry II., in connexion with the Protestants, *Mably, Observ. sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. iii. pp. 133, 134; *De Thou, Hist., Univ.* vol. i. pp. 334, 335, 387, vol. ii. p. 640, vol. iii. pp. 365, 366; *Felice's Hist. of the French Protestants*, p. 58.

[27] He said this to the Estates of Blois in 1588. *Ranke's Civil Wars in France*, vol. ii. p. 202. Compare his edict, in 1585, in *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. iv. pp. 244, 245

These were the opinions expressed in the sixteenth century by the heads of the oldest monarchy in Europe.[28] But with such feelings the powerful intellect of Henry IV. had not the slightest sympathy. To suit the shifting politics of his age, he had already changed his religion twice; and he did not hesitate to change it a third time[29] when he found that by doing so he could ensure tranquillity to his country. As he had displayed such indifference about his own creed, he could not with decency show much bigotry about the creed of his subjects.[30] We find, accordingly, that he was the author of the first public act of toleration which any government promulgated in France since Christianity had been the religion of the country. Only five years after he had solemnly abjured Protestantism, he published the celebrated Edict of Nantes,[31] by which, for the first time, a Catholic government granted to heretics a fair share of civil and religious rights. This was unquestionably the most important event that had yet occurred in the history of French civilization.[32] If it is considered by itself, it is merely an evidence of the enlightened principles of the king; but when we look at its general success, and at the cessation of religious war which followed it, we cannot fail to perceive that it was part of a vast movement, in which the people themselves participated. Those who recognize the truth of the principles I have laboured to establish, will expect that this great step towards religious liberty was accompanied * by that spirit of scepticism, in the absence of which toleration has always been unknown. And that this was actually the case, may be easily proved by an examination of the transitionary state which France began to enter towards the end of the sixteenth century.

The writings of Rabelais are often considered to afford the first instance of religious scepticism in the French language.[33] But, after a tolerably intimate

and his speech in vol. v. p. 122; and see *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 328; *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. i. p. 110; *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. i. p. 250, vol. viii. p. 651, vol. x. pp. 294, 589, 674, 675.

[28] With what zeal these opinions were enforced, appears, besides many other authorities, from Marino Cavalli, who writes in 1546, "Li maestri di Sorbona hanno autorità estrema di castigare li eretici, il che fanno con il fuoco, brustolandoli vivi a poco a poco." *Relat. des Ambassad. Vénitiens*, vol. i. p. 262; and see vol. ii. p. 24.

[29] Indeed, Clement VIII. was afterwards apprehensive of a fourth apostasy: "Er meinte noch immer, Heinrich IV. werde zuletzt vielleicht wieder zum Protestantismus zurückkehren, wie er es schon einmal gethan." *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 246. M. Ranke, from his great knowledge of Italian manuscripts, has thrown more light on these transactions than the French historians have been able to do.

[30] On his conversion, the character of which was as obvious then as it is now, compare *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. i. p. 257, with *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ii. p. 126. See also *Howell's Letters*, book i. p. 42; and a letter from Sir H. Wotton in 1593, printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 711. See also *Ranke, Civil Wars in France*, vol. ii. pp. 257, 355; *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. vi. pp. 305, 358.

[31] The Edict of Nantes was in 1598; the abjuration in 1593. *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxi. pp. 202, 486. But in 1590 it was intimated to the pope as probable, if not certain, that Henry would "in den Schooss der katholischen Kirche zurückkehren." *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 210.

[32] Of this edict, Sismondi says, "Aucune époque dans l'histoire de France ne marque mieux peut-être la fin d'un monde ancien, le commencement d'un monde nouveau." *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxi. p. 489.

[33] On Rabelais, as the supposed founder of French scepticism, compare *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. ii. p. 306; *Stephen's Lectures on the History of France*, vol. ii. p. 242; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xvi. p. 376. [Religious scepticism of a seminal kind is seen in French literature long before Rabelais. Compare Lanson, *Hist. de la litt. française*, ed. 1898, p. 129, as to the *Roman de la Rose* in the thirteenth century. But even in the sixteenth century the *Cymbalum Mundi* of Bonaventure Des-

[* "Preceded" is the expression below, p. 299.—Ed.]

acquaintance with the works of this remarkable man, I have found nothing to justify such an opinion. He certainly treats the clergy with great disrespect, and takes every opportunity of covering them with ridicule.[34] His attacks, however, are always made upon their personal vices, and not upon that narrow and intolerant spirit to which those vices were chiefly to be ascribed. In not a single instance does he show anything like consistent * scepticism ;[35] nor does he appear to be aware that the disgraceful lives of the French clergy were but the inevitable consequence of a system which, corrupt as it was, still possessed every appearance of strength and vitality. Indeed, the immense popularity which he enjoyed is almost of itself a decisive consideration; since no one who is well informed as to the condition of the French early in the sixteenth century will believe it possible that a people so sunk in superstition, should delight in a writer by whom superstition is constantly attacked.†

But the extension of experience, and the consequent increase of knowledge,

periers (1538), a work of the hardiest scepticism, overlooked by Buckle, is nearly contemporary with the earlier books of Rabelais. Desperiers is described by Charles Nodier as one of the three great French writers of the first half of the sixteenth century, the compeer of Rabelais and Marot.—Ed.]

[34] Particularly the monks. See, among numerous other instances, vol. i. pp. 278, 282, vol. ii. pp. 284, 285, of *Œuvres de Rabelais*, edit. Amsterdam, 1725. However, the high dignitaries of the church are not spared ; for he says that Gargantua "se morvoit en archidiacre," vol. i. p. 132 ; and on two occasions (vol. iii. p. 65, vol. iv. pp. 199, 200) he makes a very indecent allusion to the pope. In vol. i. pp. 260, 261, he satirically notices the way in which the services of the church were performed : "Dont luy dist le moyne : Je ne dors jamais à mon aise, sinon quand je suis au sermon, ou quand je prie Dieu."

[35] His joke on the strength of Samson (*Œuvres de Rabelais*, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30), and his ridicule of one of the Mosaic laws (vol. iii. p. 34), are so unconnected with other parts of his work as to have no appearance of belonging to a general scheme. The commentators, who find a hidden meaning in every author they annotate, have represented Rabelais as aiming at the highest objects, and seeking to effect the most extensive social and religious reforms. This I greatly doubt, at all events I have seen no proof of it : and I cannot help thinking that Rabelais owes a large share of his reputation to the obscurity of his language. On the other side of the question, and in favour of his comprehensiveness, see a bold passage in *Coleridge's Lit. Remains*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139.

[* By "consistent" appears to be meant "thoroughgoing."—Ed.]

[† A notable *petitio principii*. The admirers of Desperiers were presumably more sceptical than any one at the same time in England. The measure of freethought in Rabelais is naturally relative to the culture-stage. "Rabelais n'est pas profond : il faut oser le dire." (*Lanson*, p. 250). But what is vital in him, from the point of view proper to Buckle, is his intense secularity, his irrepressible naturalism of spirit, and his virtual disregard of the theological point of view. If he did not "constantly attack" superstition, he deeply undermined it. His writing expresses "un appétit de savoir qui ne se contient dans aucune borne." (*Id.* p. 253). And it is quite clear that he was in the full current of whatever scepticism there was in his day. A tolerably practical proof of this is the fact that from the very first issue of his *Pantagruel* the Sorbonne was on his track (*Stapfer, Rabelais, sa personne, son génie, son œuvre*, 1889, pp. 30, 38) ; and that though he was careful to prune his writings at many points, and obtained a "privilége royal" for his fourth book (1545), he was repeatedly menaced with prosecution. In 1552 his privilege was absolutely annulled, so that he was forced to resign his two cures (*Id.* pp. 63–67, 74, 78, 79). Finally, he was one of the first anatomists of his day, being "non seulement un des premiers—sinon le premier,—qui aient fait des démonstrations sur le cadavre, mais encore qui aient vanté l'utilité des dissections" (*Le Double, Rabelais anatomiste et physiologiste*, 1889, pp. 12, 425 ; and préf. by Prof. Duval, p. xiii.). Rabelais, in fine, exhibited as much scepticism as at that time any man could without risking his life, as did Desperiers. Already in 1535 he was ridiculing astrology, as Montaigne did fifty years later. And see Buckle's admission below, ch. xiii. *note* 22.—Ed.]

were preparing the way for a great change in the French intellect. The process, which had just taken place in England, was now beginning to take place in France; and in both countries the order of events was precisely the same. The spirit of doubt, hitherto confined to an occasional solitary thinker, gradually assumed a bolder form: first it found a vent in the national literature, and then it influenced the conduct of practical statesmen. That there was, in France, an intimate connexion between scepticism and toleration, is proved not only by those general arguments which make us infer that such connexion must always exist, but also by the circumstance, that only a few years before the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, there appeared the first systematic sceptic who wrote in the French language.* The Essays of Montaigne were published in 1588,[36] and form an epoch, not only in the literature but also in the civilization of France. Putting aside personal peculiarities, which have less weight than is commonly supposed, it will be found that the difference between Rabelais and Montaigne is a measure of the difference between 1545[37] and 1588, and that it, in some degree, corresponds with the relation I have indicated between Jewel and Hooker, and between Hooker and Chillingworth. For the law which governs all these relations, is the law of a progressive scepticism. What Rabelais was to the supporters of theology, that was Montaigne to the theology itself.† The writings of Rabelais were only directed against the clergy; but the writings of Montaigne were directed against the system of which the clergy were the offspring.[38] Under the guise of a mere man of the world, expressing natural thoughts in common language Montaigne concealed a spirit of lofty

[36] The two first books in 1580; the third in 1588, with additions to the first two. See *Niceron, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. des Hommes illustres*, vol. xvi. p. 210, Paris, 1731.

[37] The first impression of the *Pantagruel* of Rabelais has no date on the title-page; but it is known that the third book was first printed in 1545, and the fourth book in 1546. See *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iv. pp. 4–6, Paris, 1843. The statement in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvi. pp. 482, 483, is rather confused. [It is now agreed that the first books probably appeared in 1533 and 1535. See the details in *Stapfer*, pp. 26–31.—Ed.]

[38] Mr. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 29) says, that his scepticism "is not displayed in religion." But if we use the word "religion" in its ordinary sense, as connected with dogma, it is evident from Montaigne's language that he was a sceptic, and an unflinching one too. Indeed, he goes so far as to say that all religious opinions are the result of custom: "Comme de vray nous n'avons aultre mire de la vérité et de la raison, que l'exemple et idée des opinions et usances du païs où nous sommes: *là est tousiours la parfaicte religion*, la parfaicte police, parfaict et accomply usage de toutes choses." *Essais de Montaigne*, p. 121, livre i. chap. xxx. As a natural consequence, he lays down that religious error is not criminal, p. 53; compare p. 28. See also how he notices the usurpations of the theological spirit, pp. 116, 508, 528. The fact seems to be that Montaigne, while recognizing abstractedly the existence of religious truths, doubted our capacity for knowing them; that is to say, he doubted if out of the immense number of religious opinions there were any means of ascertaining which were accurate. His observations on miracles (pp. 541, 653, 654, 675) illustrate the character of his mind and what he says on prophetic visions is quoted and confirmed by Pinel, in his profound work *Aliénation Mentale*, p. 256. Compare *Maury, Légendes Pieuses*, p. 268, note.

[* Montaigne is not properly to be described as systematic and Desperiers, who preceded him, was more hardy in his criticisms.—Ed.]

[† The scepticism of Montaigne was really a product of the wars of religion, and of the demoralization they wrought. This fact has only recently been brought out by M. Champion in his valuable *Introduction aux Essais de Montaigne*, 1900. In his youth Montaigne was a somewhat extreme zealot. That there was much scepticism around him is proved by the vogue of the apologetic work of *De Mornay, De la vérité de la religion Chrestienne*, 1581. The *Colloquium Heptaplomeres* of Bodin (1588) was so bold that it had to remain in manuscript. And Montaigne seems to have been much influenced by Estienne's Latin translation of the *Hypotyposes* of Sextus Empiricus. Cp. *Miss Lowndes, Michel de Montaigne*, 1898, p. 131, and *Owen, French Skeptics*. p. 444.—Ed.]

and audacious inquiry.[39] Although he lacked that comprehensiveness which is the highest form of genius, he possessed other qualities essential to a great mind. He was very cautious, and yet he was very bold. He was cautious, since he would not believe strange things because they had been handed down by his forefathers; and he was bold, since he was undaunted by the reproaches with which the ignorant, who love to dogmatize, always cover those whose knowledge makes them ready to doubt.[40] These peculiarities would, in any age, have made Montaigne a useful man: in the sixteenth century they made him an important one. At the same time, his easy and amusing style[41] increased the circulation of his works, and thus contributed to popularize those opinions which he ventured to recommend for general adoption.

This, then, is the first open declaration of that scepticism which towards the end of the sixteenth century publicly appeared in France.[42] During nearly three generations, it continued its course with a constantly increasing activity, and developed itself in a manner similar to that which took place in England. It will not be necessary to follow all the steps of this great process; but I will endeavour to trace those which, by their prominence, seem to be the most important.

A few years after the appearance of the Essays of Montaigne, there was published in France a work, which, though now little read, possessed in the seventeenth century a reputation of the highest order. This was the celebrated *Treatise on Wisdom*, by Charron, in which we find for the first time an attempt made in a modern language to construct a system of morals without the aid of theology.[43] What rendered this book in some respects even more formidable than Montaigne's, was the air of gravity with which it was written. Charron was evidently deeply impressed with the importance of the task he had undertaken, and he is honourably distinguished from his contemporaries by a remarkable purity both of language and of sentiment. His work is almost the only one of that age in which nothing can be found to offend the chastest ears. Although he borrowed from Montaigne innumerable illustrations,[44] he has care-

[39] His friend, the celebrated De Thou, calls him "homme franc, ennemi de toute contrainte." *Mémoires*, in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. i. p. 59: see also vol. xi. p. 590. And M. Lamartine classes him with Montesquieu, as "ces deux grands républicains de la pensée française." *Hist. des Girondins*, vol. i. p. 174.

[40] He says (*Essais*, p. 97), "Ce n'est pas à l'adventure sans raison que nous attribuons à simplesse et ignorance la facilité de croire et de se laisser persuader." Compare two striking passages, pp. 199 and 685. Nothing of this sort had ever appeared before in the French language. [To the last, however, Montaigne made non-committal declarations. In a passage added late to the essays (i. 54) he describes himself as of the order of *metis*, belonging to neither camp.—Ed.]

[41] Dugald Stewart, whose turn of mind was very different from that of Montaigne, calls him "this most amusing author." *Stewart's Philos. of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 468. But Rousseau, in every respect a more competent judge, enthusiastically praises "la naïveté, la grâce et l'énergie de son style inimitable." *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 185. Compare *Lettres de Sévigné*, vol. iii. p. 491, edit. Paris, 1843, and *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. i. p. 94.

[42] "Mais celui qui a répandu et popularisé en France le scepticisme, c'est Montaigne." *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* II. serié, vol. ii. pp. 288, 289. "Die erste Regung des skeptischen Geistes finden wir in den Versuchen des Michael von Montaigne." *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. ix. p. 443. On the immense influence of Montaigne, compare *Tennemann*, vol. ix. p. 458; *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. v. pp. 263–265; *Sorel, Bibliothèque Françoise*, pp. 80–91; *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. iv. p. 527.

[43] Compare the remarks on Charron in *Tennemann, Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 527, with two insidious passages in *Charron, De la Sagesse*, vol. i. pp. 4, 366.

[44] The obligations of Charron to Montaigne were very considerable, but are stated too strongly by many writers. *Sorel, Bibliothèque Françoise*, p. 93; and *Hallam's Literature of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 362, 509. On the most important subjects, Charron was a bolder and deeper thinker than Montaigne; though he is now so little read, that

fully omitted those indecencies into which that otherwise charming writer was often betrayed. Besides this, there is about the work of Charron a systematic completeness which never fails to attract attention. In originality he was in some respects inferior to Montaigne; but he had the advantage of coming after him, and there can be no doubt that he rose to an elevation which to Montaigne would have been inaccessible. Taking his stand, as it were, on the summit of knowledge, he boldly attempts to enumerate the elements of wisdom, and the conditions under which those elements will work. In the scheme which he thus constructs, he entirely omits theological dogmas;[45] and he treats with undissembled scorn many of those conclusions which the people had hitherto universally received. He reminds his countrymen that their religion is the accidental result of their birth and education, and that if they had been born in a Mohammedan country, they would have been as firm believers in Mohammedanism as they then were in Christianity.[46] From this consideration he insists on the absurdity of their troubling themselves about the variety of creeds, seeing that such variety is the result of circumstances over which they have no control. Also it is to be observed that each of these different religions declares itself to be the true one;[47] and all of them are equally based upon supernatural pretensions, such as mysteries, miracles, prophets, and the like.[48] It is because men forget these things that they are the slaves of that confidence which is the great obstacle to all real knowledge, and which can only be removed by taking such a large and comprehensive view as will show us how all nations cling with equal zeal to the tenets in which they have been educated.[49] And says Charron, if we look a little deeper we shall see that each of the great religions is built upon that which preceded it. Thus the religion of the Jews is founded upon that of the Egyptians; Christianity is the result of Judaism; and from these two last there has naturally sprung Mohammedanism.[50] We,

the only tolerably complete account I have seen of his system is in *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. ix. pp. 458–487. [Charron was greatly stimulated in his intellectual progress by Montaigne. See *Owen, Skeptics of the French Renaissance*, pp. 571–4.—Ed.] Buhle (*Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*, vol. ii. pp. 918–925) and Cousin (*Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. p. 289) are short and unsatisfactory. Even Dr. Parr, who was extensively read in this sort of literature, appears only to have known Charron through Bayle (see notes on the Spital Sermon, in *Parr's Works*, vol. ii. pp. 520, 521); while Dugald Stewart, with suspicious tautology, quotes, in three different places, the same passage from Charron. *Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 233, vol. iii. pp. 365, 393. Singularly enough, Talleyrand was a great admirer of *De la Sagesse*, and presented his favourite copy of it to Madame de Genlis! See her own account, in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. iv. pp. 352, 353.

[45] See his definition, or rather description, of wisdom, in Charron, *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 295, vol. ii. pp. 113, 115.

[46] *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. pp. 63, 351.

[47] "Chacune se préfère aux autres, et se confie d'être la meilleure et plus vraie que les autres, et s'entre-reprochent aussi les unes aux autres quelque chose, et par-là s'entre-condamnent et rejettent." *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 348; see also vol. i. pp. 144, 304, 305, 306, vol. ii. p. 116. Expressions almost identical are used by M. Charles Comte, *Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 233.

[48] "Toutes trouvent et fournissent miracles, prodiges, oracles, mystères sacrés, saints prophètes, fêtes, certains articles de foy et créance nécessaires au salut." *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 346.

[49] Hence he opposes proselytism, and takes up the philosophic ground that religious opinions, being governed by undeviating laws, owe their variations to variations in their antecedents, and are always, if left to themselves, suited to the existing state of things: "Et de ces conclusions, nous apprendrons à n' épouser rien, ne jurer à rien, n'admirer rien, ne se troubler de rien, mais quoi qu'il advienne, que l'on crie, tempête, se resoudre à ce point, que c'est le cours du monde, *c'est nature qui fait des siennes*." *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 311.

[50] "Mais comme elles naissent l'une après l'autre, la plus jeune bâtit toujours sur son aînée et prochaine précédente, laquelle elle n'improuve, ni ne condamne de fond

therefore, adds this great writer, should rise above the pretensions of hostile sects, and, without being terrified by the fear of future punishment, or allured by the hope of future happiness, we should be content with such practical religion as consists in performing the duties of life; and, uncontrolled by the dogmas of any particular creed, we should strive to make the soul retire inward upon itself, and by the efforts of its own contemplation, admire the ineffable grandeur of the Being of beings, the supreme cause of all created things.[51]

Such were the sentiments which, in the year 1601, were for the first time laid before the French people in their own mother-tongue.[52] The sceptical and secular spirit, of which they were the representatives, continued to increase; and, as the seventeenth century advanced, the decline of fanaticism, so far from being confined to a few isolated thinkers, gradually became common, even among ordinary politicians.[53] The clergy, sensible of the danger, wished the government to check the progress of inquiry;[54] and the pope himself, in a formal remonstrance with Henry, urged him to remedy the evil by prosecuting the heretics, from whom he thought all the mischief had originally proceeded.[55] But this the king steadily refused. He saw the immense advan-

en comble, autrement elle ne seroit pas ouïe, et ne pourroit prendre pied; mais seulement l'accuse ou d'imperfection, ou de son terme fini, et qu'à cette occasion elle vient pour lui succéder et la parfaire, et ainsi la ruine peu-à-peu, et s'enrichit de ses dépouilles, comme la Judaïque a fait à la Gentille et Egyptienne, la Chrétienne à la Judaïque. la Mahométane à la Judaïque et Chrétienne ensemble: mais les vieilles condamnent bien tout-à-fait et entièrement les jeunes, et les tiennent pour ennemies capables." *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. p. 349. This, I believe, is the first instance in any modern language of the doctrine of religious development; a doctrine which, since Charron, has been steadily advancing, particularly among men whose knowledge is extensive enough to enable them to compare the different religions which have prevailed at different times. In this, as in other subjects, they who are unable to compare suppose that everything is isolated, simply because to them the continuity is invisible. As to the Alexandrian doctrine of development, found particularly in Clement and Origen, see *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 234–257; and in particular pp. 241, 246.

[51] *De la Sagesse*, vol. i. pp. 356, 365; two magnificent passages. But the whole chapter ought to be read, livre ii. chap. v. In it there is an occasional ambiguity. Tennemann, however, in the most important point, understands Charron as I do, in regard to the doctrine of future punishments. *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. ix. p. 473.

[52] The first edition of *La Sagesse* was published at Bourdeaux in 1601. *Niceron, Hommes illustres*, vol. xvi. p. 224; *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 509; *Biog. Univ.* vol. viii. p. 250. Two editions were subsequently published in Paris, in 1604 and 1607. *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire*, vol. i. p. 639.

[53] Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 86) and Lavallée (*Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 84) have noticed the diminution of religious zeal early in the seventeenth century; and some curious evidence will also be found in the correspondence of Duplessis Mornay. See, for instance, a letter he wrote to Diodati, in 1609: "A beaucoup aujourd'hui il fault commencer par là, qu'il y a une religion, premier que de leur dire quelle." *Duplessis, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. x. p. 415. This middle or secular party received the name of "Politiques," and began to be powerful in 1592 or 1593. Benoist (*Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 113), under the year 1593, contemptuously says: "Il s'éleva une foule de conciliateurs de religion;" see also pp. 201, 273. In 1590, and in 1594, the "Politiques" are noticed by De Thou (*Hist. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 171, vol. xii. p. 134); and on the increase, in 1593, of "le tiers parti politique et négociateur," see *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. vi. p. 235. See also, respecting "les politiques," a letter from the Spanish ambassador to his own court, in 1615, in *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 93; and for the rise in Paris, in 1592, of a "politisch und kirchlich gemässigte Gesinnung," see *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 243.

[54] The Sorbonne went so far as to condemn Charron's great work, but could not succeed in having it prohibited. Compare *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. ii. p. 139, with *Bayle*, article Charron, note F.

[55] In the appendix to Ranke (*Die Römischen Päpste*, vol. iii. pp. 141, 142), there will

tages that would arise if he could weaken the ecclesiastical power by balancing the two sects against each other ;[56] and therefore, though he was a Catholic, his policy rather leaned in favour of the Protestants, as being the weaker party.[57] He granted sums of money towards the support of their ministers and the repair of their churches ;[58] he banished the Jesuits, who were their most dangerous enemies ;[59] and he always had with him two representatives of the reformed church, whose business it was to inform him of any infraction of those edicts which he had issued in favour of their religion.[60]

Thus it was that in France as well as in England toleration was preceded by scepticism ; and thus it was, that out of this scepticism there arose the humane and enlightened measures of Henry IV. The great prince by whom these things were effected, unhappily fell a victim to that fanatical spirit which he had done much to curb ;[61] but the circumstances which occurred after his death showed how great an impetus had been given to the age.

On the murder of Henry IV., in 1610, the government fell into the hands of the queen, who administered it during the minority of her son, Louis XIII. And it is a remarkable evidence of the direction which the mind was now taking, that she, though a weak and bigoted woman,[62] refrained from those persecutions which, only one generation before, had been considered a necessary proof of

be found the instructions which were given to the nuncio, in 1603, when he was sent to the French court; and which should be compared with a letter, written in 1604, in *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. v. p. 122, edit. 1820.

[56] "Sein Sinn war im Allgemeinen, ohne Zweifel, das Gleichgewicht zwischen ihnen zu erhalten." *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. pp. 430, 431. "Henri IV, l'expression de l'indifférentisme religieux, se posa comme une transaction entre ces deux systèmes." *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. vi. p. 358. "Henry IV. endeavoured to adjust the balance evenly." *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 19. See also *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 136. Hence, of course, neither party was quite satisfied. *Mably's Observations*, vol. iii. p. 220 ; *Mezeray, Histoire de France*, vol. iii. p. 959.

[57] Compare *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. viii. p. 61, with *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33. See also, on his inclination towards the Protestants, *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 91. Fontenay, p. 94, mentions, as a singular instance, that "il se vist de son temps des huguenots avoir des abbayes."

[58] *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. iv. p. 134, vol. vi. p. 233 ; *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. xi. p. 242 ; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 68, 205. These grants were annual, and were apportioned by the Protestants themselves. See their own account, in *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. i. pp. 198, 222, 246, 247, 249, 275-277.

[59] Henry IV. banished the Jesuits in 1594 ; but they were allowed, later in his reign, to make fresh settlements in France. *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. vi. p. 485 ; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 106 ; *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. v. p. 192 note *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xiv. p. 298. Compare the notices of them in *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. ii. p. 234, vol. iv. pp. 200, 235, 245. But there can be little doubt that they owed their recall to the dread entertained of their intrigues (*Grégoire, Hist. des Confesseurs*, p. 316) ; and Henry evidently disliked as well as feared them. See two letters fom him in *Duplessis, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. vi. pp. 129, 151. It would appear from the *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. v. p. 350, Paris, 1823, that the king never restored to them their former authority in regard to education.

[60] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 142, 143 ; *Le Vassor*, vol. i. p. 156 ; *Sismondi*, vol. xxii. p. 116 ; *Duplessis Mornay*, vol. i. p. 389 ; *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. vii. pp. 105, 432, 442.

[61] When Ravaillac was examined, he said "qu'il y avait été excité par l'intérêt de la religion, et par une impulsion irrésistible." *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 38. This work contains the fullest account I have met with of Ravaillac ; of whom there is, moreover, a description in *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, vol. i. p. 85, Paris, 1840, a very curious book.

[62] Le Vassor (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 279) calls her "superstitieuse au dernier point ;" and, in vol. v. p. 481, "femme crédule et superstitieuse." See also vol. iii. p. 250, vol. vi. p. 628 ; and *Grégoire, Hist. des Confesseurs*, p. 65.

religious sincerity. That indeed must have been a movement of no common energy, which could force toleration, early in the seventeenth century, upon a princess of the house of Medici, an ignorant and superstitious Catholic, who had been educated in the midst of her priests, and had been accustomed to look for their applause as the highest object of earthly ambition.

Yet this was what actually occurred. The queen continued the ministers of Henry IV., and announced that in everything she would follow his example.[63] Her first public act was a declaration that the Edict of Nantes should be inviolably preserved; for, she says, "experience has taught our predecessors that violence, so far from inducing men to return to the Catholic church, prevents them from doing so."[64] Indeed, so anxious was she upon this point, that when Louis in 1614 attained his nominal majority, the first act of his government was another confirmation of the Edict of Nantes.[65] And in 1615 she caused the king, who still remained under her tutelage,[66] to issue a declaration by which all preceding measures in favour of the Protestants were publicly confirmed.[67] In the same spirit, she in 1611 wished to raise to the presidency of parliament the celebrated De Thou; and it was only by making a formal announcement of his heresy that the pope succeeded in frustrating what he considered an impious design.[68]

The turn which things were now taking caused no little alarm to the friends of the hierarchy. The most zealous churchmen loudly censured the policy of the queen; and a great historian has observed that when, during the reign of Louis XIII., such alarm was caused in Europe by the active encroachments of the ecclesiastical power, France was the first country that ventured to oppose them.[69] The nuncio openly complained to the queen of her conduct in favouring heretics; and he anxiously desired that those Protestant works should be suppressed, by which the consciences of true believers were greatly scandalized.[70] But these

[63] "Elle annonca qu'elle vouloit suivre en tout l'exemple du feu roi. . . . Le ministère de Henri IV, que la reine continuoit." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. pp. 206, 210; and see two letters from her, in *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Corresp.* vol. xi. p. 282, vol. xii. p. 428. Sully had feared that the death of Henry IV. would cause a change of policy; "que l'on s'alloit jetter dans des desseins tous contraires aux règles, ordres et maximes du feu roy." *Œconomies Royales*, vol. viii. p. 401. [See, however, *note* 95, below —Ed.]

[64] See the declaration in *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 74, 75; and notices of it in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 58. *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 27; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 7; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 58. But none of these writers, nor Sismondi (vol. xxii. p. 212), appears to be aware that the issuing of this declaration was determined on, in council, as early as the 17th of May; that is, only three days after the death of Henry IV. This is mentioned by Pontchartrain, who was then one of the ministers. See *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, edit. Petitot, 1822, vol. i. p. 409; a book little known, but well worthy of being read.

[65] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 262; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit. de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 140; *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 257; *Le Vassor*, vol. i. p. 604.

[66] "Laissant néanmoins l'administration du royaume à la reine sa mère." *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. ii. p. 52. Compare *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. ix. p. 177. She possessed complete authority over the king till 1617. See *Mémoires de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 24; "avoit été tenu fort bas par la reine sa mère." See also *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.* vol. ii. pp. 640, 677, 716, 764.

[67] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 381, 382.

[68] In 1611, "le pape le rejeta formellement comme hérétique." *Bazin*, vol. i. p. 174. This is glossed over by Pontchartrain (*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 450); but the statement of M. Bazin is confirmed in the preface to *De Thou, Histoire Universelle*, vol. i. p. xvi.

[69] "Der erste Einhalt den die kirchliche Restauration erfuhr, geschah in Frankreich." *Ranke, die Römischen Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 160.

[70] This desire was expressed several times, but in vain: "Gern hätten die Nuntien Werke wie von Thou und Richer verboten, aber es war ihnen nicht möglich." *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 181, Anhang. Compare *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 68; *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. i. p. 428.

and similar representations were no longer listened to with the respect they would formerly have received; and the affairs of the country continued to be administered with those purely temporal views, on which the measures of Henry IV. had been avowedly based.[71]

Such was now the policy of the government of France; a government which, not many years before, had considered it the great duty of a sovereign to punish heretics and extirpate heresy. That this continued improvement was merely the result of the general intellectual development is evident not only from its success but also from the character of the queen-regent and the king. No one who has read the contemporary memoirs can deny that Mary de Medici and Louis XIII. were as superstitious as any of their predecessors; and it is therefore evident that this disregard of theological prejudices was due, not to their own personal merits, but to the advancing knowledge of the country, and to the pressure of an age which, in the rapidity of its progress, hurried along those who believed themselves to be its rulers.

But these considerations, weighty as they are,* will only slightly diminish the merit of that remarkable man who now appeared on the stage of public affairs. During the last eighteen years of the reign of Louis XIII., France was entirely governed by Richelieu,[72] one of that extremely small class of statesmen to whom it is given to impress their own character on the destiny of their country. This great ruler has, in his knowledge of the political art, probably never been surpassed, except by that prodigy of genius who in our time troubled the fortunes of Europe. But in one important point of view Richelieu was superior to Napoleon. The life of Napoleon was a constant effort to oppress the liberties of mankind; and his unrivalled capacity exhausted its resources in struggling against the tendencies of a great age. Richelieu, too, was a despot; but his despotism took a nobler turn. He displayed, what Napoleon never possessed, a just appreciation of the spirit of his own time.† In one great point, indeed, he failed. His attempts to destroy the power of the French nobility were altogether futile;[73] for, owing to a long course of events, the authority of that insolent class was so deeply rooted in the popular mind that the labours of another century were required to efface its ancient influence. But though Richelieu could not diminish the social and moral weight of the French nobles, he curtailed their political privileges; and he chastised their crimes with a severity which, for a time at least, repressed

[71] This decline of the ecclesiastical power is noticed by many writers of the time; but it is sufficient to refer to the very curious remonstrance of the French clergy in 1605, in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xiv. pp. 446, 447.

[72] As M. Monteil says (*Hist. des Français des divers États*, vol. vii. p. 114), "Richelieu tint le sceptre; Louis XIII porta la couronne." And Campion (*Mémoires*, p. 37) calls him "plutôt le maître que le ministre;" and adds, pp. 218, 219, that he "avoit gouverné dix-huit ans la France avec un pouvoir absolu et une gloire sans pareille." Compare *Mém. du Cardinal de Retz*, vol. i. p. 63.

[73] The common opinion, put forth in *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 101–104, and in many other books, is that Richelieu did destroy their influence; but this error arises from confusing political influence with social influence. What is termed the political power of a class is merely the symptom and manifestation of its real power; and it is no use to attack the first unless you can also weaken the second. The real power of the nobles was social, and that neither Richelieu nor Louis XIV. could impair; and it remained intact until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the intellect of France rebelled against it, overthrew it, and finally effected the French Revolution.

[* This section of the chapter appears to have been written some time after the preceding, of which the last sentence is incompatible with this. See above, pp. 124, 149, 155, *notes*, as to Buckle's variation of tone.—Ed.]

[† Seeing that Napoleon was overthrown by the conservative forces of Europe, not by the progressive, the formula in the text needs modifying. By the "spirit of the time" is presumably meant that of democracy, which however Napoleon to some extent exploited.—Ed.]

their former licence.[74] So little, however, can even the ablest statesman effect, unless he is seconded by the general temper of the age in which he lives, that these checks, rude as they were, produced no permanent result. After his death the French nobles, as we shall presently see, quickly rallied, and in the wars of the Fronde, debased that great struggle into a mere contest of rival families. Nor was it until the close of the eighteenth century that France was finally relieved from the overweening influence of that powerful class, whose selfishness had long retarded the progress of civilization, by retaining the people in a thraldom from the remote effects of which they have not yet fully recovered.

Although in this respect Richelieu failed in achieving his designs, he in other matters met with signal success. This was owing to the fact that his large and comprehensive views harmonized with that sceptical tendency of which I have just given some account. For this remarkable man, though he was a bishop and a cardinal, never for a moment allowed the claims of his profession to make him forego the superior claims of his country. He knew, what is too often forgotten, that the governor of a people should measure affairs solely by a political standard, and should pay no regard to the pretensions of any sect, or the propagation of any opinions, except in reference to the present and practical welfare of men. The consequence was that during his administration there was seen the marvellous spectacle of supreme authority wielded by a priest who took no pains to increase the power of the spiritual classes. Indeed, so far from this, he often treated them with what was then considered unexampled rigour. The royal confessors, on account of the importance of their functions, had always been regarded with a certain veneration; they were supposed to be men of unspotted piety; they had hitherto possessed immense influence, and even the most powerful statesmen had thought it advisable to show them the deference due to their exalted position.[75] Richelieu, however, was too familiar with the arts of his profession to feel much respect for these keepers of the consciences of kings. Caussin, the confessor of Louis XIII., had, it seems, followed the example of his predecessors, and endeavoured to instil his own views of policy into the mind of the royal penitent.[76] But Richelieu, so soon as he heard of this, dismissed him from office, and sent him into exile; for, he contemptuously says, "the little father Caussin" should not interfere in matters of government, since he is one of those "who have always been brought up in the innocence of

[74] Richelieu appears to have formed the design of humbling the nobles at least as early as 1624. See a characteristic passage in his *Mémoires*, vol ii. p. 340. In *Swinburne's Courts of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 63–65, there is a curious traditional anecdote, which, though probably false, shows at all events the fear and hatred with which the French nobles regarded the memory of Richelieu more than a century after his death.

[75] On their influence, see *Grégoire, Histoire des Confesseurs*; and compare the remarks of Mr. Grote, a great writer, whose mind is always ready with historical analogies. *Grote's Hist. of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 393, 2nd edit. 1851. Many of the French kings had a strong natural affection for monks; but the most singular instance I have found of this sort of love is mentioned by no less a man than De Thou, respecting Henry III. De Thou (*Hist. Univ.* vol. x. pp. 666, 667) says of that prince: "Soit tempérament, soit éducation, la présence d'un moine faisait toujours plaisir à Henri; et je lui ai moi-même souvent entendu dire, que leur vue produisoit le même effet sur son âme, que le chatouillement le plus délicat sur le corps."

[76] One of his suggestions was, "sur les dangers que couroit le catholicisme en Allemagne, par ses liaisons avec les puissances protestantes." *Grégoire, Hist. des Confesseurs*, p. 342. The fullest account of Caussin is in *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ix. pp. 287–299; to which, however, Grégoire never refers. As I shall have frequent occasion to quote Le Vassor, I may observe that he is far more accurate than is generally supposed, and that he has been very unfairly treated by the majority of French writers, among whom he is unpopular on account of his constant attacks on Louis XIV. Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. pp. 188, 189) speaks highly of his *Hist. of Louis XIII.*; and so far as my own reading extends I can confirm his favourable opinion.

a religious life."[77] Caussin was succeeded by the celebrated Sirmond; but Richelieu would not allow the new confessor to begin his duties, until he had solemnly promised never to interfere in state affairs.[78]

On another occasion of much more importance, Richelieu displayed a similar spirit. The French clergy were then possessed of enormous wealth; and as they enjoyed the privilege of taxing themselves, they were careful not to make what they considered unnecessary contributions towards defraying the expenses of the state. They had cheerfully advanced money to carry on war against the Protestants, because they believed it to be their duty to assist in the extirpation of heresy.[79] But they saw no reason why their revenues should be wasted in effecting mere temporal benefits; they considered themselves as the guardians of funds set apart for spiritual purposes, and they thought it impious that wealth consecrated by the piety of their ancestors should fall into the profane hands of secular statesmen. Richelieu, who looked on these scruples as the artifices of interested men, had taken a very different view of the relation which the clergy bore to the country.[80] So far from thinking that the interests of the church were superior to those of the state, he laid it down as a maxim of policy, that "the reputation of the state was the first consideration."[81] With such fearlessness did he carry out this principle, that having convoked at Mantes a great assembly of the clergy, he compelled them to aid the government by an extraordinary supply of 6,000,000 francs; and finding that some of the highest dignitaries had expressed their discontent at so unusual a step, he laid hands on them also, and, to the amazement of the church, sent into exile not only four of the bishops, but likewise the two archbishops of Toulouse and of Sens.[82]

If these things had been done fifty years earlier, they would most assuredly have proved fatal to the minister who dared to attempt them. But Richelieu,

[77] "Le petit père Caussin." *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. x. p. 206; and at p. 217, he is classed among the "personnes qui avoient toujours été nourries dans l'innocence d'une vie religieuse:" see also p. 215, on his "simplicité et ignorance." Respecting Richelieu's treatment of Caussin, see *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. pp. 173–175; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 49; *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. ii. p. 182.

[78] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 332; *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 78 note. Le Vassor (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. x. part ii. p. 761) says, that Sirmond "se soutint à la cour sous le ministère de Richelieu, parce qu'il ne se mêloit point des affaires d'état." According to the same writer (vol. viii. p. 156), Richelieu thought at one time of depriving the Jesuits of their post of confessor to the king.

[79] *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 87; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iv. p. 208; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 144; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 337, 338. Benoist says: "Le clergé de France, ignorant et corrompu, croyoit tout son devoir compris dans l'extirpation des hérétiques; et même il offroit de grandes sommes, à condition qu'on les employât à cette guerre."

[80] In which he is fully borne out by the high authority of Vattel, whose words I shall quote, for the sake of those politicians who still cleave to the superannuated theory of the sacredness of church-property. "Loin que l'exemption appartienne aux biens d'église parce qu'ils sont consacrés à Dieu, c'est au contraire par cette raison même, qu'ils doivent être pris les premiers pour le salut de l'état; car il n'y a rien de plus agréable au Père commun des hommes, que de garantir une nation de sa ruine. Dieu n'ayant besoin de rien, lui consacrer des biens, c'est les destiner à des usages qui lui soient agréables. De plus, les biens de l'église, de l'aveu du clergé lui-même, sont en grande partie destinés aux pauvres. Quand l'état est dans le besoin, il est sans doute le premier pauvre, et le plus digne de secours." *Vattel, le Droit des Gens*, vol. i. pp. 176, 177.

[81] "Que la réputation de l'état est préférable à toutes choses." *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 482. This was in 1625, and by way of refuting the legate.

[82] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. pp. 477, 478; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iv. pp. 325, 326. The Cardinal de Retz, who knew Richelieu personally, says: "M. le Cardinal de Richelieu avoit donné une atteinte cruelle à la dignité et à la liberté du clergé dans l'assemblée de Mante, et il avoit exilé, avec des circonstances atroces, six de ses prélats les plus considérables." *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 50.

in these and similar measures, was aided by the spirit of an age which was beginning to despise its ancient masters. For this general tendency was now becoming apparent not only in literature and in politics, but even in the proceedings of the ordinary tribunals. The nuncio indignantly complained of the hostility displayed against ecclesiastics by the French judges; and he said that, among other shameful things, some clergymen had been hung, without being first deprived of their spiritual character.[83] On other occasions, the increasing contempt showed itself in a way well suited to the coarseness of the prevailing manners. Sourdis, the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, was twice ignominiously beaten; once by the Duke d'Epernon, and afterwards by the Maréchal de Vitry.[84] Nor did Richelieu, who usually treated the nobles with such severity, seem anxious to punish this gross outrage. Indeed, the archbishop not only received no sympathy but, a few years later, was peremptorily ordered by Richelieu to retire to his own diocese; such, however, was his alarm at the state of affairs, that he fled to Carpentras, and put himself under the protection of the pope.[85] This happened in 1641; and nine years earlier the church had incurred a still greater scandal. For in 1632, serious disturbances having arisen in Languedoc, Richelieu did not fear to meet the difficulty by depriving some of the bishops, and seizing the temporalities of the others.[86]

The indignation of the clergy may be easily imagined. Such repeated injuries, even if they had proceeded from a layman, would have been hard to endure; but they were rendered doubly bitter by being the work of one of themselves—one who had been nurtured in the profession against which he turned. This it was which aggravated the offence, because it seemed to be adding treachery to insult. It was not a war from without, but it was a treason from within. It was a bishop who humbled the episcopacy, and a cardinal who affronted the church.[87] Such, however, was the general temper of men, that the clergy did not

[83] "Die Nuntien finden kein Ende der Beschwerden die sie machen zu müssen glauben, vorzüglich über die Beschränkungen welche die geistliche Jurisdiction erfahre. . . . Zuweilen werde ein Geistlicher hingerichtet ohne erst degradirt zu seyn." *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 157: a summary, in 1641, of the complaints of the then nuncio, and of those of his predecessors. Le Vassor (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. v. pp. 51 seq.) has given some curious details respecting the animosity between the clergy and the secular tribunals of France in 1624.

[84] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 301; *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. iii. pp. 302, 353. Bazin, who notices this disgraceful affair, simply says (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. p. 453) "Le Maréchal de Vitry, suivant l'example qui lui en avoit donné le duc d'Epernon, s'emporta jusqu'à le frapper de son bâton." In regard to Epernon, the best account is in *Mém. de Richelieu*, where it is stated (vol. viii. p. 194) that the duke, just before flogging the archbishop, "disoit au peuple, 'Rangez-vous, vous verrez comme j'étrillerai votre archevêque.'" This was stated by a witness, who heard the duke utter the words. Compare, for further information, *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. x. part ii. p. 97, with *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 116. Des Réaux, who, in his own way, was somewhat of a philosopher, contentedly says: 'Cet archevêque se pouvoit vanter d'être le prélat du monde qui avoit été le plus battu." His brother was Cardinal Sourdis; a man of some little reputation in his own time, and concerning whom a curious anecdote is related in *Mém. de Conra t*, pp. 231–234.

[85] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 470. Le Vassor (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. x. part ii. p. 149) says: "Il s'enfuit donc honteusement à Carpentras sous la protection du pape."

[86] "Les évêques furent punis par la saisie de leur temporel; Alby, Nimes, Uzès, furent privées de leurs prélats." *Capefigue's Richelieu*, Paris, 1844, vol. ii. p. 24. The Protestants were greatly delighted at the punishment of the bishops of Alby and Nimes, which "les ministres regardoient comme une vengeance divine." *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 528, 529.

[87] In a short account of Richelieu, which was published immediately after his death, the writer indignantly says that "being a cardinal, he afflicted the church." *Somers Tracts*, vol. v. p. 540. Compare *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iv. p. 322

venture to strike an open blow ; but by means of their partisans they scattered the most odious libels against the great minister. They said that he was unchaste, that he was guilty of open debauchery, and that he held incestuous commerce with his own niece.[88] They declared that he had no religion ; that he was only a Catholic in name ; that he was the pontiff of the Huguenots ; that he was the patriarch of atheists ;[89] and, what was worse than all, they even accused him of wishing to establish a schism in the French church.[90] Happily the time was now passing away in which the national mind could be moved by such artifices as these. Still, the charges are worth recording, because they illustrate the tendency of public affairs, and the bitterness with which the spiritual classes saw the reins of power falling from their hands. Indeed, all this was so manifest, that in the last civil war raised against Richelieu, only two years before his death, the insurgents stated in their proclamation that one of their objects was to revive the respect with which the clergy and nobles had formerly been treated.[91]

The more we study the career of Richelieu, the more prominent does this antagonism become. Everything proves that he was conscious of a great struggle going on between the old ecclesiastical scheme of government and the new secular scheme ; and that he was determined to put down the old plan and uphold the new one. For not only in his domestic administration but also in his foreign policy do we find the same unprecedented disregard of theological interests. The House of Austria, particularly its Spanish branch, had long been respected by all pious men as the faithful ally of the church : it was looked upon as the scourge of heresy ; and its proceedings against the heretics had won for it a great name in ecclesiastical history.[92] When, therefore, the French government, in the reign of Charles IX., made a deliberate attempt to destroy the Protestants, France naturally established an intimate connexion with Spain as well as with Rome ;[93] and these three great powers were firmly united, not by a community of temporal interests, but by the force of a religious compact. This theological confederacy was afterwards broken up by the personal character of Henry IV.,[94] and by the growing indifference of the age ; but during the minority of Louis XIII. the queen-regent had in some degree renewed it, and had attempted to revive the superstitious prejudices upon which it was based.[95] In all her feelings, she was a zealous Catholic ; she was warmly attached to Spain ; and she succeeded in marrying her son, the young king, to a Spanish princess, and her daughter to a Spanish prince.[96]

[88] This scandalous charge in regard to his niece was a favourite one with the clergy ; and among many other instances, the accusation was brought by the Cardinal de Valençay in the grossest manner. See *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 201.

[89] " De là ces petits écrits qui le dénonçaient comme le ' pontife des huguenots ' ou ' le patriarche des athées.' " *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 312.

[90] Compare *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. ii. p. 233, with *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. viii. part ii. pp. 177, 178, vol. ix. p. 277.

[91] See the manifesto in *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. pp. 452. 453.

[92] Late in the sixteenth century, " fils aîné de l'église " was the recognized and well-merited title of the kings of Spain. *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 280. Compare *Duplessis Mornay, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. xi. p. 21. And on the opinions which the Catholics, early in the seventeenth century, generally held respecting Spain, see *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 189 ; *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. i. p. 424.

[93] As to the connexion between this foreign policy and the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, see *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. iii. pp. 253, 268, 269.

[94] On the policy, and still more on the feelings, of Henry IV. towards the House of Austria, see *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ii. p. 291, vol. iii. pp. 162, 166, vol. iv. pp. 289, 290, 321, 343, 344, 364, vol. v. p. 123, vol. vi. p. 293, vol. vii. p. 303, vol. viii. pp. 195, 202, 348.

[95] *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. pp. 26, 369 ; *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. pp. 16, 17 ; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 268, vol. vi. p. 349 ; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 227. Her husband, Henry IV., said that she had " the soul of a Spaniard." *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. viii. p. 150.

[96] This was, in her opinion, a master stroke of policy : " Entêtée du double mariage

It might have been expected that when Richelieu, a great dignitary of the Romish church, was placed at the head of affairs, he would have re-established a connexion so eagerly desired by the profession to which he belonged.[97] But his conduct was not regulated by such views as these. His object was not to favour the opinions of a sect, but to promote the interests of a nation. His treaties, his diplomacy, and the schemes of his foreign alliances, were all directed, not against the enemies of the church, but against the enemies of France. By erecting this new standard of action, Richelieu took a great step towards secularizing the whole system of European politics. For he thus made the theoretical interests of men subordinate to their practical interests. Before his time the rulers of France, in order to punish their Protestant subjects, had not hesitated to demand the aid of the Catholic troops of Spain ; and in so doing, they merely acted upon the old opinion that it was the chief duty of a government to suppress heresy. This pernicious doctrine was first openly repudiated by Richelieu. As early as 1617, and before he had established his power, he, in an instruction to one of the foreign ministers which is still extant, laid it down as a principle that in matters of state no Catholic ought to prefer a Spaniard to a French Protestant.[98] To us, indeed, in the progress of society, such preference of the claims of our country to those of our creed has become a matter of course ; but in those days it was a startling novelty.[99] Richelieu, however, did not fear to push the paradox even to its remotest consequences. The Catholic church justly considered that its interests were bound up with those of the House of Austria ;[100] but Richelieu, directly he was called to the council, determined to humble that house in both its branches.[101] To effect this, he openly supported the bitterest enemies of his own religion. He aided the Lutherans against the Emperor of Germany ; he aided the Calvinists against the King of Spain. During the eighteen years he was supreme, he steadily pursued the same undeviating policy.[102] When Philip attempted to oppress the Dutch Protestants, Richelieu

avec l'Espagne qu'elle avoit ménagé avec tant d'application, et qu'elle regardoit comme le plus ferme appui de son autorité." *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. pp. 453, 454.

[97] So late as 1656, the French clergy wished "to hasten a peace with Spain, and to curb the heretics in France." *Letter from Pell to Thurloe*, written in 1656, and printed in *Vaughan's Protectorate of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 436, 8vo, 1839. During the minority of Louis XIII., we hear of "les zéléz catholiques, et ceux qui désiroient, à quelque prix que ce fust, l'union des deux roys, et des deux couronnes de France et d'Espagne, comme le seul moyen propre, selon leur advis, pour l'extirpation des hérésies dans la chrestienté." *Sully, Œcon. Royales*, vol. ix. p. 181 : compare vol. vii. p. 248, on "les zéléz catholiques espagnolisez de France."

[98] See *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. pp. 387–389, where the importance of this document is noticed, and it is said that Richelieu had drawn it up "avec beaucoup de soin." The language of it is very peremptory : "Que nul catholique n'est si aveugle d'estimer en matière d'état un Espagnol meilleur qu'un français huguenot."

[99] Even in the reign of Henry IV. the French Protestants were not considered to be Frenchmen : "The intolerant dogmas of Roman Catholicism did not recognize them as Frenchmen. They were looked upon as foreigners, or rather as enemies ; and were treated as such." *Felice, Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 216.

[100] Sismondi says, under the year 1610, "Toute l'église catholique croyoit son sort lié à celui de la maison d'Autriche." *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 180.

[101] "Sa vue dominante fut l'abaissement de la maison d'Autriche." *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. iii. p. 81. And, on the early formation of this scheme, see *Mém. de la Rochefoucauld*, vol. i. p. 350. De Retz says that before Richelieu no one had even thought of such a step : "Celui d'attaquer la formidable maison d'Autriche n'avoit été imaginé de personne." *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 45. This is rather too strongly expressed ; but the whole paragraph is curious, as written by a man who possessed great ability, which De Retz undoubtedly did, and who, though hating Richelieu, could not refrain from bearing testimony to his immense services.

[102] "Obwohl Cardinal der römischen Kirche trug Richelieu kein Bedenken, mit den Protestanten selbst unverhohlen in Bund zu treten." *Runke, die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 510.

made common cause with them ; at first advancing them large sums of money, and afterwards inducing the French king to sign a treaty of intimate alliance with those who, in the opinion of the church, he ought rather to have chastized as rebellious heretics.[103] In the same way, when that great war broke out in which the emperor attempted to subjugate to the true faith the consciences of German Protestants, Richelieu stood forward as their protector ; he endeavoured from the beginning to save their leader the Palatine ;[104] and, failing in that, he concluded in their favour an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, [105] the ablest military commander the Reformers had then produced. Nor did he stop there. After the death of Gustavus, he, seeing that the Protestants were thus deprived of their great leader, made still more vigorous efforts in their favour.[106] He intrigued for them in foreign courts ; he opened negotiations in their behalf ; and eventually he organized for their protection a public confederacy, in which all ecclesiastical considerations were set at defiance. This league, which formed an important precedent in the international polity of Europe, was not only contracted by Richelieu with the two most powerful enemies of his own church, but it was, from its tenor, what Sismondi emphatically calls a " Protestant confederation,"—a Protestant confederation, he says, between France, England, and Holland.[107]

These things alone would have made the administration of Richelieu a great epoch in the history of European civilization. For his government affords the first example of an eminent Catholic statesman systematically disregarding ecclesiastical interests, and showing that disregard in the whole scheme of his foreign as well as of his domestic policy. Some instances, indeed, approaching to this may be found at an earlier period among the petty rulers of Italian states ; but, even there, such attempts had never been

Compare, in *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29, the reproach which the nuncio Spada addressed to Richelieu for treating with the Protestants, " de la paix qui se traittoit avec les huguenots." See also *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. v. pp. 236, 354,–356, 567 ; and a good passage in *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 90,—an able little work, and perhaps the best small history ever published of a great country.

[103] De Retz mentions a curious illustration of the feelings of the ecclesiastical party respecting this treaty. He says that the Bishop of Beauvais, who, the year after the death of Richelieu, was for a moment at the head of affairs, began his administration by giving to the Dutch their choice, either to abandon their religion, or else forfeit their alliance with France : " Et il demanda dès le premier jour aux Hollandois qu'ils se convertissent à la religion catholique, s'ils vouloient demeurer dans l'alliance de France." *Mém. du Cardinal de Retz*, vol. i. p. 39. This, I suppose, is the original authority for the statement in the *Biog. Univ.* vol. xiv. p. 440 ; though, as is too often the case in that otherwise valuable work, the writer has omitted to indicate the source of his information.

[104] In 1626, he attempted to form a league " en faveur du Palatin." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 576. Sismondi seems not quite certain as to the sincerity of his proposal ; but as to this there can, I think, be little doubt ; for it appears from his own memoirs that even in 1624 he had in view the recovery of the Palatinate. *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 405 ; and again in 1625, p. 468.

[105] *Sismondi*, vol. xxiii. p. 173 ; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 415 ; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. vi. pp. 12, 600 ; and at p. 489 : "Le roi de Suède qui comptoit uniquement sur le cardinal."

[106] Compare *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. pp. 74. 75, vol. ii. pp. 92, 93, with *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. p. 198 ; and *Howell's Letters*, p. 247. The different views which occurred to his fertile mind in consequence of the death of Gustavus, are strikingly summed up in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. vii. pp. 272–277. On his subsequent pecuniary advances, see vol. ix. p. 395.

[107] In 1633, " les ambassadeurs de France, d'Angleterre et de Hollande mirent à profit le repos de l'hiver pour resserrer la confédération protestante." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 221. Compare, in *Whitelocke's Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. p. 275, the remark made twenty years later by Christina, daughter of Gustavus, on the union with " papists."

successful; they had never been continued for any length of time, nor had they been carried out on a scale large enough to raise them to the dignity of international precedents. The peculiar glory of Richelieu is that his foreign policy was, not occasionally but invariably, governed by temporal considerations; nor do I believe that, during the long tenure of his power, there is to be found the least proof of his regard for those theological interests the promotion of which had long been looked upon as a matter of paramount importance. By thus steadily subordinating the church to the state; by enforcing the principle of this subordination on a large scale, with great ability, and with unvarying success, he laid the foundation of that purely secular polity the consolidation of which has, since his death, been the aim of all the best European diplomatists. The result was a most salutary change, which had been for some time preparing, but which, under him, was first completed. For, by the introduction of this system, an end was put to religious wars; and the chances of peace were increased by thus removing one of the causes to which the interruption of peace had often been owing.[108] At the same time there was prepared the way for that final separation of theology from politics which it will be the business of future generations fully to achieve. How great a step had been taken in this direction, appears from the facility with which the operations of Richelieu were continued by men every way his inferiors. Less than two years after his death, there was assembled the Congress of Westphalia;[109] the members of which concluded that celebrated peace which is remarkable as being the first comprehensive attempt to adjust the conflicting interests of the leading European countries.[110] In this important treaty, ecclesiastical interests were altogether disregarded;[111] and

[108] This change may be illustrated by comparing the work of Grotius with that of Vattel. These two eminent men are still respected as the most authoritative expounders of international law; but there is this important difference between them, that Vattel wrote more than a century after Grotius, and when the secular principles enforced by Richelieu had penetrated the minds even of common politicians. Therefore Vattel says (*Le Droit des Gens*, vol. i. pp. 379, 380): "On demande s'il est permis de faire alliance avec une nation qui ne professe pas la même religion? Si les traités faits avec les ennemis de la foi sont valides? Grotius a traité la question assez au long. Cette discussion pouvait être nécessaire dans un temps où la fureur des partis obscurcissait encore des principes qu'elle avait long-temps fait oublier, osons croire qu'elle serait superflue dans notre siècle. La loi naturelle seule régit les traités des nations; la différence de religion y est absolument étrangère." See also p. 318, and vol. ii. p. 151. On the other hand, Grotius opposes alliances between nations of different religion, and says, that nothing can justify them except "une extrême nécessité. . . . Car il faut chercher premièrement le règne céleste, c'est à dire penser avant toutes choses à la propagation de l'évangile." And he further recommends that princes should follow the advice given on this subject by Foulques, Archbishop of Rheims! *Grotius, le Droit de la Guerre et de la Paix*, livre ii. chap. xv. sec. xi. vol. i. pp. 485, 486, edit. Barbeyrac, Amsterdam, 1724, 4to; a passage the more instructive, because Grotius was a man of great genius and great humanity. On religious wars as naturally recognized in barbarous times, see the curious and important work, *Institutes of Timour*, pp. 141, 333, 335.

[109] "Le Congrès de Westphalie s'ouvrit le 10 avril 1643." *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 156. Its two great divisions at Munster and Osnabruck were formed in March 1644. *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. iii. p. 110. Richelieu died in December, 1642 *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxviii. p. 28.

[110] "Les règnes de Charles-Quint et de Henri IV font époque pour certaines parties du droit international; mais le point de départ le plus saillant, c'est la paix de Westphalie." *Eschbach, Introduc. à l'Étude du Droit*, Paris, 1846, p. 92. Compare the remarks on Mably, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 7, and *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiv. p. 179: "base au droit public de l'Europe."

[111] Compare the indignation of the pope at this treaty (*Vattel, le Droit des Gens*, vol. ii. p. 28), with *Ranke's Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 576: "Das religiöse Element ist zurückgetreten; die politischen Rücksichten beherrschen die Welt:" a summary of the general state of affairs.

the contracting parties, instead of, as heretofore, depriving each other of their possessions, took the bolder course of indemnifying themselves at the expense of the church, and did not hesitate to seize her revenues, and secularize several of her bishoprics.[112] From this grievous insult, which became a precedent in the public law of Europe, the spiritual power has never recovered : and it is remarked by a very competent authority that since that period diplomatists have in their official acts neglected religious interests, and have preferred the advocacy of matters relating to the commerce and colonies of their respective countries.[113] The truth of this observation is confirmed by the interesting fact that the Thirty Years' War, to which this same treaty put an end, is the last great religious war which has ever been waged ;[114] no civilized people, during two centuries, having thought it worth while to peril their own safety in order to disturb the belief of their neighbours. This, indeed, is but a part of that vast secular movement by which superstition has been weakened, and the civilization of Europe secured. Without, however, discussing that subject, I will now endeavour to show how the policy of Richelieu, in regard to the French Protestant church, corresponded with his policy in regard to the French Catholic church ; so that in both departments this great statesman, aided by that progress of knowledge for which his age was remarkable, was able to struggle with prejudices from which men, slowly and with infinite difficulty, were attempting to emerge.

The treatment of the French Protestants by Richelieu is undoubtedly one of the most honourable parts of his system ; and in it, as in other liberal measures, he was assisted by the course of preceding events. His administration, taken in connexion with that of Henry IV. and the queen-regent, presents the noble spectacle of a toleration far more complete than any which had then been seen in Catholic Europe. While in other Christian countries men were being incessantly persecuted, simply because they held opinions different from those professed by the established clergy, France refused to follow the general example, and protected those heretics whom the Church was eager to punish. Indeed, not only were they protected but, when they possessed abilities, they were openly rewarded. In addition to their appointments to civil offices, many of them were advanced to high military posts ; and Europe beheld with astonishment the armies of the king of France led by heretical generals. Rohan, Lesdiguières, Chatillon, La Force, Bernard de Weimar, were among the most celebrated of the military leaders employed by Louis XIII. ; and all of them were Protestants, as also were some younger, but distinguished, officers, such as Gassion, Rantzau, Schomberg, and Turenne. For now, nothing was beyond the reach of men who half a century earlier would on account of their heresies have been persecuted to the death. Shortly before the accession of Louis XIII., Lesdiguières, the ablest general among the French Protestants, was made marshal of France.[115] Four-

[112] " La France obtint par ce traité, en indemnité, la souveraineté des trois évêchés, Metz, Toul et Verdun, ainsi que celle d'Alsace. La satisfaction ou indemnité des autres parties intéressées fut convenue, en grande partie, aux dépens de l'église, et moyennant la sécularisation de plusieurs évêchés et bénéfices ecclésiastiques." *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 328.

[113] Dr. Vaughan (*Protectorate of Cromwell*, vol. i. p. civ.) says : " It is a leading fact also in the history of modern Europe that, from the peace of Westphalia in 1648, religion, as the great object of negotiation, began everywhere to give place to questions relating to colonies and commerce." Charles Butler observed that this treaty " considerably lessened the influence of religion on politics." *Butler's Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 181.

[114] The fact of the Thirty Years' War being a religious contest, formed the basis of one of the charges which the church-party brought against Richelieu ; and an author who wrote in 1634 " montroit bien au long que l'alliance du roy de France avec les protestants étoit contraire aux intérêts de la religion catholique ; parce que la guerre des Provinces Unies et celle d'Allemagne étoient des guerres de religion." *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 536.

[115] According to a contemporary, he received this appointment without having asked

teen years later, the same high dignity was conferred upon two other Protestants, Chatillon and La Force; the former of whom is said to have been the most influential of the schismatics.[116] Both these appointments were in 1622;[117] and, in 1634, still greater scandal was caused by the elevation of Sully, who, notwithstanding his notorious heresy, also received the staff of marshal of France.[118] This was the work of Richelieu, and it gave serious offence to the friends of the church; but the great statesman paid so little attention to their clamour that, after the civil war was concluded, he took another step equally obnoxious. The Duke de Rohan was the most active of all the enemies of the established church, and was looked up to by the Protestants as the main support of their party. He had taken up arms in their favour, and, declining to abandon his religion, had by the fate of war been driven from France. But Richelieu, who was acquainted with his ability, cared little about his opinions. He therefore recalled him from exile, employed him in a negotiation with Switzerland, and sent him on foreign service, as commander of one of the armies of the king of France.[119]

Such were the tendencies which characterized this new state of things. It is hardly necessary to observe how beneficial this great change must have been; since by it men were encouraged to look to their country as the first consideration, and, discarding their old disputes, Catholic soldiers were taught to obey heretical generals, and follow their standards to victory. In addition to this, the mere social amalgamation, arising from the professors of different creeds mixing in the same camp, and fighting under the same banner, must have still further aided to disarm the mind, partly by merging theological feuds in a common and yet a temporal object, and partly by showing to each sect that their religious opponents were not entirely bereft of human virtue; that they still retained some of the qualities of men; and that it was even possible to combine the errors of heresy with all the capabilities of a good and competent citizen.[120]

But while the hateful animosities by which France had long been distracted were under the policy of Richelieu gradually subsiding, it is singular to observe that, though the prejudices of the Catholics obviously diminished, those of the Protestants seemed for a time to retain all their activity. It is, indeed, a striking proof of the perversity and pertinacity of such feelings, that it was precisely in the country, and at the period, when the Protestants were best treated, that they displayed most turbulence. And, in this, as in all such cases, the cause principally at work was the influence of that class to which circumstances I will now explain had secured a temporary ascendency.

For the diminution of the theological spirit had effected in the Protestants a remarkable but a very natural result. The increasing toleration of the French

or it: "sans être à la cour ni l'avoir demandé." *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 70. In 1622, even the lieutenants of Lesdiguières were Protestants: "ses lieutenants, qui estant tous huguenots." *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 538. These memoirs are very valuable in regard to political and military matters; their author having played a conspicuous part in the transactions which he describes.

[116] "Il n'y avoit personne dans le parti huguenot si considérable que lui." *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. v. p. 204.

[117] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xv. p. 247; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 400.

[118] Additions to *Sully. Œconomies Royales*, vol. viii. p. 496; *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 202.

[119] *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 57; *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. pp. 66, 69; *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. iii. pp. 324, 348; *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 86; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. vii. p. 157, vol. viii. p. 284. This great rise in the fortunes of Rohan took place at different times between 1632 and 1635.

[120] Late in the sixteenth century, Duplessis Mornay had to state, what was then considered by the majority of men an incredible paradox, "que ce n'estoit pas chose incompatible d'estre bon huguenot et bon Françoys tout ensemble." *Duplessis, Mém. et Correspond.* vol. i. p. 146. Compare p. 213, vol. ii. pp. 45, 46, 77, 677, vol. vii. p. 294, vol. xi. pp. 31, 68; interesting passages for the history of opinions in France.

government had laid open to their leaders prizes which before they could never have obtained. As long as all offices were refused to the Protestant nobles, it was natural that they should cling with the greater zeal to their own party, by whom alone their virtues were acknowledged. But when the principle was once recognized, that the state would reward men for their abilities, without regard to their religion, there was introduced into every sect a new element of discord. The leaders of the Reformers could not fail to feel some gratitude, or, at all events, some interest for the government which employed them ; and the influence of temporal considerations being thus strengthened, the influence of religious ties must have been weakened. It is impossible that opposite feelings should be paramount, at the same moment, in the same mind. The further men extend their view, the less they care for each of the details of which the view is composed. Patriotism is a corrective of superstition; and the more we feel for our country, the less we feel for our sect. Thus it is, that in the progress of civilization the scope of the intellect is widened ; its horizon is enlarged ; its sympathies are multiplied ; and, as the range of its excursions is increased, the tenacity of its grasp is slackened, until at length it begins to perceive that the infinite variety of circumstances necessarily causes an infinite variety of opinions ; that a creed which is good and natural for one man may be bad and unnatural for another ; and that, so far from interfering with the march of religious convictions, we should be content to look into ourselves, search our own hearts, purge our own souls, soften the evil of our own passions, and extirpate that insolent and intolerant spirit which is at once the cause and the effect of all theological controversy.

It was in this direction that a prodigious step was taken by the French, in the first half of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, however, the advantages which arose were accompanied by serious drawbacks. From the introduction of temporal considerations among the Protestant leaders, there occurred two results of considerable importance. The first result was, that many of the Protestants changed their religion. Before the Edict of Nantes, they had been constantly persecuted, and had as constantly increased.[121] But under the tolerant policy of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., they continued to diminish.[122] Indeed, this was the natural consequence of the growth of that secular spirit which in every country has assuaged religious animosities. For by the action of that spirit the influence of social and political views began to outweigh those theological views to which the minds of men had long been confined. As these temporal ties increased in strength, there was of course generated among the rival factions an increased tendency to assimilate ; while, as the Catholics were not only much more numerous but in every respect more influential than their opponents, they reaped the benefit of this movement, and gradually drew over to their side many of their former enemies. That this absorption of the smaller sect into the larger is due to the cause I have mentioned, is rendered still more evident by the interesting fact that the change began among the heads of the party ; and that it was not the inferior Protestants who first abandoned their leaders, but it was rather the leaders who deserted their followers. This was because the leaders being more educated than the great body of the people, were more susceptible to the sceptical movement, and therefore set the example of an indifference

[121] See *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. i. pp. 10, 14, 18 ; *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. pp. 181, 242, 357, 358, 543, 558, vol. iv. p. 155 ; *Relat. des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, vol. i. pp. 412, 536, vol. ii. pp. 66, 74 ; *Ranke's Civil Wars in France*, vol. i. pp. 279, 280, vol. ii. p. 94.

[122] Compare *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 173, with *Ranke, die Römischen Päpste*, vol. ii. pp. 477–479. In spite of the increase of population, the Protestants diminished absolutely, as well as relatively to the Catholics. In 1598 they had 760 churches ; in 1619 only 700. *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. pp. 46, 145. De Thou, in the preface to his History (vol. i. p. 320), observes, that the Protestants had increased during the wars carried on against them, but " diminuoient en nombre et en crédit pendant la paix."

to disputes which still engrossed the popular mind. As soon as this indifference had reached a certain point, the attractions offered by the conciliating policy of Louis XIII. became irresistible; and the Protestant nobles in particular, being most exposed to political temptations, began to alienate themselves from their own party, in order to form an alliance with a court which showed itself ready to reward their merits.

It is of course impossible to fix the exact period at which this important change took place.[123] But we may say with certainty that very early in the reign of Louis XIII. many of the Protestant nobles cared nothing for their religion, while the remainder of them ceased to feel that interest in it which they had formerly expressed. Indeed, some of the most eminent of them openly abandoned their creed, and joined that very church which they had been taught to abhor as the man of sin, and the whore of Babylon. The Duke de Lesdiguières, the greatest of all the Protestant generals,[124] became a Catholic, and as a reward for his conversion was made constable of France.[125] The Duke de la Tremouille adopted the same course;[126] as also did the Duke de la Meilleraye,[127] the Duke de Bouillon,[128] and a few years later the Marquis de Montausier.[129] These illustrious nobles were among the most powerful of the members of the Reformed communion; but they quitted it without compunction, sacrificing their old associations in favour of the opinions professed by the state. Among the other men of high rank who still remained nominally connected with the French Protestants, we find a similar spirit. We find them lukewarm respecting matters for which, if they had been born fifty years earlier, they would have laid down their lives. The Maréchal de Bouillon, who professed himself to be a Protestant, was unwilling to change his religion; but he so comported himself as to show that he considered its interests as subordinate to political considerations.[130] A similar remark has been made by the French historians concerning

[123] M. Ranke has noticed how the French Protestant nobles fell off from their party: but he does not seem aware of the remote causes of what he deems a sudden apostasy; "In dem nämlichen Momente trat nun auch die grosse Wendung der Dinge in Frankreich ein. Fragen wir, woher im Jahr 1621 die Verluste des Protestantismus hauptsächlich kamen, so war es die Entzweiung derselben, der Abfall des Adels." *Ranke, die Päpete*, vol. ii. p. 476. Compare a curious passage in *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 33, from which it appears that in 1611 the French Protestants were breaking into three parties, one of which consisted of "les seigneurs d'éminente qualité."

[124] "Le plus illustre guerrier du parti protestant." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 505. In the contemporary despatches of the Spanish ambassador, he is called "l'un des huguenots les plus marquans, homme d'un grand poids, et d'un grand crédit." *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 60. His principal influence was in Dauphiné. *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. 236.

[125] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 293; and a dry remark on his "conversion" in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 215, which may be compared with *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xviii. p. 132, and *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. pp. 195–197. Rohan (*Mém.* vol. i. p. 228) plainly says, "le duc de Lesdiguières, ayant hardé sa religion pour la charge de connétable de France." See also p. 91, and *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 37.

[126] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 67; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. v. pp. 809, 810, 865.

[127] *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 43. La Meilleraye was also a duke; and what is far more in his favour, he was a friend of Descartes. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxviii. pp. 152, 153.

[128] Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 27) says, "il abjura en 1637;" but according to Benoist (*Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 550) it was in 1635.

[129] *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iii. p. 245. Des Réaux, who saw these changes constantly happening, simply observes, "notre marquis, voyant que sa religion étoit un obstacle à son dessein, en change."

[130] "Mettoit la politique avant la religion." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 264. This was Henry Bouillon, whom some writers have confused with Frederick Bouillon. Both of them were dukes; but Henry, who was the father, and who did

the Duke de Sully and the Marquis de Chatillon, both of whom, though they were members of the Reformed church, displayed a marked indifference to those theological interests which had formerly been objects of supreme importance.[131] The result was that when in 1621 the Protestants began their civil war against the government, it was found that of all their great leaders two only, Rohan and his brother Soubise, were prepared to risk their lives in support of their religion.[132]

Thus it was that the first great consequence of the tolerating policy of the French government was to deprive the Protestants of the support of their former leaders, and in several instances even to turn their sympathies on the side of the Catholic church. But the other consequence, to which I have alluded, was one of far greater moment. The growing indifference of the higher classes of Protestants threw the management of their party into the hands of the clergy. The post which was deserted by the secular leaders was naturally seized by the spiritual leaders. And as, in every sect, the clergy as a body have always been remarkable for their intolerance of opinions different to their own, it followed that this change infused into the now mutilated ranks of the Protestants an acrimony not inferior to that of the worst times of the sixteenth century.[133] Hence it was that by a singular but perfectly natural combination, the Protestants, who professed to take their stand on the right of private judgment, became early in the seventeenth century more intolerant than the Catholics, who based their religion on the dictates of an infallible church.

This is one of the many instances which show how superficial is the opinion of those speculative writers who believe that the Protestant religion is necessarily more liberal than the Catholic. If those who adopt this view had taken the pains to study the history of Europe in its original sources, they would have learned that the liberality of every sect depends, not at all on its avowed tenets, but on the circumstances in which it is placed, and on the amount of authority possessed

not actually change his religion, was the marshal. The following notices of him will more than confirm the remark made by Sismondi : *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. i. p. 455 ; *Smedley's Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 99 ; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 107 ; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. pp. 420, 467, 664, vol. iv. p. 519 ; *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 104, vol. ii. p. 259 ; *Mém. de Duplessis Mornay*, vol. xi. p. 450, vol. xii. pp. 79, 182, 263, 287, 345, 361, 412, 505.

[131] *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. i. p. pp. 121, 298, vol. ii. pp. 5, 180, 267, 341 ; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 267 ; *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 206. Sully advised Henry IV., on mere political considerations, to become a Catholic ; and there were strong, but I believe unfounded rumours, that he himself intended taking the same course. See *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ii. p. 81, vol. vii. pp. 362, 363.

[132] " There were, among all the leaders, but the Duke de Rohan and his brother the Duke de Soubise, who showed themselves disposed to throw their whole fortunes into the new wars of religion." *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 241. For this, M. Felice, as usual, quotes no authority ; but Rohan himself says : " C'est ce qui s'est passé en cette seconde guerre (1626), où Rohan et Soubise ont eu pour contraires tous les grands de la religion de France." *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 278. Rohan claims great merit for his religious sincerity, though, from a passage in *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 418, and another in *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 173, one may be allowed to doubt if he were so single-minded as is commonly supposed.

[133] Sismondi notices this remarkable change, though he places it a few years earlier than the contemporary writers do : " Depuis que les grands seigneurs s'étoient éloignés des églises, c'étoient les ministres qui étoient devenus les chefs, les représentans et les démagogues des huguenots ; et ils apportoient dans leurs délibérations cette âpreté et cette inflexibilité théologiques qui semblent caractériser les prêtres de toutes les religions, et qui donnent à leurs haines une amertume plus offensante." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 87. Compare p. 478. In 1621, " Rohan lui-même voyait continuellement ses opérations contrariées par le conseil-général des églises." *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 88. In the same year, M. Capefigue (*Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 271) says, " Le parti modéré cessa d'avoir action sur le prêche ; la direction des forces huguenotes était passée dans les mains des ardents, conduits par les ministres."

by its priesthood. The Protestant religion is for the most part more tolerant than the Catholic, simply because the events which have given rise to Protestantism have at the same time increased the play of the intellect, and therefore lessened the power of the clergy. But whoever has read the works of the great Calvinist divines, and, above all, whoever has studied their history, must know that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the desire of persecuting their opponents burnt as hotly among them as it did among any of the Catholics even in the worst days of the papal dominion. This is a mere matter of fact, of which any one may satisfy himself, by consulting the original documents of those times. And even now, there is more superstition, more bigotry, and less of the charity of real religion, among the lower order of Scotch Protestants, than there is among the lower order of French Catholics. Yet, for one intolerant passage in Protestant theology, it would be easy to point out twenty in Catholic theology.* The truth however is that the actions of men are governed, not by dogmas, and text-books, and rubrics, but by the opinions and habits of their contemporaries, by the general spirit of their age, and by the character of those classes who are in the ascendant. This seems to be the origin of that difference between religious theory and religious practice, of which theologians greatly complain as a stumbling-block and an evil. For, religious theories being preserved in books, in a doctrinal and dogmatic form, remain a perpetual witness, and, therefore, cannot be changed without incurring the obvious charge of inconsistency, or of heresy. But the practical part of every religion, its moral, political, and social workings, embrace such an immense variety of interests, and have to do with such complicated and shifting agencies, that it is hopeless to fix them by formularies: they, even in the most rigid systems, are left, in a great measure, to private discretion; and, being almost entirely unwritten, they lack those precautions by which the permanence of dogmas is effectually secured.[134] Hence it is that while the religious doctrines professed by a people in their national creed are no criterion of their civilization, their religious practice is, on the other hand, so pliant, and so capable of adaptation to social wants, that it forms one of the best standards by which the spirit of any age can be measured.

It is on account of these things that we ought not to be surprised that, during many years, the French Protestants, who affected to appeal to the right of private judgment, were more intolerant of the exercise of that judgment by their adversaries than were the Catholics; although the Catholics, by recognizing an infallible church, ought in consistency to be superstitious, and may be said to inherit intolerance as their natural birthright.[135] Thus while the Catholics were

[134] The church of Rome has always seen this, and on that account has been, and still is, very pliant in regard to morals, and very inflexible in regard to dogmas; a striking proof of the great sagacity with which her affairs are administered. In *Blanco White's Evidence against Catholicism*, p.48, and in *Parr's Works*, vol.vii.pp.454,455, there is an unfavourable and indeed an unjust notice of this peculiarity, which, though strongly marked in the Romish church, is by no means confined to it, but is found in every religious sect which is regularly organized. Locke, in his *Letters on Toleration*, observes that the clergy are naturally more eager against error than against vice (*Works*, vol. v. pp. 6, 7, 241); and their preference of dogmas to moral truths is also mentioned by M. C. Comte, *Traité de Législat.* vol. i. p. 245; and is alluded to by Kant in his comparison of "ein moralischer Katechismus" with a "Religionskatechismus." *Die Metaphysik der Sitten* (*Ethische Methodenlehre*), in *Kant's Werke*, vol. v. p. 321. Compare *Temple's Observations upon the United Provinces*, in *Works of Sir W. Temple*, vol. i. p. 154, with the strict adhesion to formularies noticed in *Ward's Ideal Church*, p. 358; and analogous cases in *Mill's Hist. of India*, vol. i. pp. 399, 400, and in *Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 87; also *Combe's Notes on the United States*, vol. iii. pp. 256, 257.

[135] Blanco White (*Evidence against Catholicism*, p. vi.) harshly says, "*sincere* Roman Catholics cannot conscientiously be tolerant." But he is certainly mistaken; for the

[* The Protestant theology of Scotland in the seventeenth century abounded in intolerant teaching, as is shown by Buckle hereinafter. And see below, p. 318.—Ed.]

theoretically more bigoted than the Protestants, the Protestants became practically more bigoted than the Catholics. The Protestants continued to insist upon that right of private judgment in religion, which the Catholics continued to deny. Yet such was the force of circumstances that each sect, in its practice, contradicted its own dogma, and acted as if it had embraced the dogma of its opponents. The cause of this change was very simple. Among the French, the theological spirit, as we have already seen, was decaying ; and the decline of the influence of the clergy was, as invariably happens, accompanied by an increase of toleration. But, among the French Protestants, this partial diminution of the theological spirit had produced different consequences, because it had brought about a change of leaders, which threw the command into the hands of the clergy, and, by increasing their power, provoked a reaction, and revived those very feelings to the decay of which the reaction owed its origin. This seems to explain how it is that a religion which is not protected by the government, usually displays greater energy and greater vitality than one which is so protected. In the progress of society, the theological spirit first declines among the most educated classes ; and then it is that the government can step in, as it does in England, and, controlling the clergy, make the church a creature of the state ; thus weakening the ecclesiastical element by tempering it with secular considerations. But when the state refuses to do this, the reins of power, as they fall from the hands of the upper classes, are seized by the clergy, and there arises a state of things of which the French Protestants in the seventeenth century, and the Irish Catholics in our own time, form the best illustration. In such cases it will always happen that the religion which is tolerated by the government though not fully recognized by it, will the longest retain its vitality ; because its priesthood, neglected by the state, must cling the closer to the people, in whom alone is the source of their power.[136] On the other hand, in a religion which is favoured and richly endowed by the state, the union between the priesthood and inferior laity will be less intimate ; the clergy will look to the government as well as to the people : and the interference of political views, of considerations of temporal expediency, and if it may be added without irreverence, the hopes of promotion, will secularize the ecclesiastical spirit,[137] and, according to the process I have already traced, will thus hasten the march of toleration.

These generalizations, which account for a great part of the present superstition of the Irish Catholics, will also account for the former superstition of the French Protestants. In both cases, the government, disdaining the supervision of an heretical religion, allowed supreme authority to fall into the hands of the priesthood, who stimulated the bigotry of men, and encouraged them in a hatred of their opponents. What the results of this are in Ireland, is best known to those of our statesmen who, with unusual candour, have declared Ireland to be their greatest difficulty. What the results were in France, we will now endeavour to ascertain.

question is one, not of sincerity, but of consistency. A sincere Roman Catholic may be, and often is, conscientiously tolerant ; a consistent Roman Catholic, never. [See above, p. 106 *note*, as to this distinction.—Ed.]

[136] We also see this very clearly in England, where the dissenting clergy have much more influence among their hearers than the clergy of the Establishment have among theirs. This has often been noticed by impartial observers, and we are now possessed of statistical proof that " the great body of Protestant dissenters are more assiduous " in attending religious worship than churchmen are. See a valuable essay by Mr. Mann *On the Statistical Position of Religious Bodies in England and Wales*, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. xviii. p. 152.

[137] Respecting the working of this in England, there are some shrewd remarks made by Le Blanc in his *Lettres d'un Français*, vol. i. pp. 267, 268 ; which may be compared with *Lord Holland's Mem. of the Whig Party*, vol. ii. p. 253, where it is suggested, that in the case of complete emancipation of the Catholics, " eligibility to worldly honours and profits would somewhat abate the fever of religious zeal." On this, there are observations worth attending to in *Lord Cloncurry's Recollections*, Dublin, 1849, pp. 342, 343.

The conciliating spirit of the French government having drawn over to its side some of the most eminent of the French Protestants, and having disarmed the hostility of others, the leadership of the party fell, as we have already seen, into the hands of those inferior men who displayed in their new position the intolerance characteristic of their order. Without pretending to write a history of the odious feuds that now arose, I will lay before the reader some evidence of their increasing bitterness; and I will point out a few of the steps by which the angry feelings of religious controversy became so inflamed that at length they kindled a civil war, which nothing but the improved temper of the Catholics prevented from being as sanguinary as were the horrible struggles of the sixteenth century. For when the French Protestants became governed by men whose professional habits made them consider heresy to be the greatest of crimes, there naturally sprung up a missionary and proselytizing spirit, which induced them to interfere with the religion of the Catholics, and, under the old pretence of turning them from the error of their ways, revived those animosities which the progress of knowledge tended to appease. And as, under such guidance, these feelings quickly increased, the Protestants soon learnt to despise that great Edict of Nantes by which their liberties were secured; and they embarked in a dangerous contest, in which their object was, not to protect their own religion, but to weaken the religion of that very party to whom they owed a toleration, which had been reluctantly conceded by the prejudices of the age.

It was stipulated in the Edict of Nantes that the Protestants should enjoy the full exercise of their religion; and this right they continued to possess until the reign of Louis XIV. To this there were added several other privileges, such as no Catholic government, except that of France, would then have granted to its heretical subjects. But these things did not satisfy the desires of the Protestant clergy. They were not content to exercise their own religion, unless they could also trouble the religion of others. Their first step was to call upon the government to limit the performance of those rites which the French Catholics had long revered as emblems of the national faith. For this purpose, directly after the death of Henry IV. they held a great assembly at Saumur, in which they formally demanded that no Catholic processions should be allowed in any town, place, or castle, occupied by the Protestants.[138] As the government did not seem inclined to countenance this monstrous pretension, these intolerant sectaries took the law into their own hands. They not only attacked the Catholic processions wherever they met them, but they subjected the priests to personal insults, and even endeavoured to prevent them from administering the sacrament to the sick. If a Catholic clergyman was engaged in burying the dead, the Protestants were sure to be present, interrupting the funeral, turning the ceremonies into ridicule, and attempting, by their clamour, to deaden the voice of the minister, so that the service performed in the church should not be heard.[139] Nor did they always confine themselves even to such demonstrations as these. For, certain towns having been, perhaps imprudently placed under their control, they exercised their authority in them with the most wanton insolence. At La Rochelle which for importance was the second city in the kingdom, they would not permit the Catholics to have even a single church in which to celebrate what for centuries had

[138] "Les processions catholiques seraient interdites dans toutes les places, villes et châteaux occupés par ceux de la religion." *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 30.

[139] Of these facts we have the most unequivocal proof; for they were not only stated by the Catholics in 1623, but they are recorded, without being denied, by the Protestant historian Benoist: "On y accusoit les Réformez d'injurier les prêtres, quand ils les voyoient passer; d'empêcher les processions des Catholiques; l'administration des sacremens aux malades; l'enterrement des morts avec les cérémonies accoutumées; . . . que les Réformez s'étoient emparez des cloches en quelques lieux, et en d'autres se servoient de celles des Catholiques pour avertir de l'heure du prêche; qu'ils affectoient de faire du bruit autour des églises pendant le service; qu'ils tournoient en dérision les cérémonies de l'église romaine." *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 433, 434: see also pp. 149, 150.

been the sole religion of France, and was still the religion of an enormous majority of Frenchmen.[140] This, however, only formed part of a system by which the Protestant clergy hoped to trample on the rights of their fellow-subjects. In 1619 they ordered in their general assembly at Loudun that in none of the Protestant towns should there be a sermon preached by a Jesuit, or indeed by any ecclesiastical person commissioned by a bishop.[141] In another assembly, they forbade any Protestant even to be present at a baptism, or at a marriage or at a funeral, if the ceremony was performed by a Catholic priest.[142] And, as if to cut off all hope of reconciliation, they not only vehemently opposed those intermarriages between the two parties, by which, in every Christian country, religious animosities have been softened, but they publicly declared that they would withhold the sacrament from any parents whose children were married into a Catholic family.[143] Not, however, to accumulate unnecessary evidence, there is one other circumstance worth relating, as a proof of the spirit with which these and similar regulations were enforced. When Louis XIII., in 1620, visited Pau, he was not only treated with indignity as being an heretical prince, but he found that the Protestants had not left him a single church, not one place, in which the king of France, in his own territory, could perform those devotions which he believed necessary for his future salvation.[144]

This was the way in which the French Protestants, influenced by their new leaders, treated the first Catholic government which abstained from persecuting them ; the first which not only allowed them the free exercise of their religion, but even advanced many of them to offices of trust and of honour.[145] All this, however, was only of a piece with the rest of their conduct. They, who in numbers and in intellect formed a miserable minority of the French nation, claimed a power which the majority had abandoned, and refused to concede to others the toleration they themselves enjoyed. Several persons, who had joined their party, now quitted it, and returned to the Catholic church ; but for exercising this undoubted right they were insulted by the Protestant clergy in the grossest manner, with every term of opprobrium and abuse.[146] For those who resisted their authority, no treatment was considered too severe. In 1612, Ferrier, a man of some reputation in his own day, having disobeyed their injunctions, was ordered to appear before one of their synods. The gist of his offence was, that he had spoken contemptuously of ecclesiastical assemblies ; and to this there were of course added those accusations against his moral conduct, with which theologians often attempt to blacken the character of their opponents.[147] Readers of ecclesiastical history are too familiar with such charges to attach any importance to them ; but as, in this case, the accused was

[140] " On pouvait dire que La Rochelle était la capitale, le saint temple du calvinisme ; car on ne voyait là aucune église, aucune cérémonie papiste." *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 342.

[141] *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 100. For other and similar evidence, see *Duplessis Mornay, Mémoires*, vol. xi. p. 244 ; *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. vii. p. 164 ; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 70, 233, 279.

[142] *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. ii. p. 196.

[143] For a striking instance of the actual enforcement of this intolerant regulation, see *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. ii. p. 344.

[144] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 124 ; *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. pp. 109, 110 ; *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 238.

[145] In 1625, Howell writes that the Protestants had put up an inscription on the gates of Montauban, " Roy sans foy, ville sans peur." *Howell's Letters*, p. 187.

[146] Sometimes they were called dogs returning to the vomit of popery ; sometimes they were swine wallowing in the mire of idolatry. *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. i. pp. 385, 398.

[147] It is observable, that on the first occasion (*Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 362) nothing is said of Ferrier's immorality ; and on the next occasion (p. 449) the synod complains, among other things, that " he hath most licentiously inveighed against, and satirically lampooned, the ecclesiastical assemblies."

tried by men who were at once his prosecutors, his enemies, and his judges, the result was easy to anticipate. In 1613 Ferrier was excommunicated, and the excommunication was publicly proclaimed in the church of Nîmes. In this sentence, which is still extant, he is declared by the clergy to be "a scandalous man, a person incorrigible, impenitent, and ungovernable." We, therefore, they add, "in the name and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the conduct of the Holy Ghost, and with authority from the church, have cast, and do now cast and throw him out of the society of the faithful, that he may be delivered up unto Satan."[148]

That he may be delivered up unto Satan! This was the penalty which a handful of clergymen, in a corner of France, thought they could inflict on a man who dared to despise their authority. In our time such an anathema would only excite derision;[149] but, early in the seventeenth century, the open promulgation of it was enough to ruin any private person against whom it might be directed. And they whose studies have enabled them to take the measure of the ecclesiastical spirit will easily believe that in that age the threat did not remain a dead letter. The people, inflamed by their clergy, rose against Ferrier, attacked his family, destroyed his property, sacked and gutted his houses, and demanded with loud cries that the "traitor Judas" should be given up to them. The unhappy man with the greatest difficulty effected his escape; but though he saved his life by flying in the dead of the night, he was obliged to abandon for ever his native town, as he dared not return to a place where he had provoked so active and so implacable a party.[150]

Into other matters, and even into those connected with the ordinary functions of government, the Protestants carried the same spirit. Although they formed so small a section of the people, they attempted to control the administration of the crown, and, by the use of threats, turn all its acts to their own favour. They would not allow the state to determine what ecclesiastical councils it should recognize; they would not even permit the king to choose his own wife. In 1615, without the least pretence of complaint, they assembled in large numbers at Grenoble and at Nîmes.[151] The deputies of Grenoble insisted that government should refuse to acknowledge the Council of Trent;[152] and both assemblies ordered that the Protestants should prevent the marriage of Louis XIII. with a Spanish princess.[153] They laid similar claims to interfere with the disposal of civil and

[148] See this frightful and impious document, in *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. 448–450

[149] The notion of theologians respecting excommunication may be seen in Mr. Palmer's entertaining book, *Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 64–67, vol. ii. pp. 299, 300; but the opinions of this engaging writer should be contrasted with the indignant language of Vattel, *Le Droit des Gens*, vol. i. pp. 177, 178. In England, the terrors of excommunication fell into contempt towards the end of the seventeenth century. See *Life of Archbishop Sharpe*, edited by Newcome, vol. i. p. 216: compare p. 363; and see the mournful remarks of Dr. Mosheim, in his *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 79; and *Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs*, pp. 175, 176.

[150] On the treatment of Ferrier, which excited great attention as indicating the extreme lengths to which the Protestants were prepared to go, see *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 177; *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 6, 12, 29, 32; *Mém. de Duplessis Mornay*, vol. xii. pp. 317, 333, 341, 350, 389, 399, 430; *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 235; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xiv. p. 440; *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. v. pp. 48–54. Mr. Smedley, who refers to none of these authorities, except two passages in Duplessis, has given a garbled account of this riot. See his *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. pp. 119, 120.

[151] *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 123.

[152] *Capefigue*, vol. i. p. 123; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII.*, vol. i. p. 364; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 183; *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 130.

[153] *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 124; *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. p. 100; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. pp. 333, 334. The consequence was that the king was obliged to send a powerful escort to protect his bride against his Protestant subjects. *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 274.

military offices. Shortly after the death of Henry IV., they, in an assembly at Saumur, insisted that Sully should be restored to some posts from which, in their opinion, he had been unjustly removed.[154] In 1619, another of their assemblies at Loudun declared, that as one of the Protestant councillors of the parliament of Paris had become a Catholic, he must be dismissed ; and they demanded that for the same reason the government of Lectoure should be taken from Fontrailles, he also having adopted the not infrequent example of abandoning his sect in order to adopt a creed sanctioned by the state.[155]

By way of aiding all this, and with the view of exasperating still further religious animosities, the principal Protestant clergy put forth a series of works which for bitterness of feeling have hardly ever been equalled, and which it would certainly be impossible to surpass. The intense hatred with which they regarded their Catholic countrymen can be fully estimated only by those who have looked into the pamphlets written by the French Protestants during the first half of the seventeenth century, or who have read the laboured and formal treatises of such men as Chamier, Drelincourt, Moulin, Thomson, and Vignier. Without, however, pausing on these, it will perhaps be thought sufficient if for the sake of brevity I follow the mere outline of political events. Great numbers of the Protestants had joined in the rebellion which in 1615 was raised by Condé ;[156] and, although they were then easily defeated, they seemed bent on trying the issue of a fresh struggle. In Béarn, where they were unusually numerous,[157] they, even during the reign of Henry IV., had refused to tolerate the Catholic religion ; " their fanatical clergy," says the historian of France, " declaring that it would be a crime to permit the idolatry of the mass."[158] This charitable maxim they for many years actively enforced, seizing the property of the Catholic clergy, and employing it in support of their own churches ;[159] so that, while in one part of the dominions of the king of France the Protestants were allowed to exercise their religion, they in another part of his dominions prevented the Catholics from exercising theirs. It was hardly to be expected that any government would suffer such an anomaly as this ; and in 1618 it was ordered that the Protestants should restore the plunder, and reinstate the Catholics in their former possessions. But the reformed clergy, alarmed at so sacrilegious a proposal, appointed a public fast, and inspiriting the people to resistance, forced the royal commissioner to fly from Pau, where he had arrived in the hope of effecting a peaceful adjustment of the claims of the rival parties.[160]

The rebellion thus raised by the zeal of the Protestants was soon put down ;

[154] *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 38 ; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 28, 29, 63.

[155] *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 450; *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. ii. p. 161. See a similar instance, in the case of Berger, in *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 136, whom the Protestants sought to deprive because " il avoit quitté leur religion."

[156] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. i. p. 381. Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 349) says that they had no good reason for this ; and it is certain that their privileges, so far from being diminished since the Edict of Nantes, had been confirmed and extended.

[157] M. Felice (*Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 237) says of Lower Navarre and Béarn, in 1617 : " Three-fourths of the population, some say nine-tenths, belonged to the reformed communion." This is perhaps over-estimated, but we know, from De Thou, that they formed a majority in Béarn in 1566 : " Les Protestans y fussent en plus grand nombre que les Catholiques." *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. v. p. 187.

[158] " Les ministres fanatiques déclaroient qu'ils ne pouvaient sans crime souffrir dans ce pays régenéré l'idolâtrie de la messe." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 415.

[159] *Notice sur les Mémoires de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 26. Compare the account given by Pontchartrain, who was one of the ministers of Louis XIII., *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. pp. 248, 264 ; and see *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 443.

[160] *Bazin, Hist. de France sous Louis XIII*, vol. ii. pp. 62–64. The pith of the question was, that " l'édit de Nantes ayant donné pouvoir, tant aux catholiques qu'aux huguenots, de rentrer partout dans leurs biens, les ecclésiastiques de Béarn démandèrent aussytost les leurs." *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 392.

but according to the confession of Rohan, one of the ablest of their leaders, it was the beginning of all their misfortunes.[161] The sword had now been drawn: and the only question to be decided was whether France should be governed according to the principles of toleration recently established, or according to the maxims of a despotic sect, which, while professing to advocate the right of private judgment, was acting in a way that rendered all private judgment impossible.

Scarcely was the war in Béarn brought to an end, when the Protestants determined on making a great effort in the west of France.[162] The seat of this new struggle was Rochelle, which was one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, and was entirely in the hands of the Protestants,[163] who had grown wealthy, partly by their own industry, and partly by following the occupation of public pirates.[164] In this city, which they believed to be impregnable,[165] they, in December, 1620, held a Great Assembly, to which their spiritual chiefs flocked from all parts of France. It was soon evident that their party was now governed by men who were bent on the most violent measures. Their great secular leaders were, as we have already seen, gradually falling off; and by this time there only remained two of much ability, Rohan and Mornay, both of whom saw the inexpediency of their proceedings, and desired that the assembly should peaceably separate.[166] But the authority of the clergy was irresistible; and by their prayers and exhortations they easily gained over the ordinary citizens, who were then a gross and uneducated body.[167] Under their influence the assembly adopted a course which rendered civil war inevitable. Their first act was an edict by

[161] "L'affaire de Béarn, source de tous nos maux." *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 156; see also p. 183. And the Protestant Le Vassor says (*Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. p. 634): "L'affaire du Béarn et l'assemblée qui se convoqua ensuite à la Rochelle, sont la source véritable des malheurs des églises réformées de France sous le règne dont j'écris l'histoire."

[162] On the connexion between the proceedings of Béarn and those of Rochelle, compare *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 33, with *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 113, and *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 448.

[163] Their first church was established in 1556 (*Ranke's Civil Wars in France*, vol. i. p. 360); but by the reign of Charles IX. the majority of the inhabitants were Protestants. See *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. iv. p. 263, vol. v. p. 379, ad ann. 1562 and 1567.

[164] Or, as M. Capefigue courteously puts it, "les Rochelois ne respectaient pas toujours les pavillons amis." *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 332. A delicate circumlocution, unknown to Mezeray, who says (*Hist. de France*, vol. iii. p. 426) in 1587, "et les Rochelois, qui par le moyen du commerce et de la *piraterie*," etc.

[165] "Ceste place, que les huguenots tenoient quasy pour imprenable." *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 512. "Cette orgueilleuse cité, qui se croyoit imprenable." *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 45. Howell, who visited Rochelle in 1620 and 1622, was greatly struck by its strength. *Howell's Letters*, pp. 46, 47, 108. At p. 204, he calls it, in his barbarous style, "the chiefest propugnacle of the Protestants there." For a description of the defences of Rochelle, see *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. vi. pp. 615–617; and some details worth consulting in *Mezeray, Hist. de France*, vol. ii. pp. 977–980.

[166] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 139; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. pp. 480, 481. Rohan himself says (*Mém.* vol. i. p. 446): "je m'efforçai de la séparer." In a remarkable letter, which Mornay wrote ten years before this, he shows his apprehensions of the evil that would result from the increasing violence of his party; and he advises, "que nostre zéle soit tempéré de prudence." *Mém. et Correspond.* vol. xi. p. 122; and as to the divisions this caused among the Protestants, see pp. 154, 510, vol. xii. pp. 82, 255; and *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ix. pp. 350, 435.

[167] "Les seigneurs du parti, et surtout le sage Duplessis Mornay, firent ce qu'ils purent pour engager les réformés à ne pas provoquer l'autorité royale pour des causes qui ne pouvoient justifier une guerre civile; mais le pouvoir dans le parti avoit passé presque absolument aux bourgeois des villes et aux ministres qui se livroient aveuglément à leur fanatisme, et à leur orgeuil, et qui étoient d'autant plus applaudis, qu'ils montroient plus de violence." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 478.

which they at once confiscated all the property belonging to Catholic churches.[168] They then caused a great seal to be struck; under the authority of which they ordered that the people should be armed, and taxes collected from them for the purpose of defending their religion.[169] Finally, they drew up the regulations, and organized the establishment, of what they called the Reformed Churches of France and of Béarn; and, with a view to facilitate the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction, they parcelled out France into eight circles, to each of which there was allotted a separate general; who, however, was to be accompanied by a clergyman, since the administration, in all its parts, was held responsible to that ecclesiastical assembly which called it into existence.[170]

Such were the forms and pomp of authority assumed by the spiritual leaders of the French Protestants; men by nature destined to obscurity, and whose abilities were so despicable that, notwithstanding their temporary importance, they have left no name in history. These insignificant priests, who at the best were only fit to mount the pulpit of a country village, now arrogated to themselves the right of ordering the affairs of France, imposing taxes upon Frenchmen, confiscating property, raising troops, levying war; and all this for the sake of propagating a creed, which was scouted by the country at large as a foul and mischievous heresy.

In the face of these inordinate pretensions, it was evident that the French government had no choice except to abdicate its functions, or else take arms in its own defence.[171] Whatever may be the popular notion respecting the necessary intolerance of the Catholics, it is an indisputable fact that early in the seventeenth century, they displayed in France a spirit of forbearance, and a Christian charity, to which the Protestants could make no pretence. During the twenty-two years which elapsed between the Edict of Nantes and the Assembly of Rochelle, the government, notwithstanding repeated provocations, never attacked the Protestants;[172] nor did they make any attempt to destroy the privileges of a sect which they were bound to consider heretical, and the extirpation of which had been deemed by their fathers to be one of the first duties of a Christian statesman.

The war that now broke out lasted seven years, and was uninterrupted, except by the short peace, first of Montpelier, and afterwards of Rochelle; neither of which, however, was very strictly preserved. But the difference in the views and intentions of the two parties corresponded to the difference between the classes which governed them. The Protestants, being influenced mainly by the clergy, made their object religious domination. The Catholics, being led by statesmen, aimed at temporal advantages. Thus it was that circumstances had in France so completely obliterated the original tendency of these two great sects that, by a singular metamorphosis, the secular principle was now represented by the Catholics, and the theological principle by the Protestants.

[168] "On confisqua les biens des églises catholiques." *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 85; and see *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 258.

[169] "Ils donnent des commissions d'armer et de faire des impositions sur le peuple, et ce sous leur grand sceau, qui étoit une Religion appuyée sur une croix, ayant en la main un livre de l'évangile, foulant aux pieds un vieux squelette, qu'ils disoient être l'église romaine." *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. p. 120. M. Capefigue (*Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 259) says that this seal still exists; but it is not even alluded to by a late writer (*Felice, Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 240), who systematically suppresses every fact unfavourable to his own party.

[170] *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iv. p. 157; *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 145; *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 353–355; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 258.

[171] Even Mosheim, who as a Protestant was naturally prejudiced in favour of the Huguenots, says, that they had established "imperium in imperio;" and he ascribes to the violence of their rulers the war of 1621. *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 237, 238.

[172] Compare *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. p. 88, with *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. ii. p. 351.

The authority of the clergy, and therefore the interests of superstition, were upheld by that very party which owed its origin to the diminution of both: they were, on the other hand, attacked by a party whose success had hitherto depended on the increase of both. If the Catholics triumphed, the ecclesiastical power would be weakened; if the Protestants triumphed, it would be strengthened. Of this fact, so far as the Protestants are concerned, I have just given ample proof, collected from their proceedings, and from the language of their own synods. And that the opposite or secular principle predominated among the Catholics is evident, not only from their undeviating policy in the reigns of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., but also from another circumstance worthy of note. For their motives were so obvious, and gave such scandal to the church, that the pope, as the great protector of religion, thought himself bound to reprehend that disregard of theological interests which they displayed, and which he considered to be a crying and unpardonable offence. In 1622, only one year after the struggle between the Protestants and Catholics had begun, he strongly remonstrated with the French government upon the notorious indecency of which they were guilty, in carrying on war against heretics, not for the purpose of suppressing the heresy, but merely with a view of procuring for the state those temporal advantages which, in the opinion of all pious men, ought to be regarded as of subordinate importance.[173]

If at this juncture the Protestants had carried the day, the loss to France would have been immense, perhaps irreparable. For no one who is acquainted with the temper and character of the French Calvinists can doubt that if they had obtained possession of the government they would have revived those religious persecutions which, so far as their power extended, they had already attempted to enforce. Not only in their writings, but even in the edicts of their assemblies, we find ample proof of that meddling and intolerant spirit which in every age has characterized ecclesiastical legislation. Indeed, such a spirit is the legitimate consequence of the fundamental assumption from which theological lawgivers usually start. The clergy are taught to consider that their paramount duty is to preserve the purity of the faith, and guard it against the invasions of heresy. Whenever, therefore, they rise to power, it almost invariably happens that they carry into politics the habits they have contracted in their profession; and having long been accustomed to consider religious error as criminal, they now naturally attempt to make it penal. And as all the European countries have in the period of their ignorance been once ruled by the clergy, just so do we find in the law-books of every land those traces of their power which the progress of knowledge is gsadually effacing. We find the professors of the dominant creed enacting laws against the professors of other creeds; laws sometimes to burn them, sometimes to exile them, sometimes to take away their civil rights, sometimes only to take away their political rights. These are the different gradations through which persecution passes; and by observing which we may measure, in any country, the energy of the ecclesiastical spirit. At the same time, the theory by which such measures are supported generally gives rise to other measures of a somewhat different though of an analogous character. For, by extending the authority of law to opinions as well as to acts, the basis of legislation becomes dangerously enlarged; the individuality and independence of each man are invaded; and encouragement is given to the enactment of intrusive and vexatious regulations, which are supposed to perform for morals the service that the other class of laws performs for religion. Under pretence of favouring the practice of virtue

[173] See the paper of instructions from Pope Gregory XV., in the appendix to *Ranke, die Röm. Päpste*, vol. iii. pp. 173, 174: "Die Hauptsache aber ist was er dem Könige von Frankreich vorstellen soll: 1, dass er ja nicht den Verdacht auf sich laden werde als verfolge er die Protestanten bloss aus Staats-interesse." Bazin (*Hist. de Louis XIII.*, vol. ii. p. 320) says, that Richelieu attacked the Huguenots "sans aucune idée de persécution religieuse." See, to the same effect, *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 274; and the candid admissions of the Protestant Le Vassor, in his *Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. v. p. 11.

and maintaining the purity of society, men are troubled in their most ordinary pursuits, in the commonest occurrences of life, in their amusements, nay, even in the very dress they may be inclined to wear. That this is what has actually been done, must be known to whoever has looked into the writings of the fathers, into the canons of Christian councils, into the different systems of ecclesiastical law, or into the sermons of the earlier clergy. Indeed, all this is so natural, that regulations conceived in the same spirit were drawn up for the government of Geneva by the Calvinist clergy, and for the government of England by Archbishop Cranmer and his coadjutors; while a tendency precisely identical may be observed in the legislation of the Puritans, and, to give a still later instance, in that of the Methodists. It is therefore not surprising that in France the Protestant clergy, having great power among their own party, should enforce a similar discipline. Thus, to mention only a few examples, they forbade any one to go to the theatre, or even to witness the performance of private theatricals.[174] They looked upon dancing as an ungodly amusement, and therefore they not only strictly prohibited it, but they ordered that all dancing-masters should be admonished by the spiritual power, and desired to abandon so unchristian a profession. If however the admonition failed in effecting its purpose, the dancing-masters, thus remaining obdurate, were to be excommunicated.[175] With the same pious care did the clergy superintend other matters equally important. In one of their synods, they ordered that all persons should abstain from wearing gay apparel, and should arrange their hair with becoming modesty.[176] In another synod, they forbade women to paint; and they declared, that if after this injunction any woman persisted in painting she should not be allowed to receive the sacrament.[177] To their own clergy, as the instructors and shepherds of the flock, there was paid an attention still more scrupulous. The ministers of the word were permitted to teach Hebrew, because Hebrew is a sacred dialect, uncontaminated by profane writers. But the Greek language, which contains all the philosophy and nearly all the wisdom of antiquity, was to be discouraged, its study laid aside, its professorship suppressed.[178] And in order that the mind might not be distracted from spiritual things, the study of chemistry was likewise forbidden; such a mere earthly pursuit being incompatible with the habits of the sacred profession.[179] Lest, however, in spite of these precautions, knowledge should still creep in among the Protestants, other measures were taken to prevent even its earliest approach. The clergy, entirely forgetting that right of private judgment upon which their sect was founded, became so anxious to protect the unwary from error that they forbade any person to print or publish a work without the sanction of the church, in other words, without the sanction of the clergy themselves.[180] When by these means they had destroyed the possibility of free inquiry, and, so far as they were able, had put a stop to the acquisition of all real knowledge, they proceeded to guard against another circumstance to which their measures had given rise. For several of the Protestants,

[174] *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. i. p. lvii.

[175] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. lvii. 17, 131, vol. ii. p. 174.

[176] "And both sexes are required to keep modesty in their hair," etc. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 119.

[177] *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 165.

[178] The synod of Alez, in 1620, says, "A minister may at the same time be professor in divinity and of the Hebrew tongue. But it is not seemly for him to profess the Greek also, because the most of his employment will be taken up in the exposition of Pagan and profane authors, unless he be discharged from the ministry." *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 57. Three years later, the synod of Charenton suppressed altogether the Greek professorships, "as being superfluous and of small profit." *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 115.

[179] The synod of St. Maixant, in 1609, orders that "colloquies and synods shall have a watchful eye over those ministers who study chemistry, and grievously reprove and censure them." *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 314.

[180] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 140, 194, vol. ii. p. 110.

seeing that under such a system it was impossible to educate their families with advantage, sent their children to some of those celebrated Catholic colleges, where alone a sound education could then be obtained. But the clergy, so soon as they heard of this practice, put an end to it by excommunicating the offending parents;[181] and to this there was added an order forbidding them to admit into their own private houses any tutor who professed the Catholic religion.[182] Such was the way in which the French Protestants were watched over and protected by their spiritual masters. Even the minutest matters were not beneath the notice of these great legislators. They ordered that no person should go to a ball or masquerade;[183] nor ought any Christian to look at the tricks of conjurors, or at the famous game of goblets, or at the puppet-show; neither was he to be present at morris-dances; for all such amusements should be suppressed by the magistrates, because they excite curiosity, cause expense, waste time.[184] Another thing to be attended to is the names that are bestowed in baptism. A child may have two christian names, though one is preferable.[185] Great care, however, is to be observed in their selection. They ought to be taken from the Bible, but they ought not to be Baptist or Angel; neither should any infant receive a name which has been formerly used by the Pagans.[186] When the children are grown up, there are other regulations to which they must be subject. The clergy declared that the faithful must by no means let their hair grow long, lest by so doing they indulge in the luxury of "lascivious curls."[187] They are to make their garments in such a manner as to avoid "the new-fangled fashions of the world:" they are to have no tassels to their dress: their gloves must be without silk and ribbons: they are to abstain from fardingales: they are to beware of wide sleeves.[188]

Those readers who have not studied the history of ecclesiastical legislation will perhaps be surprised to find that men of gravity, men who had reached the years of discretion, and were assembled together in solemn council, should evince such a prying and puerile spirit; that they should display such miserable and childish imbecility. But whoever will take a wider survey of human affairs will be inclined to blame not so much the legislators as the system of which the legislators formed a part. For as to the men themselves, they merely acted after their kind. They only followed the traditions in which they were bred. By virtue of their profession, they had been accustomed to hold certain

[181] *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. lv. 235, 419, vol. ii. pp. 201, 509, 515. Compare *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 473.

[182] *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. ii. p. 81.

[183] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 174.

[184] "All Christian magistrates are advised not in the least to suffer them, because it feeds foolish curiosity, puts upon unnecessary expenses, and wastes time." *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 194.

[185] This was a very knotty question for the theologians; but it was at length decided in the affirmative by the synod of Saumur: "On the 13th article of the same chapter, the deputies of Poictou demanded, whether two names might be given a child at baptism? To which it was replied: The thing was indifferent: however, parents were advised to observe herein Christian simplicity." *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 178.

[186] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. xlvi. 25.

[187] I quote the language of the synod of Castres, in 1626. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 174.

[188] *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 165, vol. ii. pp. 7, 174, 574, 583. In the same way, the Spanish clergy, early in the present century, attempted to regulate the dress of women. See *Doblado's Letters from Spain*, pp. 202–205: a good illustration of the identity of the ecclesiastical spirit, whether it be Catholic or Protestant. [The Protestant attitude in question, which derives proximately from Calvinism, is probably older in France than the regulations cited. Similar laws were passed by the Scotch clergy fifty years before. See the *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies*, Bannatyne Club ed. Part I. p. 335. But all the movements of religious reform before the Reformation had shown similar tendencies.—ED.]

views, and when they rose to power it was natural that they should carry those views into effect; thus transplanting into the law-book the maxims they had already preached in the pulpit. Whenever, therefore, we read of meddling, inquisitive, and vexatious regulations imposed by ecclesiastical authority, we should remember that they are but the legitimate result of the ecclesiastical spirit; and that the way to remedy such grievances, or to prevent their occurrence, is not by vainly labouring to change the tendencies of that class from whence they proceed, but rather by confining the class within its proper limits, by jealously guarding against its earliest encroachments, by taking every opportunity of lessening its influence, and finally, when the progress of society will justify so great a step, by depriving it of that political and legislative power which, though gradually falling from its hands, it is even in the most civilized countries still allowed in some degree to retain.

But, setting aside these general considerations, it will at all events be admitted that I have collected sufficient evidence to indicate what would have happened to France if the Protestants had obtained the upper hand. After the facts which I have brought forward, no one can possibly doubt that if such a misfortune had occurred, the liberal, and considering the age, the enlightened policy of Henry IV. and Louis XIII. would have been destroyed, in order to make way for that gloomy and austere system which, in every age and in every country, has been found to be the natural fruit of ecclesiastical power. To put, therefore, the question in its proper form, instead of saying that there was a war between hostile creeds, we should rather say that there was a war between rival classes. It was a contest, not so much between the Catholic religion and the Protestant religion, as between Catholic laymen and Protestant clergy. It was a struggle between temporal interests and theological interests, —between the spirit of the present and the spirit of the past. And the point now at issue was, whether France should be governed by the civil power or by the spiritual power,—whether she should be ruled according to the large views of secular statesmen, or according to the narrow notions of a factious and intolerant priesthood.

The Protestants having the great advantage of being the aggressive party, and being moreover inflamed by a religious zeal unknown to their opponents, might under ordinary circumstances have succeeded in their hazardous attempt; or, at all events, they might have protracted the struggle for an indefinite period. But, fortunately for France, in 1624, only three years after the war began, Richelieu assumed the direction of the government. He had for some years been the secret adviser of the queen-mother, into whose mind he had always inculcated the necessity of complete toleration.[189] When placed at the head of affairs, he pursued the same policy, and attempted in every way to conciliate the Protestants. The clergy of his own party were constantly urging him to exterminate the heretics, whose presence they thought polluted France.[190] But Richelieu, having only secular objects, refused to embitter the contest by turning it into a religious war. He was determined to chastize the rebellion, but he would not punish the heresy. Even while the war was raging, he would not revoke those edicts of toleration, by which the full liberty of religious worship was granted to the Protestants. And when they, in 1626, showed signs of compunction, or at all events of fear, he publicly confirmed

[189] On his influence over her in and after 1616, see *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.*, vol. ii. p. 508; *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. p. 240; *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 23; and compare, in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. ii. pp. 198–200, the curious arguments which he put in her mouth respecting the impolicy of making war on the Protestants.

[190] In 1625, the Archbishop of Lyons wrote to Richelieu, urging him "assiéger la Rochelle, et châtier ou, pour mieux dire, exterminer les huguenots, toute autre affaire cessante." *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII.* vol. ii. p. 276. See also, on the anxiety of the clergy in the reign of Louis XIII. to destroy the Protestants, *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. pp. 155, 166, 232, 245, 338, 378, 379, 427; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 485.

the Edict of Nantes,[191] and he granted them peace; although, as he says, he knew that by doing so he should fall under the suspicion of those "who so greatly affected the name of zealous Catholics."[192] A few months afterwards war again broke out; and then it was that Richelieu determined on that celebrated siege of Rochelle, which, if brought to a successful issue, was sure to be a decisive blow against the French Protestants. That he was moved to this hazardous undertaking solely by secular considerations is evident not only from the general spirit of his preceding policy, but also from his subsequent conduct. With the details of this famous siege history is not concerned, as such matters have no value except to military readers. It is enough to say that in 1628 Rochelle was taken; and the Protestants, who had been induced by their clergy[193] to continue to resist long after relief was hopeless, and who in consequence had suffered the most dreadful hardships, were obliged to surrender at discretion.[194] The privileges of the town were revoked, and its magistrates removed; but the great minister by whom these things were effected still abstained from that religious persecution to which he was urged.[195] He granted to the Protestants the toleration which he had offered at an earlier period, and he formally conceded the free exercise of their public worship.[196] But such was their infatuation that because he likewise restored the exercise of the Catholic religion, and thus gave to the conquerors the same liberty that he had granted to the conquered, the Protestants murmured at the indulgence; they could not bear the idea that their eyes should be offended by the performance of Popish rites.[197] And their indignation waxed so high that the next year they in another part of France again rose in arms. As however they were now stripped of their principal resources, they were easily defeated; and, their existence as a political faction being destroyed, they were, in reference to their religion, treated by Richelieu in the same manner as before.[198] To the Protestants generally he confirmed the privilege of preaching and of performing the other ceremonies of their creed.[199] To their leader, Rohan, he granted an amnesty,

[191] He confirmed it in March, 1626; *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. ii. p. 399; and also in the preceding January. See *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. appendix, pp. 77, 81.

[192] "Ceux qui affectent autant le nom de zélés catholiques." *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. iii. p. 16; and at p. 2, he, in the same year (1626), says, that he was opposed by those who had "un trop ardent et précipité désir de ruiner les huguenots."

[193] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 66.

[194] On the sufferings of the inhabitants, see extract from the Dupuis MS., in *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 351. Fontenay Mareuil, who was an eye-witness, says, that the besieged, in some instances, ate their own children; and that the burial-grounds were guarded, to prevent the corpses from being dug up and turned into food. *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. p. 119.

[195] And in which he would most assuredly have been supported by Louis XIII.; of whom an intelligent writer says: "Il étoit plein de piété et de zèle pour le service de Dieu et pour la grandeur de l'église; et sa plus sensible joie, en prenant La Rochelle et les autres places qu'il prit, fut de penser qu'il chasseroit de son royaume les hérétiques, et qu'il le purgeroit par cette voie des différentes religions qui gâtent et infectent l'église de Dieu." *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. i. p. 425, edit. Petitot, 1824.

[196] *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 423; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. p. 77; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 357; *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. ii. p. 122.

[197] "Les huguenots murmuraient de voir le rétablissement de l'église romaine au sein de leur ville." *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 359.

[198] "Dès qu'il ne s'agit plus d'un parti politique, il concéda, comme à la Rochelle, la liberté de conscience et la faculté de prêche." *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 381. Compare *Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 201, with *Mémoires de Richelieu*, vol. iv. p. 484.

[199] The Edict of Nismes, in 1629, an important document, will be found in *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. xcvi.–ciii., and in *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. appendix, pp. 92–98; and a commentary on it in *Bazin, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. iii. pp 36–38.

and, a few years afterwards, employed him in important public services. After this, the hopes of the party were destroyed; they never again rose in arms, nor do we find any mention of them until a much later period, when they were barbarously persecuted by Louis XIV.[200] But from all such intolerance Richelieu sedulously abstained; and having now cleared the land from rebellion, he embarked in that vast scheme of foreign policy of which I have already given some account, and in which he clearly showed that his proceedings against the Protestants had not been caused by hatred of their religious tenets. For the same party which he attacked at home he supported abroad. He put down the French Protestants, because they were a turbulent faction that troubled the state, and wished to suppress the exercise of all opinions unfavourable to themselves. But so far from carrying on a crusade against their religion, he, as I have already observed, encouraged it in other countries; and, though a bishop of the Catholic church, he did not hesitate, by treaties, by money, and by force of arms, to support the Protestants against the House of Austria, maintain the Lutherans against the Emperor of Germany, and uphold the Calvinists against the King of Spain.

I have thus endeavoured to draw a slight, though, I trust, a clear outline of the events which took place in France during the reign of Louis XIII., and particularly during that part of it which included the administration of Richelieu. But such occurrences, important as they are, only formed a single phase of that larger development which was now displaying itself in nearly every branch of the national intellect. They were the mere political expression of that bold and sceptical spirit which cried havoc to the prejudices and superstitions of men. For the government of Richelieu was successful as well as progressive; and no government can unite these two qualities unless its measures harmonize with the feelings and temper of the age. Such an administration, though it facilitates progress, is not the cause of it, but is rather its measure and symptom. The cause of the progress lies far deeper, and is governed by the general tendency of the time. And as the different tendencies observable in successive generations depend on the difference in their knowledge, it is evident that we can only understand the working of the tendencies by taking a wide view of the amount and character of the knowledge. To comprehend, therefore, the real nature of the great advance made during the reign of Louis XIII., it becomes necessary that I should lay before the reader some evidence respecting those higher and more important facts which historians are apt to neglect, but without which the study of the past is an idle and trivial pursuit, and history itself a barren field, which, bearing no fruit, is unworthy of the labour that is wasted on the cultivation of so ungrateful a soil.

It is, indeed, a very observable fact that while Richelieu, with such extraordinary boldness, was secularizing the whole system of French politics, and by his disregard of ancient interests was setting at naught the most ancient traditions, a course precisely similar was being pursued, in a still higher department, by a man greater than he; by one who, if I may express my own opinion, is the most profound among the many eminent thinkers France has produced. I speak of Réné Descartes, of whom the least that can be said is that he effected a revolution more decisive than has ever been brought about by any other single mind. With his mere physical discoveries we are not now concerned, because in this Introduction I do not pretend to trace the progress of science, except in those epochs which indicate a new turn in the habits of national thought. But I may remind the reader that he was the first who successfully applied algebra to geometry;[201] that he pointed out the important law of the

M. Bazin, unfortunately for the reputation of this otherwise valuable work, never quotes his authorities.

[200] In 1633, their own historian says: "les Réformez ne faisoient plus de party." *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 532. Compare Sir Thomas Hanmer's account of France in 1648, in *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 309, Lond. 1838

[201] Thomas (*Éloge*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 32) says, "cet instrument, c'est

sines;[202] that in an age in which optical instruments were extremely imperfect he discovered the changes to which light is subjected in the eye by the crystalline lens;[203] that he directed attention to the consequences resulting from the weight of the atmosphere;[204] and that he moreover detected the causes of

Descartes qui l'a créé; c'est l'application de l'algèbre à la géométrie." And this, in the highest sense, is strictly true; for although Vieta and two or three others in the sixteenth century had anticipated this step, we owe entirely to Descartes the magnificent discovery of the possibility of applying algebra to the geometry of curves, he being undoubtedly the first who expressed them by algebraic equations. See *Montucla, Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. i. pp. 704, 705, vol. ii. p. 120, vol. iii. p. 64.

[202] The statements of Huygens and of Isaac Vossius to the effect that Descartes had seen the papers of Snell before publishing his discovery, are unsupported by any direct evidence; at least none of the historians of science, so far as I am aware, have brought forward any. So strong, however, is the disposition of mankind at large to depreciate great men, and so general is the desire to convict them of plagiarism, that this charge, improbable in itself, and only resting on the testimony of two envious rivals, has been not only revived by modern writers, but has been, even in our own time, spoken of as a well-established and notorious fact! The flimsy basis of this accusation is clearly exposed by M. Bordas Demoulin, in his valuable work *Le Cartésianisme*, Paris, 1843, vol. ii. pp. 9–12; while, on the other side of the question, I refer with regret to *Sir D. Brewster on the Progress of Optics, Second Report of British Association*, pp. 309, 310; and to *Whewell's Hist. of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. ii. pp. 379, 502, 503.

[203] See the interesting remarks of Sprengel (*Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. pp. 271, 272), and *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iv. pp. 371 seq. What makes this the more observable is that the study of the crystalline lens was neglected long after the death of Descartes, and no attempt made for more than a hundred years to complete his views by ascertaining its intimate structure. Indeed, it is said (*Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, p. 512) that the crystalline lens and the two humours were first analyzed in 1802. Compare *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 419–421; *Henle, Traité d'Anatomie*, vol. i. p. 357; *Lepelletier, Physiologie Médicale*, vol. iii. p. 160; *Mayo's Human Physiol.* p. 279; *Blainville, Physiol. comparée*, vol. iii. pp. 325–328; none of whom refer to any analysis earlier than the nineteenth century. I notice this partly as a contribution to the history of our knowledge, and partly as proving how slow men have been in following Descartes, and in completing his views; for, as M. Blainville justly observes, the chemical laws of the lens must be understood before we can exhaustively generalize the optical laws of its refraction; so that, in fact, the researches of Berzelius on the eye are complemental to those of Descartes. The theory of the limitation of the crystalline lens according to the descending scale of the animal kingdom, and the connexion between its development and a general increase of sensuous perception, seem to have been little studied; but Dr. Grant (*Comparative Anatomy*, p. 252) thinks that the lens exists in some of the rotifera; while in regard to its origin, I find a curious statement in *Müller's Physiology*, vol. i. p. 450, that after its removal in mammals it has been reproduced by its matrix, the capsule. (If this can be relied on, it will tell against the suggestion of Schwann, who supposes, in his *Microscopical Researches*, 1847, pp. 87, 88, that its mode of life is vegetable, and that it is not "a secretion of its capsule.") As to its probable existence in the hydrozoa, see *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, 1855, p. 96, "regarded either as a crystalline lens, or an otolithe;" and as to its embryonic development, see *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. iii. pp. 435–438. [Concerning this note, Buckle wrote to Mrs. Gray while the pages were passing through the press: "In regard to the note on the crystalline lens, I confess that I think you are right, and therefore I am wrong. My mind, and hence my reading, is too discursive, and, what is worse, the discursiveness is too ostentatiously displayed, as I clearly perceive now that the volume is printed." (*Mr. Huth's Life of Buckle*, i. 139–40.)—Ed.]

[204] Torricelli first weighed the air, in 1643. *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 360; *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 419: but there is a letter from Descartes, written as early as 1631, "où il explique le phénomène de la suspension du mercure dans un tuyau fermé par en haut, en l'attribuant au poids de la colonne d'air élevée jusqu'au delà des nues." *Bordas Demoulin, le Cartésianisme*, vol. i. p. 311. And Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.*

the rainbow,[205] that singular phenomenon, with which, in the eyes of the vulgar, some theological superstitions are still connected.[206] At the same time, and as if to combine the most varied forms of excellence, he is not only allowed to be the first geometrician of the age,[207] but, by the clearness and admirable precision of his style, he became one of the founders of French prose.[208] And although he was constantly engaged in those lofty inquiries into the nature of the human mind, which can never be studied without wonder, I had almost said can never be read without awe, he combined with them a long course of laborious experiment upon the animal frame, which raised him to the highest rank among the anatomists of his time.[209] The great discovery made by Harvey of the circulation of the blood was neglected by most of his contemporaries ;[210]

vol. ii. p. 205) says of Descartes, " nous avons des preuves que ce philosophe reconnut avant Torricelli la pesanteur de l'air." Descartes himself says that he suggested the subsequent experiment of Pascal. *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. x. pp. 344, 351.

[205] Dr. Whewell, who has treated Descartes with marked injustice, does nevertheless allow that he is " the genuine author of the explanation of the rainbow." *Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii. pp. 380, 384. See also *Boyle's Works*, vol. iii. p. 189 ; *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 364 ; *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 205 ; *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48, vol. v. pp. 265–284. On the theory of the rainbow as known in the present century, see *Kaemtz, Course of Meteorology*, pp. 440–445 ; and *Forbes on Meteorology*, pp. 125–130, in *Report of British Association for* 1840. Compare *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 531 ; *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, vol. ii. p. 788.

[206] The Hebrew notion of the rainbow is well known ; and for the ideas of other nations on this subject, see *Prichard's Physical History of Mankind*, vol. v. pp. 154, 176 ; *Kames's Sketches of the History of Man*, vol. iv. p. 252, Edinb. 1788 ; and *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. v. pp. 546, 547, Paris, 1839.

[207] Thomas calls him " le plus grand géomètre de son siècle." *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 89. Sir W. Hamilton (*Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 271) says, " the greatest mathematician of the age ; " and Montucla can find no one but Plato to compare with him : " On ne sauroit donner une idée plus juste de ce qu'a été l'époque de Descartes dans la géométrie moderne, qu'en la comparant à celle de Platon dans la géométrie ancienne. . . . De même enfin que Platon prépara par sa découverte celles des Archimède, des Apollonius, etc., on peut dire que Descartes a jetté les fondemens de celles qui illustrent aujourd'hui les Newton, les Leibnitz, etc." *Montucla, Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. p. 112.

[208] " Descartes joint encore à ses autres titres, celui d'avoir été un des créateurs de notre langue." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 154. Sir James Mackintosh (*Dissert. on Ethical Philos.* p. 186) has also noticed the influence of Descartes in forming the style of French writers ; and I think that M. Cousin has somewhere made a similar remark.

[209] Thomas says, " Descartes eut aussi la gloire d'être un des premiers anatomistes de son siècle." *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 55 ; see also p. 101. In 1639, Descartes writes to Mersenne (*Œuvres*, vol. viii. p. 100) that he had been engaged " depuis onze ans " in studying comparative anatomy by dissection. Compare p. 174, and vol. i. pp. 175–184.

[210] Dr. Whewell (*Hist. of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 440) says, " It was for the most part readily accepted by his countrymen ; but that abroad it had to encounter considerable opposition." For this no authority is quoted ; and yet one would be glad to know who told Dr. Whewell that the discovery was readily accepted. So far from meeting in England with ready acceptance, it was during many years almost universally denied. Aubrey was assured by Harvey that in consequence of his book on the Circulation of the Blood he lost much of his practice, was believed to be crackbrained, and was opposed by " all the physicians." *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. p. 383. Dr. Willis (*Life of Harvey*, p. xli., in *Harvey's Works*, edit. Sydenham Society, 1874) says, " Harvey's views were at first rejected almost universally." Dr. Elliotson (*Human Physiology*, p. 194) says, " His immediate reward was general ridicule and abuse, and a great diminution of his practice." Broussais (*Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. p. vii.) says, " Harvey passa pour fou quand il annonça la découverte de la circulation." Finally, Sir William Temple, who belongs to the generation subsequent to Harvey and

but it was at once recognized by Descartes, who made it the basis of the physiological part of his work on Man.[211] He likewise adopted the discovery of the lacteals by Aselli,[212] which, like every great truth yet laid before the world, was at its first appearance not only disbelieved but covered with ridicule.[213]

These things might have been sufficient to rescue even the physical labours of Descartes from the attacks constantly made on them by men who either have not studied his works, or else, having studied them, are unable to understand their merit. But the glory of Descartes, and the influence he exercised over his age, do not depend even on such claims as these. Putting them aside, he is the author of what is emphatically called Modern Philosophy.[214] He is the originator of that great system and method of metaphysics, which, notwithstanding its errors, has the undoubted merit of having given a wonderful impulse to the European mind, and communicated to it an activity which has been made available for other purposes of a different character. Besides this, and superior to it, there is another obligation which we are under to the memory of Descartes. He deserves the gratitude of posterity, not so much on account of what he built up, as on account of what he pulled down. His life was one great and successful warfare against the prejudices and traditions of men. He was great as a creator, but he was far greater as a destroyer. In this respect he was the true successor of Luther, to whose labours his own were the fitting supplement. He completed what the great German reformer had left undone.[215] He bore to the old systems of philosophy precisely the same relation that Luther bore to the old systems of religion. He was the great reformer and liberator of the European intellect. To prefer, therefore, even the most successful discoverers of physical laws to this great innovator and disturber of tradition, is just as if we should prefer knowledge to freedom, and believe that science is better than liberty. We must, indeed, always be grateful to those eminent thinkers to whose labours we are indebted for that vast body of physical truths which we now possess. But let us reserve the full measure of our homage for those far greater men who have not hesitated to attack and destroy the most

who indeed was not born until some years after the discovery was made, mentions it in his works in such a manner as to show that even then it was not universally received by educated men. See two curious passages, which have escaped the notice of the historians of physiology, in *Works of Sir W. Temple*, vol. iii. pp. 293, 469, 8vo, 1814.

[211] "Taken by Descartes as the basis of his physiology, in his work on Man." *Whewell's Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 441. "Réné Descartes se déclara un des premiers en faveur de la doctrine de la circulation." *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 163. See also *Bordas Demoulin, le Cartésianisme*, vol. ii. p. 324; and *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 68, 179, vol. iv. pp. 42, 449, vol. ix. pp. 159, 332. Compare *Willis's Life of Harvey*, p. xlv., in *Harvey's Works*.

[212] "Les veines blanches, dites lactées, qu'Asellius a découvertes depuis peu dans le mésentère." *De la Formation du Fœtus*, sec. 49, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iv. p. 483.

[213] Even Harvey denied it to the last. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Méd.* vol. iv. pp. 203, 204. Compare *Harvey's Works*, edit. Sydenham Soc. pp. 605, 614.

[214] M. Cousin (*Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. i. p. 39) says of Descartes, "son premier ouvrage écrit en français est de 1637. C'est donc de 1637 que date la philosophie moderne." See the same work, I. série, vol. iii. p. 77; and compare *Stewart's Philos. of the Mind*, vol. i. pp. 14, 529, with *Éloge de Parent*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. p. 444, and vol. vi. p. 318: "Cartésien, ou, si l'on veut, philosophe moderne."

[215] "Descartes avait établi dans le domaine de la pensée l'indépendance absolue de la raison; il avait déclaré à la scolastique et à la théologie que l'esprit de l'homme ne pouvait plus relever que de l'évidence qu'il aurait obtenue par lui-même. Ce que Luther avait commencé dans la religion, le génie français si actif et si prompt l'importait dans la philosophie, et l'on peut dire à la double gloire de l'Allemagne et de la France que Descartes est le fils aîné de Luther." *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 141. See also, on the philosophy of Descartes as a product of the Reformation, *Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church*, p. 498.

inveterate prejudices; men who, by removing the pressure of tradition, have purified the very source and fountain of our knowledge, and secured its future progress by casting off obstacles in the presence of which progress was impossible.[216]

It will not be expected, perhaps it will hardly be desired, that I should enter into a complete detail of the philosophy of Descartes; a philosophy which in England at least is rarely studied, and therefore is often attacked. But it will be necessary to give such an account of it as will show its analogy with the anti-theological policy of Richelieu, and will thus enable us to see the full extent of that vast movement which took place in France before the accession of Louis XIV. By this means we shall be able to understand how the daring innovations of the great minister were so successful, since they were accompanied and reinforced by corresponding innovations in the national intellect; thus affording an additional instance of the way in which the political history of every country is to be explained by the history of its intellectual progress.

In 1637, when Richelieu was at the height of his power, Descartes published that great work which he had long been meditating, and which was the first open announcement of the new tendencies of the French mind.* To this work he gave the name of a "Method;" and, assuredly, the method is the most alien to what is commonly called theology that can possibly be conceived. Indeed, so far from being theological, it is essentially and exclusively psychological. The theological method rests on ancient records, on tradition, on the voice of antiquity. The method of Descartes rests solely on the consciousness each man has of the operations of his own mind. And lest any one should mistake the meaning of this, he in subsequent works developed it at great length, and with unrivalled clearness. For his main object was to popularize the views which he put forward. Therefore, says Descartes, "I write in French rather than in Latin, because I trust that they who only employ their simple and native reason will estimate my opinions more fairly than they who only believe in ancient books."[217] So strongly does he insist upon this, that almost at the beginning of his first work he cautions his readers against the common error of looking to antiquity for knowledge; and he reminds them that "when men are too curious to know the practices of past ages, they generally remain very ignorant of their own."[218]

Indeed, so far from following the old plan of searching for truth in the records of the past, the great essential of this new philosophy is to wean ourselves from all such associations, and, beginning the acquisition of knowledge by the work of destruction, first pull down, in order that afterwards we may build up.[219] When I, says Descartes, set forth in the pursuit of truth, I found that the best way was to reject everything I had hitherto received, and pluck out all my old opinions, in order that I might lay the foundation of them afresh: believing that by this means I should more easily accomplish the great scheme of life than by building on an old basis, and supporting myself by principles which

[216] For, as Turgot finely says, "ce n'est pas l'erreur qui s'oppose aux progrès de la vérité. Ce sont la mollesse, l'entêtement, l'esprit de routine, tout ce qui porte à 'inaction." *Pensées*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. p. 343.

[217] "Et si j'écris en français, qui est la langue de mon pays, plutôt qu'en latin, qui est celle de mes précepteurs, c'est à cause que j'espère que ceux qui ne se servent que de leur raison naturelle toute pure, jugeront mieux de mes opinions que ceux qui ne croient qu'aux livres anciens." *Discours de la Méthode*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 210, 211.

[218] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 127.

[219] "Er fing also vom Zweifel an, und ging durch denselben zur Gewissheit über." *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. p. 218. Compare *Second Discours en Sorbonne*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol ii. p. 89.

* [The panegyric on Charron above (pp. 296–8) would seem to have been inserted after this section had been written.—Ed.]

I had learned in my youth, without examining if they were really true.[220] "I therefore will occupy myself freely and earnestly in effecting a general destruction of all my old opinions."[221] For, if we would know all the truths that can be known, we must in the first place free ourselves from our prejudices, and make a point of rejecting those things which we have received, until we have subjected them to a new examination.[222] We therefore must derive our opinions, not from tradition, but from ourselves. We must not pass judgment upon any subject which we do not clearly and distinctly understand; for even if such a judgment is correct, it can only be so by accident, not having solid ground on which to support itself.[223] But so far are we from this state of indifference that our memory is full of prejudices:[224] we pay attention to words rather than to things;[225] and, being thus slaves to form, there are too many of us who "believe themselves religious, when, in fact, they are bigoted and superstitious; who think themselves perfect because they go much to church, because they often repeat prayers, because they wear short hair, because they fast, because they give alms. These are the men who imagine themselves such friends of God that nothing they do displeases Him; men who, under pretence of zeal, gratify their passions by committing the greatest crimes, such as betraying towns, killing princes, exterminating nations: and all this they do to those who will not change their opinions."[226]

These were the words of wisdom which this great teacher addressed to his countrymen only a few years after they had brought to a close the last religious war that has ever been waged in France. The similarity of these views to those which about the same time were put forth by Chillingworth, must strike every reader, but ought not to excite surprise; for they were but the natural products of a state of society in which the right of private judgment, and the independence of the human reason, were first solidly established. If we examine this matter a little closer, we shall find still further proof of the analogy between France and England. So identical are the steps of the progress, that the relation which Montaigne bears to Descartes is just the same as that which Hooker bears to Chillingworth; the same in reference to the difference of time, and also in reference to the difference of opinions. The mind of Hooker was essentially sceptical; but his genius was so restrained by the prejudices of his age, that, unable to discern the supreme authority of private judgment, he hampered it by appeals to councils and to the general voice of ecclesiastical antiquity: impediments which Chillingworth, thirty years later, effectually removed. In precisely the same way, Montaigne, like Hooker, was sceptical; but like him he lived at a period when the spirit of doubt was yet young, and when the mind still trembled before the authority of the church. It is therefore no wonder that even Montaigne, who did so much for his age, should have hesitated respecting the capacity

[220] *Disc. de la Méthode*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 136.

[221] "Je m'appliquerai sérieusement et avec liberté à détruire généralement toutes mes anciennes opinions." *Méditations*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 236.

[222] *Principes de la Philosophie*, part i. sec. 75, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118; and compare vol. ii. p. 417, where he gives a striking illustration of this view.

[223] *Méditations*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 303, 304.

[224] "Nous avons rempli notre mémoire de beaucoup de préjugés." *Principes de la Philos.* part i. sec. 47, in *Œuvres*, vol. iii. p. 91.

[225] *Œuvres*, vol. iii. p. 117.

[226] "Ce qu'on peut particulièrement remarquer en ceux qui, croyant être dévots, sont seulement bigots et superstitieux, c'est à dire qui, sous ombre qu'ils vont souvent à l'église, qu'ils récitent force prières, qu'ils portent les cheveux courts, qu'ils jeûnent, qu'ils donnent l'aumône, pensent être entièrement parfaits, et s'imaginent qu'ils sont si grands amis de Dieu, qu'ils ne sauroient rien faire qui lui déplaise, et que tout ce que leur dicte leur passion est un bon zèle, bien qu'elle leur dicte quelquefois les plus grands crimes qui puissent être commis par des hommes, comme de trahir des villes, de tuer des princes, d'exterminer des peuples entiers, pour cela seul qu'ils ne suivent pas leurs opinions." *Les Passions de l'Âme*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iv. pp. 191, 195.

of men to work out for themselves great truths ; and that, pausing in the course that lay before him, his scepticism should often have assumed the form of a distrust of the human faculties.[227] Such shortcomings, and such imperfections, are merely an evidence of the slow growth of society, and of the impossibility for even the greatest thinkers to outstrip their contemporaries beyond a certain point. But with the advance of knowledge this deficiency was at length supplied; and, as the generation after Hooker brought forth Chillingworth, just so did the generation after Montaigne bring forth Descartes. Both Chillingworth and Descartes were eminently sceptical ; but their scepticism was directed, not against the human intellect, but against those appeals to authority and tradition without which it had hitherto been supposed that the intellect could not safely proceed. That this was the case with Chillingworth we have already seen. That it was likewise the case with Descartes, is if possible, still more apparent ; for that profound thinker believed, not only that the mind, by its own efforts, could root out its most ancient opinions, but that it could without fresh aid build up a new and solid system in place of the one which it had thrown down.[228]

It is this extraordinary confidence in the power of the human intellect which eminently characterizes Descartes, and has given to his philosophy that peculiar sublimity which distinguishes it from all other systems. So far from thinking that a knowledge of the external world is essential to the discovery of truth, he laid it down as a fundamental principle that we must begin by ignoring such knowledge ; [229] that the first step is to separate ourselves from the delusions of nature, and reject the evidence presented to our senses.[230] For, says Descartes, nothing is certain but thought ; nor are there any truths except those which necessarily follow from the operation of our own consciousness. We

[227] As is particularly evident in his long chapter, headed "Apologie de Raimond Sebond." *Essais de Montaigne*, livre ii. chap. xii. Paris, 1843, pp. 270–382 ; and see *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. ix. p. 455. [The "Apologie" appears to have been written while Montaigne was in the stage of recoiling from Catholic ferocity without being willing to accept either Protestant or atheistic denials of Catholic doctrine. See edit. note above, p. 295.—Ed.]

[228] He very clearly separates himself from men like Montaigne : "Non que j'imitasse pour cela les sceptiques, qui ne doutent que pour douter, et affectent d'être toujours irrésolus ; car, au contraire, tout mon dessein ne tendoit qu'à m'assurer, et à rejeter la terre mouvante et le sable pour trouver le roc ou l'argile." *Discours de la Méthode*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 153, 154.

[229] According to the view of Descartes, it was to be ignored, not denied. There is no instance to be found in his works of a denial of the existence of the external world ; nor does the passage quoted from him by Mr. Jobert (*New System of Philos.* vol. ii. pp. 161, 162, Lond. 1849) at all justify the interpretation of that ingenious writer, who confuses certainty in the ordinary sense of the word with certainty in the Cartesian sense. A similar error is made by those who suppose that his "Je pense, donc je suis" is an enthymeme ; and having taken this for granted, they turn on the great philosopher, and accuse him of begging the question! Such critics overlook the difference between a logical process and a psychological one ; and therefore they do not see that this famous sentence was the description of a mental fact, and not the statement of a mutilated syllogism. The student of the philosophy of Descartes must always distinguish between these two processes, and remember that each process has an order of proof peculiar to itself ; or at all events he must remember that such was the opinion of Descartes. Compare, on the Cartesian enthymeme, *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* I série, vol. iv. pp. 512, 513, with a note in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft, Kant's Werke*, vol. ii. pp. 323, 324. [The mistaken objection to Descartes, which Buckle here so justly repels, has probably arisen from the early vogue of the Latin translation, where the expression "cogito, *ergo* sum" does not properly convey Descartes's meaning.—Ed.]

[230] *Méditations*, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 220, 226 ; and again in the *Objections et Réponses*, *Œuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 245, 246.

have no knowledge of our soul except as a thinking substance ;[231] and it were easier for us to believe that the soul should cease to exist, than that it should cease to think.[232] And, as to man himself, what is he but the incarnation of thought ? For that which constitutes the man is not his bones, nor his flesh, nor his blood. These are the accidents, the incumbrances, the impediments of his nature. But the man himself is the thought. The invisible me, the ultimate fact of existence, the mystery of life, is this : " I am a thing that thinks." This, therefore, is the beginning and the basis of our knowledge. The thought of each man is the last element to which analysis can carry us ; it is the supreme judge of every doubt ; it is the starting-point for all wisdom.[233]

Taking our stand on this ground, we rise, says Descartes, to the perception of the existence of the Deity. For our belief in His existence is an irrefragable proof that He exists. Otherwise, whence does the belief arise ? Since nothing can come out of nothing, and since no effect can be without a cause, it follows that the idea we have of God must have an origin ; and this origin, whatever name we give it, is no other than God.[234] Thus the ultimate proof of His existence is our idea of it. Instead, therefore, of saying that we know ourselves because we believe in God, we should rather say that we believe in God because we know ourselves.[235] This is the order and precedence of things. The thought of each man is sufficient to prove His existence, and it is the only proof we can ever possess. Such, therefore, is the dignity and supremacy of the human intellect that even this, the highest of all matters, flows from it, as from its sole source.[236] Hence our religion should not be acquired by the teaching of others, but should be worked out by ourselves ; it is not to be borrowed from antiquity, but it is to be discovered by each man's mind ; it is not traditional, but personal. It is because this great truth has been neglected, that impiety has arisen. If each man were to content himself with that idea of God which is suggested by his own mind, he would attain to a true knowledge of the Divine Nature. But when, instead of confining himself to this, he mixes up with it the notions of others, his ideas become perplexed ; they contradict themselves ; and, the composition being thus confused, he often ends by denying the existence, not indeed of God, but of such a God as that in whom he has been taught to believe.[237]

[231] " Au lieu que, lorsque nous tâchons à connoître plus distinctement notre nature, nous pouvons voir que notre âme, en tant qu'elle est une substance distincte du corps, ne nous est connue que par cela seul qu'elle pense." *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iv. p. 432. Compare vol. iii. p. 96, *Principes de la Philosophie*, part i. sec. 53.

[232] " En sorte qu'il me seroit bien plus aisé de croire que l'âme cesseroit d'être quand on dit qu'elle cesse de penser, que non pas de concevoir qu'elle soit sans pensée." *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. viii. p. 574. That " the soul always thinks," is a conclusion also arrived at by Berkeley by a different process. See his subtle argument, *Principles of Human Knowledge*, part i. sec. 98, in *Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. p. 123 ; and for a curious application of this to the theory of dreaming, see *Burdach, Physiologie comme Science d'Observation*, vol. v. pp. 205, 230.

[233] *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 251, 252, 279, 293, vol. ii. pp. 252, 283.

[234] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 419 ; and at p. 420 " Or de tout cela on conclut très manifestement que Dieu existe." See also pp. 159–162, 280, 290, 291. But the simplest statement is in a letter to Mersenne (vol. viii. p. 529) ; " J'ai tiré la preuve de l'existence de Dieu de l'idée que je trouve en moi d'un être souverainement parfait."

[235] " Ainsi, quoique, de ce que je suis, je conclue avec certitude que Dieu est, je ne puis réciproquement affirmer, de ce que Dieu est, que j'existe." *Règles pour la Direction de l'Esprit*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xi. p. 274. See also *Principes de la Philosophie*, part i. sec. 7, vol. iii. p. 66.

[236] On this famous argument, which it is said was also broached by Anselm, see *King's Life of Locke*, vol. ii. p. 133 ; the Benedictine *Hist. Lit. de la France*, vol. ix. pp. 417, 418 ; *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p. 239 ; and *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. iii. p. 383.

[237] " Et certes jamais les hommes ne pourroient s'éloigner de la vraie connoissance

The mischief which these principles must have done to the old theology is very obvious.[238] Not only were they fatal, in the minds of those who received them, to many of the common dogmas—such, for instance, as that of transubstantiation,[239]—but they were likewise directly opposed to other opinions, equally indefensible, and far more dangerous. For Descartes, by founding a philosophy which rejected all authority except that of the human reason,[240] was of course led to abandon the study of final causes,[241]—an old and natural superstition by which, as we shall hereafter see, the German philosophers were long impeded, and which still hangs, though somewhat loosely, about the minds of men.[242] At the same time, by superseding the geometry of the ancients, he aided in weakening that inordinate respect with which antiquity was then regarded. In another matter, still more important, he displayed the same spirit, and met with the same success. With such energy did he attack the influence, or rather the tyranny of Aristotle, that although the opinions of that philosopher

de cette nature divine, s'ils vouloient seulement porter leur attention sur l'idée qu'ils ont de l'être souverainement parfait. Mais ceux qui mêlent quelques autres idées avec celle-là composent par ce moyen un dieu chimérique, en la nature duquel il y a des choses qui se contrarient ; et, après l'avoir ainsi composé, ce n'est pas merveille s'ils nient qu'un tel dieu, qui leur est représenté par une fausse idée, existe." *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. pp. 423, 424.

238 This is delicately but clearly indicated in an able letter from Arnaud, printed in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. ii. pp. 1–36 : see in particular pp. 31, 34. And Duclos bluntly says : "Si depuis la révolution que Descartes a commencée, les théologiens se sont éloignés des philosophes, c'est que ceux-ci ont paru ne pas respecter infiniment les théologiens. Une philosophie qui prenoit pour base le doute et l'examen devoit les effaroucher." *Duclos, Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 109.

239 On the relation of the Cartesian philosophy to the doctrine of transubstantiation, compare *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 169, 170, with *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 453 ; and the remark ascribed to Hobbes, in *Aubrey's Letters and Lives*, vol. ii. p. 626. But Hobbes, if he really made this observation, had no right to expect Descartes to become a martyr.

240 " Le caractère de la philosophie du moyen âge est la soumission à une autorité autre que la raison. La philosophie moderne ne reconnaît que l'autorité de la raison. C'est le cartésianisme qui a opéré cette révolution décisive." *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. i. pp. 258, 259.

241 " Nous rejetterons entièrement de notre philosophie la recherche des causes finales." *Principes de la Philos.* part i. sec. 28, in *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. iii. p. 81. See also part iii. sec. 3, p. 182 ; and his reply to Gassendi, in *Œuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 280, 281. Compare *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, II. série, vol. ii. p. 71, with *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. v. p. 203.

242 Dr. Whewell, for instance, says, that we must reject final causes in the inorganic sciences, but must recognize them in the organic ones ; which, in other words, simply means, that we know less of the organic world than of the inorganic, and that because we know less, we are to believe more ; for here, as everywhere else, the smaller the science the greater the superstition. *Whewell's Philos. of the Inductive Sciences*, 8vo, 1847, vol. i. pp. 620, 627, 628 ; and his *Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 430, 431. If the question were to be decided by authority, it would be enough to appeal to Bacon and Descartes, the two greatest writers on the philosophy of method in the seventeenth century, and to Auguste Comte, who is admitted by the few persons who have mastered his *Philosophie Positive*, to be the greatest in our own time. These profound and comprehensive thinkers have all rejected the study of final causes, which, as they have clearly seen, is a theological invasion of scientific rights. On the injury which this study has wrought, and on the check it has given to the advance of our knowledge, see *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anat.* Paris, 1853, vol. i. pp. 489, 493, 494, vol. ii. p. 555 ; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. i. pp. 232, 237 ; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 220 ; *Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Hist. des Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. iii. pp. 435, 436 ; *Herder, Ideen zur Gesch. der Menschheit*, vol. iii. p. 270 ; *Lawrence's Lectures on Man*, p. 36 ; and *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. i. p. 190.

were intimately interwoven with the Christian theology,[243] his authority was entirely overthrown by Descartes; and with it there perished those scholastic prejudices, for which Aristotle, indeed, was not responsible, but which, under the shelter of his mighty name, had, during several centuries, perplexed the understandings of men, and retarded the progress of their knowledge.[244]

These were the principal services rendered to civilization by one of the greatest men Europe has ever produced. The analogy between him and Richelieu is very striking, and is as complete as their relative positions would allow. The same disregard of ancient notions, the same contempt for theological interests, the same indifference to tradition, the same determination to prefer the present to the past: in a word, the same essentially modern spirit, is seen alike in the writings of Descartes and in the actions of Richelieu. What the first was to philosophy, that was the other to politics. But, while acknowledging the merits of these eminent men, it behoves us to remember that their success was the result not only of their own abilities but likewise of the general temper of their time. The nature of their labours depended on themselves; the way in which their labours were received depended on their contemporaries. Had they lived in a more superstitious age, their views would have been disregarded, or, if noticed, would have been execrated as impious novelties. In the fifteenth, or early in the sixteenth century, the genius of Descartes and of Richelieu would have lacked the materials necessary to their work; their comprehensive minds would in that state of society have found no play; they would have awakened no sympathies; their bread would have been cast upon those waters which return it not again. And it would have been well for them if, in such a case, indifference were the only penalty with which they would be visited. It would have been well if they had not paid the forfeit incurred by many of those illustrious thinkers who have vainly attempted to stem the torrent of human credulity. It would have been well if the church had not risen in her wrath,—if Richelieu had not been executed as a traitor, and Descartes burned as a heretic.

Indeed, the mere fact that two such men, occupying so conspicuous a place before the public eye, and enforcing views so obnoxious to the interests of superstition, should have lived without serious danger, and then have died peaceably in their beds,—the mere fact that this should have happened, is a decisive proof of the progress which, during fifty years, had been made by the French nation. With such rapidity were the prejudices of that great people dying away, that opinions utterly subversive of theological traditions, and fatal to the whole scheme

[243] "Auf das innigste verbunden mit der Theologie, nicht allein in den katholischen, sondern selbst auch in den protestantischen Ländern." *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. ix. p. 516. Descartes, in a letter to Mersenne (*Œuvres*, vol. vi. p. 73), writes, in 1629, "La théologie, laquelle on a tellement assujettie à Aristote, qu'il est impossible d'expliquer une autre philosophie qu'il ne semble d'abord qu'elle soit contre la foi." Compare vol. vii. p. 344, vol. viii. pp. 281, 497.

[244] Dr. Brown (*Philosophy of the Mind*, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 172) calls Descartes "that illustrious rebel, who, in overthrowing the authority of Aristotle," etc. See also *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. ii. p. 192: *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 532; and *Locke's Works*, vol. iii. p. 48. This, I need hardly say, refers to the habit of appealing to Aristotle as if he were infallible, and is very different from that respect which is naturally felt for a man who was probably the greatest of all the ancient thinkers. The difference between the Aristotelian and Cartesian systems is touched on rather hastily in *Cudworth's Intellect. Syst.* vol. i. pp. 170, 171. [The praise here given to Descartes as the "overthrower" of conventional Aristotelianism is somewhat misleading. The same credit has been claimed for Bacon before him, but impartial Baconians admit that "the Aristotelian philosophy had been effectually overturned without Bacon's aid" (*Spedding, Evenings with a Reviewer*, 1881, i. 298, citing Herschel). It is true that Aristotle was still officially paramount in France when Descartes began his work, but the process of discredit had previously been carried far by many, including Telesio and Bruno.—Ed.]

of ecclesiastical power, were with impunity advocated by Descartes,* and put in practice by Richelieu. It was now clearly seen that the two foremost men of their time could, with little or no risk, openly propagate ideas which, half a century before, it would have been accounted dangerous even for the most obscure man to whisper in the privacy of his own chamber.

Nor are the causes of this impunity difficult to understand. They are to be found in the diffusion of that sceptical spirit by which, in France as well as in England, toleration was preceded. For, without entering into details which would be too long for the limits of this Introduction, it is enough to say that French literature generally was at this period distinguished by a freedom and a boldness of inquiry, of which, England alone excepted, no example had then been seen in Europe. The generation which had listened to the teachings of Montaigne and of Charron was now succeeded by another generation, the disciples, indeed, of those eminent men, but disciples who far outstripped their masters. The result was that during the thirty or forty years which preceded the power of Louis XIV.,[245] there was not to be found a single Frenchman of note who did not share in the general feeling,—not one who did not attack some ancient dogma, or sap the foundation of some old opinion. This fearless temper was the characteristic of the ablest writers of that time ;[246] but what is still more observable is that the movement spread with such rapidity as to include in its action even those parts of society which are invariably the last to be affected by it. That spirit of doubt which is the necessary precursor of all inquiry, and therefore of all solid improvement, owes its origin to the most thinking and intellectual parts of society, and is naturally opposed by the other parts : opposed by the nobles, because it is dangerous to their interests ; opposed by the uneducated, because it attacks their prejudices. This is one of the reasons why neither the highest nor the lowest ranks are fit to conduct the government of a civilized country : since both of them, notwithstanding individual exceptions, are in the aggregate averse to those reforms which the exigencies of an advancing nation constantly require. But in France, before the middle of the seventeenth century, even these classes began to participate in the great progress ; so that not only among thoughtful men but likewise among the ignorant and the frivolous, there was seen that inquisitive and incredulous disposition which, whatever may be said against it, has at least this peculiarity, that in its absence there is no instance to be found of the establishment of those principles of toleration and of liberty, which have only been recognized with infinite difficulty, and after many a hard-fought battle against prejudices whose inveterate tenacity might almost cause them to be deemed a part of the original constitution of the human mind.[247]

[245] That is, in 1661, when Louis XIV. first assumed the government.

[246] M. Barante (*Tableau de la Littérature Française*, pp. 26, 27) notices "cette indépendance dans les idées, ce jugement audacieux de toutes choses, qu'on remarque dans Corneille, dans Mézéray, dans Balzac, dans Saint-Réal, dans Lamothe-Levayer." To these may be added Naudé, Patin, and probably Gassendi. Compare *Hallam's Literat. of Europe*, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365, with *Mackintosh's Ethical Philos.* p. 116, and *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 297, vol. ii. pp. 33, 186, 191, 242, 342, 490, 508, vol. iii. p. 87.

[247] The increase of incredulity was so remarkable, as to give rise to a ridiculous assertion, "qu'il y avoit plus de 50,000 Athées dans Paris vers l'an 1623." *Baillet, Jugemens des Savans*, Paris, 1722, 4to, vol. i. p. 185. Baillet has no difficulty in rejecting this preposterous statement (which is also noticed in *Coleridge's Literary Remains*, vol. i.

[* It should be noted that Descartes always sought anxiously to propitiate the Church. See the *Discours* (*Œuvres Choisies*, ed. Garnier, pp. 6, 17, 19, 21, 60, etc., and compare *Bouillier, Hist. de la Philos. Cartésienne*, 1854, i, 40–47, 185–6, and *Lange, Geschichte des Materialismus*, 2te Aufl. i. 202, 221). Bossuet thought his precautions excessive ; but the Jesuits sought to have the *Discours* condemned, and in the next generation Cartesian professors and curés were persecuted and exiled, or obliged to recant. (*Rambaud, Hist. de la Civ. Française*, édit. 1897, ii. 336). In 1663 Descartes' works were put upon the *Index*.—Ed.]

It is no wonder if, under these circumstances, the speculations of Descartes and the actions of Richelieu should have met with great success. The system of Descartes exercised immense influence, and soon pervaded nearly every branch of knowledge.[248] The policy of Richelieu was so firmly established that it was continued without the slightest difficulty by his immediate successor: nor was any attempt made to reverse it until that forcible and artificial reaction which, under Louis XIV., was fatal, for a time, to every sort of civil and religious liberty. The history of that reaction, and the way in which, by a counter-reaction, the French Revolution was prepared, will be related in the subsequent chapters of this volume; at present we will resume the thread of those events which took place in France before Louis XIV. assumed the government.

A few months after the death of Richelieu, Louis XIII. also died, and the crown was inherited by Louis XIV., who was then a child, and who for many years had no influence in public affairs. During his minority, the government was administered avowedly by his mother, but in reality by Mazarin; a man who, though in every point inferior to Richelieu, had imbibed something of his spirit, and who, so far as he was able, adopted the policy of that great statesman, to whom he owed his promotion.[249] He, influenced partly by the example of his predecessor, partly by his own character, and partly by the spirit of his age, showed no desire to persecute the Protestants, or to disturb them in any of the rights they then exercised.[250] His first act was to confirm the Edict of Nantes;[251] and towards the close of his life he even allowed the Protestants again to hold those synods which their own violence had been the means of interrupting.[252] Between the death of Richelieu and the accession to power of Louis XIV., there elapsed a period of nearly twenty years, during which Mazarin, with the exception of a few intervals, was at the head of the state; and in the whole of that time I have found no instance of any Frenchman being punished for his re-

p. 305; where, however, there is apparently a confusion between two different periods); but the spread of scepticism among the upper ranks and courtiers, during the reign of Louis XIII. and the minority of Louis XIV., is attested by a great variety of evidence. See *Mém. de Madame de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 52; *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 266; *Conrart, Mém.* p. 235 note; *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. vii. p. 143; *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. ii. p. 107 note.

[248] Volumes might be written on the influence of Descartes, which was seen not only in subjects immediately connected with his philosophy, but even in those apparently remote from it. Compare *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. ii. pp. 55 seq.; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 153; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. p. 238; *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. pp. 327, 332, 352, 363; *Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, vol. i. p. 263; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. pp. 285 seq.; *Huetius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, pp. 35, 295, 296, 385–389; *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 258; *Dacier, Rapport Historique*, p. 334; *Leslie's Nat. Philos.* p. 121; *Éloges*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. pp. 94, 106, 137, 197, 234, 392, vol. vi. pp. 157, 318, 449; *Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 195; *Quérard, France Lit.* vol. iii. p. 273.

[249] On the connexion between Richelieu and Mazarin, see *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiii. pp. 400, 530; and a curious though perhaps apocryphal anecdote in *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. ii. pp. 231, 232. In 1636 there was noticed "l'étroite union" between Richelieu and Mazarin. *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. viii. part ii. p. 187.

[250] "Mazarin n'avoit ni fanatisme ni esprit persécuteur." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiv. p. 531. That he did not persecute the Protestants is grudgingly confessed in *Felice's Hist. of the Protestants of France*, p. 292. See also *Smedley's Reformed Religion in France*, vol. iii. p. 222.

[251] He confirmed it in July, 1643. See *Benoist, Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, vol. iii. appendix, p. 3; and *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. i. p. ciii.

[252] In 1659, there was assembled the Synod of Loudun, the moderator of which said, "It is now fifteen years since we had a national synod." *Quick's Synodicon in Gallia*, vol. ii. p. 517.

ligion.* Indeed, the new government, so far from protecting the church by repressing heresy, displayed that indifference to ecclesiastical interests which was now becoming a settled maxim of French policy. Richelieu, as we have already seen, had taken the bold step of placing Protestants at the head of the royal armies; and this he had done upon the simple principle that one of the first duties of a statesman is to employ for the benefit of the country the ablest men he can find, without regard to their theological opinions, with which, as he well knew, no government had any concern. But Louis XIII., whose personal feelings were always opposed to the enlightened measures of his great minister, was offended by this magnanimous disregard of ancient prejudices; his piety was shocked at the idea of Catholic soldiers being commanded by heretics; and, as we are assured by a well-informed contemporary, he determined to put an end to this scandal to the church, and for the future allow no Protestant to receive the staff of marshal of France.[253] Whether the king, if he had lived, would have carried his point, is doubtful;[254] but what is certain is that only four months after his death, this appointment of marshal was bestowed upon Turenne, the most able of all the Protestant generals.[255] And in the very next year, Gassion, another Protestant, was raised to the same dignity; thus affording the strange spectacle of the highest military power in a great Catholic country wielded by two men against whose religion the church was never weary of directing her anathemas.[256] In a similar spirit, Mazarin, on mere grounds of political expediency, concluded an intimate alliance with Cromwell; an usurper who, in the opinion of the theologians, was doomed to perdition, since he was soiled by the triple crime of rebellion, of heresy, and of regicide.[257] Finally, one of the last acts of this pupil of Richelieu's[258] was to sign the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees, by which ecclesiastical interests were seriously weakened, and

[253] Brienne records the determination of the king, "que cette dignité ne seroit plus accordée à des protestans." *Sismondi, Histoire des Français*, vol. xxiv. p. 65.

[254] He was so uneasy about the sin he had committed, that just before his death he entreated the Protestant marshals to change their creed: "Il ne voulut pas mourir sans avoir exhorté de sa propre bouche les maréchaux de la Force et de Chatillon à se faire Catholiques." *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. ii. p. 612. The same circumstance is mentioned by Le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. x. part ii. p. 785.

[255] Louis XIII. died in May, 1643, and Turenne was made marshal in the September following. *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. pp. 148, 151.

[256] Sismondi (*Hist. des Français*, vol. xxiv. p. 65) makes the appointment of Gassion in 1644; according to Montglat (*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 437) it was at the end of 1643. There are some singular anecdotes of Gassion in *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, vol. v. pp. 167–180; and an account of his death in *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 290, from which it appears that he remained a Protestant to the last.

[257] The Pope especially was offended by this alliance (*Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 158, compared with *Vaughan's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 343, vol. ii. p. 124); and, judging from the language of Clarendon, the orthodox party in England was irritated by it. *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, pp. 699, 700. Contemporary notices of this union between the cardinal and the regicide will be found in *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 349; *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. ii. p. 478, vol. iii. p. 23; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. ii. pp. 183, 302, 426; *Marchand, Dict. Historique*, vol. ii. p. 56; *Mem. of Sir Philip Warwick*, p. 377; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. p. 393.

[258] De Retz (*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 59), who knew Richelieu, calls Mazarin "son disciple." And at p. 65 he adds, "comme il marchoit sur les pas du cardinal de Richelieu, qui avoit achevé de détruire toutes les anciennes maximes de l'état." Compare *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 18; and *Mém. de la Rochefoucauld*, vol. i. p. 444.

[* It is noteworthy that in 1665, four years after the death of Mazarin, Claude le Petit was burned at the stake in the Place de Grève for blasphemy against the Virgin. See the *Avertissement* to Bibliophile Jacob's ed. of *Paris ridicule et burlesque au 17ième siècle*.—ED.]

great injury inflicted on him who was still considered to be the head of the church.[259]

But the circumstance for which the administration of Mazarin is most remarkable, is the breaking out of that great civil war called the Fronde, in which the people attempted to carry into politics the insubordinate spirit which had already displayed itself in literature and in religion. Here we cannot fail to note the similarity between this struggle and that which, at the same time, was taking place in England. It would, indeed, be far from accurate to say that the two events were the counterpart of each other; but there can be no doubt that the analogy between them is very striking. In both countries, the civil war was the first popular expression of what had hitherto been rather a speculative, and, so to say, a literary scepticism. In both countries, incredulity was followed by rebellion,* and the abasement of the clergy preceded the humiliation of the crown; for Richelieu was to the French church what Elizabeth had been to the English church. In both countries there now first arose that great product of civilization, a free press, which showed its liberty by pouring forth those fearless and innumerable works which mark the activity of the age.[260] In both countries, the struggle was between retrogression and progress; between those who clung to tradition, and those who longed for innovation; while in both the contest assumed the external form of a war between king and parliament, the king being the organ of the past, the parliament the representative of the present. And, not to mention inferior similarities, there was one other point of vast importance in which these two great events coincide. This is, that both of them were eminently secular, and arose from the desire not of propagating religious opinions, but of securing civil liberty. The temporal character of the English rebellion I have already noticed, and, indeed, it must be obvious to whoever has studied the evidence in its original sources. In France, not only do we find the same result, but we can even mark the stages

[259] On the open affront to the Pope by this treaty, see *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 159: "An dem pyrenäischen Frieden nahm er auch nicht einmal mehr einen scheinbaren Antheil: man vermied es seine Abgeordneten zuzulassen: kaum wurde seiner noch darin gedacht." The consequences and the meaning of all this are well noticed by M. Ranke.

[260] "La presse jouissait d'une entière liberté pendant les troubles de la Fronde, et le public prenait un tel intérêt aux débats politiques, que les pamphlets se débitaient quelquefois au nombre de huit et dix mille exemplaires." *Sainte-Aulaire, Hist. de la Fronde*, vol. i. p. 299. Tallemant des Réaux, who wrote immediately after the Fronde, says (*Historiettes*, vol. iv. p. 74), "Durant la Fronde, qu'on imprimoit tout." And Omer Talon, with the indignation natural to a magistrate, mentions that in 1649 "toutes sortes de libelles et de diffamations se publioient hautement par la ville sans permission du magistrat." *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. p. 466. For further evidence of the great importance of the press in France in the middle of the seventeenth century, see *Mém. de Lenet*, vol. i. p. 162; *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 288, 289; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 432, vol. ii. p. 517; *Monteil, Hist. des divers États*, vol. vii. p. 175.

In England, the Long Parliament succeeded to the licensing authority of the Star-chamber (*Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 152); but it is evident from the literature of that time that for a considerable period the power was in reality in abeyance. Both parties attacked each other freely through the press; and it is said, that between the breaking out of the civil war and the restoration, there were published from 30,000 to 50,000 pamphlets. *Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus*, 1731, 4to, pp. iii. 557; *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 4; *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, p. 449. See also, on this great movement of the press, *Bates's Account of the late Troubles*, part i. p. 78; *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, p. 4; *Howell's Letters*, p. 354; *Hunt's Hist. of Newspapers*, vol. i. p. 45; *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 81; *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iv. pp. 86, 102.

[* It seems impossible to make good this account of the process. "Incredulity" was scarcely more concerned in the rebellions in question than in those of previous centuries. — Ed.]

of the progress. In the middle of the sixteenth century, and immediately after the death of Henry III., the French civil wars were caused by religious disputes, and were carried on with the fervour of a crusade. Early in the seventeenth century hostilities again broke out; but though the efforts of the government were directed against the Protestants, this was not because they were heretics, but because they were rebels: the object being, not to punish an opinion, but to control a faction. This was the first great stage in the history of toleration; and it was accomplished, as we have already seen, during the reign of Louis XIII. That generation passing away, there arose in the next age the wars of the Fronde; and in this, which may be called the second stage of the French intellect, the alteration was still more remarkable. For in the meantime the principles of the great sceptical thinkers, from Montaigne to Descartes, had produced their natural fruit, and, becoming diffused among the educated classes, had influenced, as they always will do, not only those by whom they were received, but also those by whom they were rejected. Indeed, a mere knowledge of the fact that the most eminent men have thrown doubt on the popular opinions of an age, can never fail in some degree to disturb the convictions even of those by whom the doubts are ridiculed.[261] In such cases, none are entirely safe: the firmest belief is apt to become slightly unsettled; those who outwardly preserve the appearance of orthodoxy, often unconsciously waver; they cannot entirely resist the influence of superior minds, nor can they always avoid an unwelcome suspicion that when ability is on one side, and ignorance on the other, it is barely possible that the ability may be right, and the ignorance may be wrong.

Thus it fell out in France. In that country, as in every other, when theological convictions diminished, theological animosities subsided. Formerly religion had been the cause of war, and had also been the pretext under which it was conducted. Then there came a time when it ceased to be the cause; but so slow is the progress of society, that it was still found necessary to set it up as the pretext.[262] Finally, there came the great days of the Fronde, in which it was neither cause nor pretext;[263] and in which there was seen, for the first time in France, an arduous struggle by human beings avowedly for human purposes; a war waged by men who sought, not to enforce their opinions, but to increase their liberty. And, as if to make this change still more striking, the most eminent leader of the insurgents was the Cardinal de Retz; a man of vast ability, but whose contempt for his profession was notorious,[264] and of

[261] Dugald Stewart (*Philos. of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 357) says, "Nothing can be more just than the observation of Fontenelle, that 'the number of those who believe in a system already established in the world, does not in the least add to its credibility; but that the number of those who doubt of it, has a tendency to diminish it.'" Compare with this *Newman on Development*, Lond. 1845, p. 31; and the remark of Hylas in *Berkeley's Works*, edit. 1843, vol. i. pp. 151, 152, first dialogue.

[262] Compare *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 293, with a remarkable passage in *Mém. de Rohan*, vol. i. p. 317; where Rohan contrasts the religious wars he was engaged in during the administration of Richelieu, with those very different wars which had been waged in France a little earlier.

[263] "L'esprit religieux ne s'était mêlé en aucune manière aux querelles de la Fronde," *Capefigue*, vol. ii. p. 434. Lenet, who had great influence with what was called the party of the princes, says that he always avoided any attempt "à faire aboutir notre parti à une guerre de religion." *Mém. de Lenet*, vol. i. p. 319. Even the people said that it was unimportant whether or not a man died a Protestant; but that if he were a partizan of Mazarin, he was sure to be damned: "Ils disoient qu'étant mazarin, il falloit qu'il fût damné." *Lenet*, vol. i. p. 434.

[264] Indeed, he does not conceal this even in his memoirs. He says (*Mém.* vol. i. p. 3), he had "l'âme peut-être la moins ecclésiastique qui fût dans l'univers." At p. 13, "le chagrin que ma profession ne laissoit pas de nourrir toujours dans le fonds de mon âme." At p. 21, "je haïssois ma profession plus que jamais." At p. 48, "le clergé, qui donne toujours l'exemple de la servitude, la prêchoit aux autres sous le titre d'obéis-

whom a great historian has said, " he is the first bishop in France who carried on a civil war without making religion the pretence." [265]

We have thus seen that during the seventy years which succeeded the accession of Henry IV., the French intellect developed itself in a manner remarkably similar to that which took place in England. We have seen that in both countries the mind, according to the natural conditions of its growth, first doubted what it had long believed, and then tolerated what it had long hated. That this was by no means an accidental or capricious combination is evident, not only from general arguments, and from the analogy of the two countries, but also from another circumstance of great interest. This is, that the order of events, and as it were their relative proportions, were the same, not only in reference to the increase of toleration, but also in reference to the increase of literature and science. In both countries, the progress of knowledge bore the same ratio to the decline of ecclesiastical influence, although they manifested that ratio at different periods. We had begun to throw off our superstitions somewhat earlier than the French were able to do; and thus, being the first in the field, we anticipated that great people in producing a secular literature. Whoever will take the pains to compare the growth of the French and English minds, will see that, in all the most important departments, we were the first, I do not say in merit, but in the order of time. In prose, in poetry, and in every branch of intellectual excellence, it will be found, on comparison, that we were before the French nearly a whole generation; and that, chronologically, the same proportion was preserved as that between Bacon and Descartes, Hooker and Pascal,[266] Shakespeare and Corneille, Massinger and Racine, Ben Jonson and Molière, Harvey and Pecquet. These eminent men were all justly celebrated in their respective countries; and it would perhaps be invidious to institute a comparison between them. But what we have here to observe is that among those who cultivated the same department, the greatest Englishman, in every instance, preceded the greatest Frenchman by many years. This difference, running as it does through all the leading topics, is far too regular to be considered accidental. And as few Englishmen of the present day will be so presumptuous as to suppose that we possess any native and inherent superiority over the French, it is evident that there must be some marked peculiarity in which the two countries differed, and which has produced this difference, not in their knowledge, but in the time at which their knowledge appeared. Nor does the discovery of this peculiarity require much penetration. For, notwithstanding that the French were more tardy than the English, still, when the development had fairly begun, the antecedents of its success were among both people precisely the same. It is therefore clear, according to the commonest principles of inductive reasoning, that the lateness of the development must be owing to the lateness of the antecedent. It is clear that the French

sance." See also the remark of his great friend Joly (*Mém. de Joly*, p. 209, édit. Petitot, 1825); and the account given by Tallemant des Réaux, who knew De Retz well, and had travelled with him, *Historiettes*, vol. vii. pp. 18–30. The same tendency is illustrated, though in a much smaller degree, by a conversation which Charles II., when in exile, held with De Retz, and which is preserved in *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 806, and is worth consulting merely as an instance of the purely secular view that De Retz always took of political affairs.

[265] " Cet homme singulier est le premier évêque en France qui ait fait une guerre civile sans avoir la religion pour prétexte." *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 261.

[266] Hooker and Pascal may properly be classed together, as the two most sublime theological writers either country has produced: for Bossuet is as inferior to Pascal as Jeremy Taylor is inferior to Hooker. [The passage in the text would seem to have been penned before the sections above which deal with Montaigne and Charron. It will not bear examination. We may just as well frame a counter order of Bodin-Montaigne-Hooker. Charron-Bacon, Descartes-Hobbes-Locke, to say nothing of Rabelais. The dramatic sequence is wholly beside the case.—Ed.]

knew less because they believed more.[267] It is clear that their progress was checked by the prevalence of those feelings which are fatal to all knowledge,* because, looking on antiquity as the sole receptacle of wisdom, they degrade the present in order that they may exaggerate the past: feelings which destroy the prospects of man, stifle his hopes, damp his curiosity, chill his energies, impair his judgment, and, under pretence of humbling the pride of his reason, seek to throw him back into that more than midnight darkness from which his reason alone has enabled him to emerge.

The analogy thus existing between France and England is indeed very striking, and, so far as we have yet considered it, seems complete in all its parts. To sum up the similarities in a few words, it may be said that both countries followed the same order of development in their scepticism, in their knowledge, in their literature, and in their toleration. In both countries there broke out a civil war at the same time, for the same object, and, in many respects, under the same circumstances. In both, the insurgents, at first triumphant, were afterwards defeated†; and the rebellion being put down, the governments of the two nations were fully restored almost at the same moment: in 1660 by Charles II.; in 1661 by Louis XIV.[268] But there the similarity stopped. At this point there began a marked divergence between the two countries;[269] which continued to increase for more than a century, until it ended in England by the consolidation of the national prosperity, in France by a revolution more sanguinary, more complete, and more destructive, than any the world has ever seen. This difference between the fortunes of such great and civilized nations is so remarkable, that a knowledge of its causes becomes essential to a right understanding of European history, and will be found to throw considerable light on other events not immediately connected with it. Besides this, such an inquiry, independently of its scientific interest, will have a high practical value. It will show, what men seem only recently to have begun to understand, that in politics, no certain principles having yet been discovered, the first conditions of success are compromise, barter, expediency, and concession. It will show the utter helplessness even of the ablest rulers, when they try to meet new emergencies by old maxims. It will show the intimate connexion between knowledge and liberty; between an increasing civilization and an advancing democracy. It will show that for a progressive nation there is required a progressive polity; that, within certain limits, innovation is the sole ground of security; that no institution can withstand the flux and move-

[267] One of the most remarkable men they have ever possessed notices this connexion, which he expresses conversely, but with equal truth: "moins on sait, moins on doute; moins on a découvert, moins on voit ce qui reste à découvrir. . . . Quand les hommes sont ignorans, il est aisé de tout savoir." *Discours en Sorbonne*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. pp. 65, 70.

[268] Mazarin, until his death in 1661, exercised complete authority over Louis. See *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. pp. 318, 319; and *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 195: so that, as Montglat says (*Mém.* vol. iii. p. 111), "On doit appeler ce temps-là le commencement du règne de Louis XIV." The pompous manner in which, directly after the death of Mazarin, the king assumed the government, is related by Brienne, who was present. *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. ii. pp. 154–158.

[269] By this I mean, that the divergence now first became clear to every observer; but the origin of the divergence dates from a much earlier period, as we shall see in the next chapter.

[* Above, *note* 210, Buckle had pointed out that whereas the discovery of Harvey was long rejected in England, Descartes took it up at once. He also pointed out that both Montaigne and Descartes had a great French influence. The formula "knew less because they believed more" thus fails to consist with the previous narrative. Much of the scientific impetus in England after the Restoration came from the writings of Descartes.—Ed.]

[† This account of the English rebellion is a slip of the pen. The proper statement would be that the *cause* of the rebels ultimately failed.—Ed.]

ments of society, unless it not only repairs its structure, but also widens its entrance ; and that, even in a material point of view, no country can long remain either prosperous or safe, in which the people are not gradually extending their power, enlarging their privileges, and, so to say, incorporating themselves with the functions of the state.

The tranquillity of England, and her freedom from civil war, are to be ascribed to the recognition of these great truths ; [270] while the neglect of them has entailed upon other countries the most woeful calamities. On this account, therefore, if on no other, it becomes interesting to ascertain how it was that the two nations we have been comparing should, in regard to these truths, have adopted views diametrically opposite, although in other matters their opinions, as we have already seen, were very similar. Or, to state the question in other words, we have to inquire how it was that the French, after pursuing precisely the same course as the English, in their knowledge, in their scepticism, and in their toleration, should have stopped short in their politics ; how it was that their minds, which had effected such great things, should nevertheless have been so unprepared for liberty that in spite of the heroic efforts of the Fronde they not only fell under the despotism of Louis XIV. but never even cared to resist it ; and, at length, becoming slaves in their souls as well as in their bodies, they grew proud of a condition which the meanest Englishman would have spurned as an intolerable bondage.*

The cause of this difference is to be sought in the existence of that spirit of protection which is so dangerous and yet so plausible, that it forms the most serious obstacle with which advancing civilization has to contend. This, which may truly be called an evil spirit, has always been far stronger in France than in England. Indeed, among the French it continues, even to the present day, to produce the most mischievous results. It is, as I shall hereafter point out, intimately connected with that love of centralization which appears in the machinery of their government, and in the spirit of their literature. It is this which induces them to retain restrictions by which their trade has long been troubled, and to preserve monopolies which, in our country, a freer system has effectually destroyed. It is this which causes them to interfere with the natural relation between producers and consumers ; to force into existence manufactures which otherwise would never arise, and which for that very reason are not required ; to disturb the ordinary march of industry, and, under pretence of protecting their native labourers, diminish the produce of labour by diverting it from those profitable channels into which its own instincts always compel it to flow.

When the protective principle is carried into trade, these are its inevitable results. When it is carried into politics, there is formed what is called a paternal government, in which supreme power is vested in the sovereign, or in a few privileged classes. When it is carried into theology, it produces a powerful church and a numerous clergy, who are supposed to be the necessary guardians of religion, and every opposition to whom is resented as an insult to the public morals. These are the marks by which protection may be recognized ; and, from a very early period, they have displayed themselves in France much more clearly than in England. Without pretending to discover their precise origin, I will, in the next chapter, endeavour to trace them back to a time sufficiently remote to explain some of the discrepancies which, in this respect, existed between the two countries.

[270] That is to say, their practical recognition ; theoretically, they are still denied by innumerable politicians, who, nevertheless, assist in carrying them into effect, fondly hoping that each innovation will be the last, and enticing men into reform under the pretext that by each change they are returning to the spirit of the ancient British constitution.

[* An extravagant assertion. There were many Englishmen ready to accept tyranny under James II., as Buckle has already shown.—Ed.]

Note to p. 336. Descartes died in Sweden on a visit to Christina; so that, strictly speaking, there is an error in the text. But this does not affect the argument; because the works of Descartes being eagerly read in France, and not being prohibited, we must suppose that his person would have been safe, had he remained in his own country. To burn a heretic is a more decisive step than to suppress a book; and as the French clergy were not strong enough to effect the latter, it is hardly likely that they could have accomplished the former. [See edit. note on p. 337 as to the matter of prohibition. Buckle does not here note that Descartes lived long out of France—"heureusement pour sa tranquillité," says M. Rambaud. (In his letter to Mrs. Gray (*Life*, i. 139), who put the point to him, Buckle hesitates on the subject; but Voltaire had explicitly written (*Siècle de Louis XIV : Catalogue des Écrivains*) that Descartes "passa presque toute sa vie hors de France pour philosopher en liberté." In Holland, despite his precautions, Descartes was much talked against by clerical fanatics, till at length he had to withdraw. (See details in *Kuno Fischer's Descartes and his School*, Eng. tr. 1890, B. i. c. 6). The immunity of his works in France was probably in large measure due to the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin.—Ed.]

CHAPTER IX

History of the Protective Spirit, and Comparison of it in France and England

When, towards the end of the fifth century, the Roman empire was broken up, there followed, as is well known, a long period of ignorance and of crime, in which even the ablest minds were immersed in the grossest superstitions. During these, which are rightly called the Dark Ages, the clergy were supreme: they ruled the consciences of the most despotic sovereigns, and they were respected as men of vast learning, because they alone were able to read and write; because they were the sole depositaries of those idle conceits of which European science then consisted; and because they preserved the legends of the saints and the lives of the fathers, from which, as it was believed, the teachings of divine wisdom might easily be gathered.

Such was the degradation of the European intellect for about five hundred years, during which the credulity of men reached a height unparalleled in the annals of ignorance. But at length the human reason, that divine spark which even the most corrupt society is unable to extinguish, began to display its power,* and disperse the mists by which it was surrounded. Various circumstances, which it would be tedious here to discuss, caused this dispersion to take place at different times in different countries. However, speaking generally, we may say that it occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and that by the twelfth century there was no nation now called civilized upon whom the light had not begun to dawn.†

It is from this point that the first great divergence between the European nations took its rise. Before this time their superstition was so great and universal that it would avail little to measure the degree of their relative darkness. Indeed, so low had they fallen that during the earlier period the authority of the clergy was in many respects an advantage, as forming a barrier between the people and their rulers, and as supplying the sole instance of a class that even made an approach to intellectual pursuits. But, when the great movement took place, when the human reason began to rebel, the position of the clergy was suddenly changed.‡ They had been friendly to reasoning as long

[* It is scarcely sufficient, on Buckle's principles, thus to allege a vital process without hinting at its causation. This, however, cannot be adequately done in a footnote; and it must suffice to specify (1) the preservation of some Greek scholarship in the Christian monasteries of Ireland, making possible a southward movement of letters in the eighth and ninth centuries; (2) the contacts of Christendom with Greek-derived Saracen culture on the side of Spain and Sicily; (3) the germination of the remains of Greek and Roman arts and culture in the free cities of the Italian coast and others, after the control of the Byzantine empire had fallen away, and the Italian cities were allowed by the Teutonic emperors to wall and defend themselves against Saracens and Huns.—Ed.]

[† This opinion, it will be observed, in part cancels that discussed above, p. 119.—Ed.]

[‡ We should clearly read "began to change." There can have been no "sudden change" in the position of the entire body of clergy.—Ed.]

as the reasoning was on their side.[1] While they were the only guardians of knowledge, they were eager to promote its interests. Now, however, it was falling from their hands: it was becoming possessed by laymen: it was growing dangerous: it must be reduced to its proper dimensions. Then it was that there first became general * the inquisitions, the imprisonments, the torturings, the burnings, and all the other contrivances by which the church vainly attempted to stem the tide that had turned against her.[2] From that moment there has been an unceasing struggle between these two great parties—the advocates of inquiry and the advocates of belief; a struggle which, however it may be disguised, and under whatever forms it may appear, is at bottom always the same, and represents the opposite interests of reason and faith, of scepticism and credulity, of progress and reaction, of those who hope for the future, and of those who cling to the past.

This, then, is the great starting-point of modern civilization. From the moment that reason began, however faintly, to assert its supremacy, the improvement of every people has depended upon their obedience to its dictates, and upon the success with which they have reduced to its standard the whole of their actions. To understand, therefore, the original divergence of France and England, we must seek it in the circumstances that took place when this, which may be called the great rebellion of the intellect, was first clearly seen.

If now, with a view to such inquiry, we examine the history of Europe, we shall find that just at this period there sprung up the feudal system; a vast scheme of polity, which, clumsy and imperfect as it was, supplied many of the

[1] "Toute influence qu'on accordait à la science ne pouvait, dans les premiers temps, qu'être favorable au clergé." *Meyer, Institut. Judic.* vol. i. p. 498.

[2] Early in the eleventh century the clergy first began systematically to repress independent inquiries by punishing men who attempted to think for themselves. Compare *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iv. pp. 145, 146; *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. vi. pp. 365, 366; *Prescott's Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 261 note. Before this, such a policy, as Sismondi justly observes, was not required: "Pendant plusieurs siècles, l'église n'avoit été troublée par aucune hérésie; l'ignorance étoit trop complète, la soumission trop servile, la foi trop aveugle, pour que les questions qui avoient si longtemps exercé la subtilité des Grecs fussent seulement comprises par les Latins." As knowledge advanced, the opposition between inquiry and belief became more marked: the church redoubled her efforts, and at the end of the twelfth century the popes first formally called on the secular power to punish heretics; and the earliest constitution addressed "inquisitoribus hæreticæ pravitatis" is one by Alexander IV. *Meyer, Inst. Jud.* vol. ii. pp. 554, 556. See also, on this movement, *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. p. 125, vol. iv. p. 284. In 1222 a synod assembled at Oxford caused an apostate to be burned; and this, says Lingard (*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 148), "is, I believe, the first instance of capital punishment in England on the ground of religion." Compare *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 444. [The statement of Sismondi is an oversight. In the ninth century there figured the heresies of (1) Claudius, Bishop of Turin, who opposed image-worship, saint-worship, and the Papal claims, and called a council of bishops which condemned him "an assembly of asses"; (2) Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, a still more rationalistic type, who went so far as to dispute the verbal inspiration of the sacred books; (3) the monk Gottschalk, whose offence was to teach a rigid predestinarianism; and (4) the greatest thinker of the Middle Ages, John Scotus (otherwise Erigena), who, on being requested by Archbishop Hincmar to refute the errors of Gottschalk, set forth far more formidable heresies of his own. (As to all four, see *Poole, Illustrations of Medieval Thought*, 1884.) Even in the eighth century, the Irishman Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, affirmed the (heretical) doctrine of an antipodes (*Poole*, p. 23); and in the tenth century, though there were no notable heretics, Atto, Bishop of Verceil, is found complaining that some people from the Italian border had introduced heresies.—Ed.]

[* This phrase again must be modified. We should read "began to become general." —Ed.]

wants of the rude people among whom it arose.[3] The connexion between it and the decline of the ecclesiastical spirit is very obvious. For the feudal system was the first great secular plan that had been seen in Europe since the formation of the civil law: it was the first comprehensive attempt which had been made, during more than four hundred years, to organize society according to temporal, not according to spiritual circumstances, the basis of the whole arrangement being merely the possession of land, and the performance of certain military and pecuniary services.[4]

This was, no doubt, a great step in European civilization, because it set the first example of a large public polity in which the spiritual classes as such had no recognized place;[5] and hence there followed that struggle between feudality and the church which has been observed by several writers, but the origin of which has been strangely overlooked. What, however, we have now to notice is that by the establishment of the feudal system the spirit of protection, far from being destroyed, was probably not even weakened, but only assumed a new form. Instead of being spiritual, it became temporal. Instead of men looking up to the church, they looked up to the nobles. For, as a necessary consequence of this vast movement, or rather as a part of it, the great possessors of land were now being organized into an hereditary aristocracy.[6] In the tenth

[3] Sir F. Palgrave (*English Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. ccvi.) says, "It is generally admitted, by the best authorities, that from about the eleventh century benefices acquired the name of fiefs or feuds;" and Robertson (*State of Europe*, note viii. in *Works*, p. 393) supposes that the word *feudum* does not occur before 1008. But according to M. Guizot (*Civilisation en France*, vol. iii. p. 238), "il apparaît, pour la première fois, dans une charte de Charles le Gros en 884." This is a question more curious than important; since whatever the origin of the word may be, it is certain that the thing did not and could not exist before the tenth century at the earliest: inasmuch as the extreme disorganization of society rendered so coercive an institution impossible. M. Guizot, in another work (*Essais sur l'Hist. de France*, p. 239) rightly says, "Au X^e^ siècle seulement, les rapports et les pouvoirs sociaux acquirent quelque fixité." See also his *Civilisation en Europe*, p. 90. [It is well to realize, however, that the feudal system did not "spring up," but represents the final stage of a process which began under the Frankish conquerors of Gaul. For a good view of the process, embodying the results of Guizot, Hallam, and Stubbs, see Professor Abdy's *Lectures on Feudalism*, 1890, lect. v.–vii. Comp. the editor's *Introduction to English Politics*, p. 193; and Buckle's own extracts (in the *Miscel. Works*, abr. ed. ii 394,) from *Lockhart's Life of Scott*.—Ed.]

[4] "La terre est tout dans ce système. . . . Le système féodal est comme une religion de la terre." *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 302. "Le caractère de la féodalité, c'était la prédominance de la *réalité* sur la *personnalité*, de la terre sur l'homme." *Eschbach, Étude du Droit*, p. 256.

[5] According to the social and political arrangements from the fourth to the tenth century, the clergy were so eminently a class apart, that they were freed from "burdens of the state," and were not obliged to engage in military services unless they thought proper to do so. See *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 195, vol. v. pp. 133, 140; and *Petrie's Ecclesiast. Archit.* p. 382. But under the feudal system, this immunity was lost; and in regard to performing services no separation of classes was admitted. "After the feudal polity became established, we do not find that there was any dispensation for ecclesiastical fiefs." *Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, p. 120; and for further proof of the loss of the old privileges, compare *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 5, 64; *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. i. p. 257; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 462; and *Mably's Observations*, vol. i. pp. 434, 435: so that, as this writer says, p. 215, "Chaque seigneur laïc avait gagné personnellement à la révolution qui forma le gouvernement féodal; mais les évêques et les abbés, en devenant souverains dans leurs terres, perdirent au contraire beaucoup de leur pouvoir et de leur dignité."

[6] The great change of turning life-possessions of land into hereditary possessions began late in the ninth century, being initiated in France by a capitulary of Charles the Bald, in 877. See *Allen on the Prerogative*, p. 210; *Spence's Origin of the Laws of Europe*, pp. 282, 301; *Meyer, Instit. Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. 206.

century we find the first surnames:[7] by the eleventh century most of the great offices had become hereditary in the leading families:[8] and in the twelfth century armorial bearings were invented, as well as other heraldic devices which long nourished the conceit of the nobles, and were valued by their descendants as marks of that superiority of birth to which, during many ages, all other superiority was considered subordinate.[9]

Such was the beginning of the European aristocracy, in the sense in which that word is commonly used. With the consolidation of its power, feudality was made, in reference to the organization of society, the successor of the church;[10] and the nobles, becoming hereditary, gradually displaced in government, and in the general functions of authority, the clergy among whom the opposite principle of celibacy was now firmly established.[11] It is therefore evident that an inquiry into the origin of the modern protective spirit does in a great measure resolve itself into an inquiry into the origin of the aristocratic power; since that power was the exponent, and as it were the cover, under which the spirit displayed itself. This, as we shall hereafter see, is likewise connected with the great religious rebellion of the sixteenth century: the success of which mainly depended on the weakness of the protective principle that opposed it. But, reserving this for future consideration, I will now endeavour to trace a few of the circumstances which gave the aristocracy more power in France than in England, and thus accustomed the French * to a closer and more constant obedience, and infused into them a more reverential spirit than that which was usual in our country.

Soon after the middle of the eleventh century, and therefore while the aristocracy was in the process of formation, England was conquered by the Duke

[7] That surnames first arose in the tenth century is stated by the most competent authorities. See *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. pp. 452–455; *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 138; *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. iii. p. 268; *Petrie's Ecclesiast. Archit.* pp. 277, 342. Koch (*Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 138) erroneously says, "c'est pareillement aux croisades que l'Europe doit l'usage des surnoms de famille"; a double mistake, both as to the date and the cause, since the introduction of surnames, being part of a large social movement, can under no circumstances be ascribed to a single event. [The crusades *were* a large social movement, and not a "single event;" and it is clear that they would greatly promote among those who shared in them the use of family surnames.—Ed.]

[8] On this process from the end of the ninth to the twelfth century, compare *Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, pp. 97, 98; *Dalrymple's Hist. of Feudal Property*, p. 21; *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 74.

[9] As to the origin of armorial bearings, which cannot be traced higher than the twelfth century, see *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. pp. 138, 139; *Ledwich, Antiquities of Ireland*, pp. 231, 232; *Origines du Droit*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 382.

[10] For, as Lerminier says (*Philos. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 17), "la loi féodale n'est autre chose que la terre élevée à la souveraineté." On the decline of the church in consequence of the increased feudal and secular spirit, see *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 440, vol. iv. p. 88. In our country, one fact may be mentioned illustrative of the earliest encroachments of laymen: namely, that before the twelfth century we find no instance in England of the great seal being intrusted "to the keeping of a layman." *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 61.

[11] Celibacy, on account of its supposed ascetic tendency, was advocated, and in some countries was enforced, at an early period; but the first general and decisive movement in its favour was in the middle of the eleventh century, before which time it was a speculative doctrine, constantly disobeyed. See *Neander's Hist of the Church*, vol. vi. pp. 52, 61, 62, 72, 93, 94 note, vol. vii. pp. 127–131; *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 248, 249; *Eccleston's English Antiq.* p. 95

[* *I.e.* the non-aristocratic French. Buckle's use of the expression "the French" is often unduly lax.—Ed.]

of Normandy, who naturally introduced the polity existing in his own country.[12] But in his hands it underwent a modification suitable to the new circumstances in which he was placed. He, being in a foreign country, the general of a successful army composed partly of mercenaries,[13] was able to dispense with some of those feudal usages which were customary in France. The great Norman lords, thrown as strangers into the midst of a hostile population, were glad to accept estates from the crown on almost any terms that would guarantee their own security. Of this, William naturally availed himself. For, by granting baronies on conditions favourable to the crown, he prevented the barons[14] from possessing that power which they exercised in France, and which, but for this, they would have exercised in England. The result was, that the most powerful of our nobles became amenable to the law, or at all events to the authority of the king.[15] Indeed, to such an extent was this carried, that William, shortly before his death, obliged all the landowners to render their fealty to him; thus entirely neglecting that peculiarity of feudalism, according to which each vassal was separately dependent on his own lord.[16]

But in France the course of affairs was very different. In that country the great nobles held their lands not so much by grant as by prescription.[17] A character of antiquity was thus thrown over their rights; which, when added to the weakness of the crown, enabled them to exercise on their own estates all the functions of independent sovereigns.[18] Even when they received their first great check under Philip Augustus,[19] they in his reign, and indeed long after, wielded a power quite unknown in England. Thus, to give only two instances: the right of coining money, which has always been regarded as an attribute of sovereignty, was never allowed in England, even to the greatest nobles.[20] But in France it was exercised by many persons independently of

[12] Where it was particularly flourishing: "la féodalité fut organisée en Normandie plus fortement et plus systématiquement que partout ailleurs en France." *Klimrath, Travaux sur l'Hist. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 130. The "coutume de Normandie" was, at a much later period, only to be found in the old "grand coutumier." *Klimrath*, vol. ii. p. 160. On the peculiar tenacity with which the Normans clung to it, see *Lettres d'Aguesseau*, vol. ii. pp. 225, 226: "accoutumés à respecter leur coutume comme l'évangile."

[13] *Mills's Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. p. 387: *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 390, vol. iv. p. 76. Mercenary troops were also employed by his immediate successors. *Grose's Military Antiq.* vol. i. p. 55.

[14] On the different meanings attached to the word "baron," compare *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 40, with *Meyer, Instit. Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. 105. But M. Guizot says, what seems most likely, "il est probable que ce nom fut commun originairement àtous les vassaux immédiats de la couronne, liés au roi *per servitium militare*, par le service de chevalier." *Essais*, p. 265.

[15] *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. i. p. 242; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 220. The same policy of reducing the nobles was followed up by Henry II., who destroyed the baronial castles. *Turner*, vol. iv. p. 223. Compare *Lingard*, vol. i. pp. 315, 371.

[16] "Deinde cœpit homagia hominum totius Angliæ, et juramentum fidelitatis cujuscumque essent feodi vel tenementi." *Matthæi Westmonast. Flores Historiarum*, vol. ii. p. 9.

[17] See some good remarks on this difference between the French and English nobles, in *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100. Mably (*Observations*, vol. i. p. 60) says: "En effet, on négligea, sur la fin de la première race, de conserver les titres primordiaux de ses possessions." As to the old customary French law of prescription, see *Giraud, Précis de l'Ancien Droit*, pp. 79, 80.

[18] *Mably, Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. i. pp. 70, 162, 178.

[19] On the policy of Philip Augustus in regard to the nobles, see *Mably, Observations*, vol. i. p. 246: *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 265; *Boulainvilliers, Hist. de l'Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. iii. pp. 147–150; *Guizot, Civilisation en France*, vol. iv. pp. 134, 135 *Courson, Hist. des Peuples Bretons*, Paris, 1846, vol. ii. p. 350.

[20] "No subjects ever enjoyed the right of coining silver in England without the royal stamp and superintendence; a remarkable proof of the restraint in which the feudal

the crown, and was not abrogated until the sixteenth century.[21] A similar remark holds good of what was called the right of private war; by virtue of which the nobles were allowed to attack each other, and disturb the peace of the country with the prosecution of their private feuds. In England the aristocracy were never strong enough to have this admitted as a right,[22] though they too often exercised it as a practice. But in France it became a part of the established law; it was incorporated into the text-books of feudalism; and it is distinctly recognized by Louis IX. and Philip the Fair,—two kings of considerable energy, who did everything in their power to curtail the enormous authority of the nobles.[23]

Out of this difference between the aristocratic power of France and England there followed many consequences of great importance. In our country the nobles, being too feeble to contend with the crown, were compelled, in self-defence, to ally themselves with the people.[24] About a hundred years after the Conquest, the Normans and Saxons amalgamated; and both parties united against the king, in order to uphold their common rights.[25] The Magna Charta, which John was forced to yield, contained concessions to the aristocracy; but its most important stipulations were those in favour of "all classes of freemen."[26]

aristocracy was always held in this country." *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 154. [As Hallam notes, money *was* coined in the anarchic period of Stephen by both nobles and bishops. Cp. *Stubbs, Const. Hist.* 4th ed. i. 354.—Ed.]

[21] *Brougham's Polit. Philos.* 1849, vol. i. p. 446. In addition to the evidence there given on the right of coinage, see *Mably's Observations*, vol. i. p. 424, vol. ii. pp. 296, 297; and *Turner's Normandy*, vol. ii. p. 261.

[22] *Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, pp. 304, 305.

[23] "Saint-Louis consacra le droit de guerre. . . . Philippe le Bel, qui voulut l'abolir, finit par le rétablir." *Montlosier, Monarchie Française*, vol. i. pp. 127, 202: see also pp. 434, 435, and vol. ii. pp. 435, 436. Mably (*Observations*, vol. ii. p. 338) mentions "lettres-patentes de Philippe-de-Valois du 8 février 1330, pour permettre dans le duché d'Aquitaine les guerres privées," etc.; and he adds, "le 9 avril 1353 le roi Jean renouvelle l'ordonnance de S. Louis, nommée la quarantaine du roi, touchant les guerres privées." [The right of private war survived in Germany till the end of the fifteenth century. (See *Hallam, Middle Ages*, ch. v. 11th ed. ii. 94–96); and the practice survived later. Cp. *Menzel, Geschichte der Deutschen*, cap. 364; and *Kohlrausch, Hist. of Germany*, caps. xv. xvi.—Ed.]

[24] Sir Francis Palgrave (in his *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i. pp. 51–55) has attempted to estimate the results produced by the Norman Conquest; but he omits to notice this, which was the most important consequence of all.

[25] On this political union between Norman barons and Saxon citizens, of which the first clear indication is at the end of the twelfth century, compare *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 113, with *Brougham's Polit. Philos.* vol. i. p. 339, vol. iii. p. 222.

In regard to the general question of the amalgamation of races, we have three distinct kinds of evidence:

1st, Towards the end of the twelfth century a new language began to be formed by blending Norman with Saxon; and English literature, properly so called, dates from the commencement of the thirteenth century. Compare *Madden's Preface to Layamon*, 1847, vol. i. pp. xx. xxi., with *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. viii. pp. 214, 217, 436, 437.

2nd, We have the specific statement of a writer in the reign of Henry II., that "sic permixtæ sunt nationes ut vix discerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus, quis Normannus sit genere." *Note in Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 106.

3rd, Before the thirteenth century had passed away, the difference of dress, which in that state of society would survive many other differences, was no longer observed, and the distinctive peculiarities of Norman and Saxon attire had disappeared. See *Strutt's View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, vol. ii. p. 67, edit. Planché, 1842, 4to.

[26] "An equal distribution of civil rights to all classes of freemen forms the peculiar beauty of the charter." *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 108. This is very finely noticed in one of Lord Chatham's great speeches. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xvi. p. 662.

Within half a century fresh contests broke out; the barons were again associated with the people, and again there followed the same results,—the extension of popular privileges being each time the condition and the consequence of this singular alliance. In the same way, when the Earl of Leicester raised a rebellion against Henry III., he found his own party too weak to make head against the crown. He therefore applied to the people:[27] and it is to him that our House of Commons owes its origin; since he, in 1264, set the first example of issuing writs to cities and boroughs; thus calling upon citizens and burgesses to take their place in what had hitherto been a parliament composed entirely of priests and nobles.[28]

The English aristocracy being thus forced, by their own weakness, to rely on the people,[29] it naturally followed that the people imbibed that tone of independence, and that lofty bearing, of which our civil and political institutions are the consequence, rather than the cause.* It is to this, and not to any fanciful peculiarity of race, that we owe the sturdy and enterprising spirit for which the inhabitants of this island have long been remarkable. It is this which has enabled us to baffle all the arts of oppression, and to maintain for centuries liberties which no other nation has ever possessed. And it is this which has fostered and upheld those great municipal privileges which, whatever be their faults, have at least the invaluable merit of accustoming free men to the exercise of power, giving to citizens the management of their own

[27] Compare *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. ii. p. 39, with *Lingard's England*, vol. ii. p. 127, and *Somers Tracts*, vol. vi. p. 92.

[28] "He is to be honoured as the founder of a representative system of government in this country." *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. i. p. 61. Some writers (see, for instance, *Dalrymple's Hist. of Feudal Property*, p. 332) suppose that burgesses were summoned before the reign of Henry III.: but this assertion is not only unsupported by evidence, but is in itself improbable; because at an earlier period the citizens, though rapidly increasing in power, were hardly important enough to warrant such a step being taken. The best authorities are now agreed to refer the origin of the House of Commons to the period mentioned in the text. See *Hallam's Supplement. Notes*, pp. 335–339; *Spence's Origin of the Laws of Europe*, p. 512; *Campbell's Chancellors*, vol. i. p. 155; *Lingard's England*, vol. ii. p. 138; *Guizot's Essais*, p. 319. The notion of tracing this to the wittenagemot is as absurd as finding the origin of juries in the system of compurgators; both of which were favourite errors in the seventeenth, and even in the eighteenth century. In regard to the wittenagemot this idea still lingers among antiquaries; but in regard to compurgators even they have abandoned their old ground, and it is now well understood that trial by jury did not exist till long after the Conquest. Compare *Palgrave's English Commonwealth*, part i. pp. 243 seq., with *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. ii. pp. 152–173. There are few things in our history so irrational as the admiration expressed by a certain class of writers for the institutions of our barbarous Anglo-Saxon ancestors. [It may be added that Simon de Montfort in all likelihood took his idea from the prior practice of Frederick II. in Sicily, which in turn was motived by the practice of the Italian cities. Compare *Gregorio, Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia*, ed. 2a, vol. ii. cap. 5; *Von Raumer, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, 1857–8, iii. 249; and *Von Reumont, The Carafas of Maddaloni*, Eng. tr. 1854, p. 61. See also the remark of Adam Smith on the subject, *Wealth of Nations*, B. iii. ch. 3.—Ed.]

[29] Montlosier, with the fine spirit of a French noble, taunts the English aristocracy with this: "En France la noblesse, attaquée sans cesse, s'est défendue sans cesse. Elle a subi l'oppression; elle ne l'a point acceptée. En Angleterre, elle a couru dès la première commotion, se réfugier dans les rangs des bourgeois, et sous leur protection. Elle a abdiqué ainsi son existence." *Montlosier, Monarchie Française*, vol. iii. p. 162. Compare an instructive passage in *De Staël, Consid. sur la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 421.

[* In the terms of the preceding exposition, both alike are consequences of the balance of political forces. It should be added that the primary difference of race (not, of course, of "race character," which Buckle here rightly dismisses, though he later seems to assert it) determined the specific assertion of popular liberties. Cp. *Abdy, Lectures on Feudalism*, pp. 334–5.—Ed.]

city, and perpetuating the idea of independence, by preserving it in a living type, and by enlisting in its support the interests and affections of individual men.

But the habits of self-government which under these circumstances were cultivated in England, were under opposite circumstances neglected in France. The great French lords, being too powerful to need the people, were unwilling to seek their alliance.[30] The result was that amid a great variety of forms and names, society was in reality only divided into two classes—the upper and the lower, the protectors and the protected. And, looking at the ferocity of the prevailing manners, it is not too much to say that in France, under the feudal system, every man was either a tyrant or a slave. Indeed, in most instances the two characters were combined in the same person. For the practice of subinfeudation, which in our country was actively checked, became in France almost universal.[31] By this, the great lords having granted lands on condition of fealty and other services to certain persons, these last subgranted them; that is, made them over on similar conditions to other persons, who had likewise the power of bestowing them on a fourth party, and so on in an endless series;[32] thus forming a long chain of dependence, and, as it were, organizing submission into a system.[33] In England, on the other hand, such arrangements were so unsuited to the general state of affairs that it is doubtful if they were ever carried on to any extent; and, at all events, it is certain that in the reign of Edward I. they were finally stopped by the statute known to lawyers as *Quia emptores*.[34]

Thus early was there a great social divergence between France and England. The consequences of this were still more obvious when, in the fourteenth century, the feudal system rapidly decayed in both countries. For in England, the principle of protection being feeble, men were in some degree accustomed to self-government; and they were able to hold fast by those great institutions which would have been ill-adapted to the more obedient habits of the French people. Our municipal privileges, the rights of our yeomanry, and the security of our copyholders, were from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries the three most important guarantees for the liberties of England.[35] In France

[30] See some good remarks in *Mably, Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. iii. pp. 114, 115.

[31] *Hallam's Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 111.

[32] "Originally there was no limit to subinfeudation." *Brougham's Polit. Philos.* vol. i. p. 279.

[33] A living French historian boasts that, in his own country, "toute la société féodale formait ainsi une échelle de clientelle et de patronage." *Cassagnac, Révolution Française*, vol. i. p. 459.

[34] This is 18 Edw. I. c. 1; respecting which, see *Blackstone's Comment.* vol. ii. p. 91, vol. iv. p. 425; *Reeve's Hist. of English Law*, vol. ii. p. 223; *Dalrymple's Hist. of Feudal Property*, pp. 102, 243, 340. ["Unsuited to the general state of affairs" is a merely verbal explanation. The objective fact was that from the Conquest onwards the kings strove to make sub-tenants king's liegemen, in their own interest. Henry I. accelerated the process in driving out the rebel nobles; and after the anarchic period of Stephen, Henry II. resumed it. Cp. *Stubbs, Const. Hist.* 4th ed. i. 290, 298, 333–5, 357, 361, 631. —Ed.]

[35] The history of the decay of that once most important class, the English yeomanry, is an interesting subject, and one for which I have collected considerable materials; at present I will only say that its decline was first distinctly perceptible in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and was consummated by the rapidly-increasing power of the commercial and manufacturing classes early in the eighteenth century. After losing their influence, their numbers naturally diminished, and they made way for other bodies of men whose habits of mind were less prejudiced, and therefore better suited to that new state which society assumed in the last age. I mention this, because some writers regret the almost total destruction of the yeoman freeholders, overlooking the fact that they are disappearing, not in consequence of any violent revolution or

such guarantees were impossible. The real division being between those who were noble and those who were not noble, no room was left for the establishment of intervening classes; but all were compelled to fall into one of these two great ranks.[36] The French have never had anything answering to our yeomanry; nor were copyholders recognized by their laws. And, although they attempted to introduce into their country municipal institutions, all such efforts were futile; for, while they copied the forms of liberty they lacked that bold and sturdy spirit by which alone liberty can be secured. They had, indeed, its image and superscription; but they wanted the sacred fire * that warms the image into life. Everything else they possessed. The show and appliances of freedom were there. Charters were granted to their towns, and privileges conceded to their magistrates. All, however, was useless. For it is not by the wax and parchment of lawyers that the independence of men can be preserved. Such things are the mere externals; they set off liberty to advantage; they are as its dress and paraphernalia, its holiday-suit in times of peace and quiet. But when the evil days set in, when the invasions of despotism have begun, liberty will be retained, not by those who can show the oldest deeds and the largest charters, but by those who have been most inured to habits of independence, most accustomed to think and act for themselves, and most regardless of that insidious protection which the upper classes have always been so ready to bestow that in many countries they have now left nothing worth the trouble to protect.

And so it was in France. The towns, with few exceptions, fell at the first shock; and the citizens lost those municipal privileges which, not being grafted on the national character, it was found impossible to preserve. In the same way, in our country, power naturally, and by the mere force of the democratic movement, fell into the hands of the House of Commons; whose authority has ever since, notwithstanding occasional checks, continued to increase at the expense of the more aristocratic parts of the legislature. The only institution answering to this in France was the States-General; which, however, had so little influence that in the opinion of native historians it was hardly to be called an institution at all.[37] Indeed, the French were by this time so accus-

stretch of arbitrary power, but simply by the general march of affairs; society doing away with what it no longer requires. Compare *Kay's Social Condition of the People*, vol. i. pp. 43, 602, with a letter from Wordsworth in *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 440; a note in *Mill's Polit. Econ.* vol. i. pp. 311, 312; another in *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. v. p. 323; and *Sinclair's Correspond.* vol i. p. 229.

[36] This is stated as an admitted fact by French writers living in different periods and holding different opinions; but all agreed as to there being only two divisions: "comme en France on est toujours ou noble, ou roturier, et qu'il n'y a pas de milieu." *Mém. de Rivarol*, p. 7. "La grande distinction des nobles et des roturiers." *Giraud, Précis de l'Ancien Droit*, p. 10. Indeed, according to the Coutumes, the nobles and roturiers attained their majority at different ages. *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 249 (erroneously stated in *Story's Conflict of Laws*, pp. 56, 79, 114). See further respecting this capital distinction, *Mém. de Duplessis Mornay*, vol. ii. p. 230 ("agréable à la noblesse et au peuple"); *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. viii. pp. 222, 232, 237; *Bunbury's Correspond. of Hanmer*, p. 256; *Mably, Observations*, vol. iii. p. 263; and *Mercier sur Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 38: "On étoit roturier, vilain, homme de néant, canaille, dès qu'on ne s'appelloit plus marquis, baron, comte, chevalier, etc."

[37] "Les états-généraux sont portés dans la liste de nos institutions. Je ne sais cependant s'il est permis de donner ce nom à des rassemblemens aussi irréguliers." *Montlosier*,

[* This virtual assertion of an occult cause, repeated below in the phrase as to "national character," is inconsistent with the objective explanation given on p. 352. There was plenty of "sacred fire" among the villeins of Normandy and the peasants of Brittany in the eleventh century; but the nobles were too strong for them. Comp. *Duruy, Hist. de France*, ed. 1880, i. 288 sq. (ch. xxi.); Thierry, *Conq. de l'Angleterre*, liv. ii.; and *Morin, Origines de la Démocratie*, 3e éd. 1865, pp. 202–235.—Ed.]

tomed to the idea of protection,* and to the subordination which that idea involves, that they were little inclined to uphold an establishment which, in their constitution, was the sole representative of the popular element. The result was that by the fourteenth century the liberties of Englishmen were secured ;[38] and since then their only concern has been to increase what they have already obtained. But in that same century, in France, the protective spirit assumed a new form ; the power of the aristocracy was in a great measure succeeded by the power of the crown ; and there began that tendency to centralization which, having been pushed still further, first under Louis XIV., and afterwards under Napoleon, has become the bane of the French people.[39] For by it the feudal ideas of superiority and submission have long survived that barbarous age to which alone they were suited. Indeed, by their transmigration, they seemed to have gained fresh strength. In France everything is referred to one common centre, in which all civil functions are absorbed. All improvements of any importance, all schemes for bettering even the material condition of the people, must receive the sanction of government ; the local authorities not being considered equal to such arduous tasks. In order that inferior magistrates may not abuse their power, no power is conferred upon them. The exercise of independent jurisdiction is almost unknown. Everything that is done must be done at headquarters.[40] The government is believed to see everything, know everything, and provide for everything. To enforce this monstrous monopoly there has been contrived a machinery well worthy of the

Monarchie Française, vol. i. p. 266. " En France, les états-généraux, au moment même de leur plus grand éclat, c'est à dire dans le cours du xiv^e^ siècle, n'ont guère été que des accidents, un pouvoir national et souvent invoqué, mais non un établissement constitutionnel." *Guizot, Essais*, p. 253. See also *Mably, Observations*, vol. iii. p. 147 and *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xiv. p. 642.

[38] This is frankly admitted by one of the most candid and enlightened of all the foreign writers on our history, *Guizot, Essais*, p. 297 : " En 1307, les droits qui devaient enfanter en Angleterre un gouvernement libre étaient définitivement reconnus." [The words " devaient enfanter " do not constitute such an admission as is alleged ; but even an " admission " by a friendly foreign writer is not a proof. After the date given, popular and parliamentary liberties were repeatedly and deeply depressed. The House of Commons itself " was comparatively an aristocratic body," and in the French wars the English nobles learned to look down on the labouring class. (*Gardiner, Introd. to the Study of Eng. History*, 1881, p. 91. " Never before and never again for more than two hundred years were the Commons so strong as they were under Henry IV." (*Stubbs, Const. Hist.* 4th ed. iii. 73). In the minority of Henry VI. " the Parliament was fast dying down into a mere representation of the baronage and the great landowners." (*Green, Short History*, ch. vi. ed. 1881, p. 265.) The risings of peasants both in that period and the reign of Richard II. tell little of secured liberties. Richard and his nobles brutally refused to free their bondsmen.—Ed.]

[39] See an account of the policy of Philip the Fair, in *Mably, Observations*, vol. ii. pp. 25–44 ; in *Boulainvilliers, Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. i. pp. 292, 314, vol. ii. pp. 37, 38 ; and in *Guizot, Civilisation en France*, vol. iv. pp. 170–192. M. Guizot says, perhaps too strongly, that his reign was " la métamorphose de la royauté en despotisme." On the connexion of this with the centralizing movement, see *Tocqueville's Démocratie*, vol. i. p. 307 : " Le goût de la centralisation et la manie réglementaire remontent, en France, à l'époque où les légistes sont entrés dans le gouvernement ; ce qui nous reporte au temps de Philippe le Bel." Tennemann also notices that in his reign the " Rechtstheorie " began to exercise influence : but this learned writer takes a purely metaphysical view, and has therefore misunderstood the more general social tendency. *Gesch. der Philos.* vol. viii. p. 823.

[40] As several writers on law notice this system with a lenient eye (*Origines du Droit Français*, in *Œuvres de Michelet*, vol. ii. p. 321 ; and *Eschbach, Etude du Droit*, p. 129.

[* The full explanation is that " the French " in the eleventh century learned to look to the king as their efficient and willing protector against a tyrannous nobility. Cp. *Duruy, Hist. de France*, i. 291, 295.—Ed.]

design. The entire country is covered by an immense array of officials ;[41] who, in the regularity of their hierarchy, and in the order of their descending series, form an admirable emblem of that feudal principle which, ceasing to be territorial, has now become personal. In fact, the whole business of the state is conducted on the supposition, that no man either knows his own interest, or is fit to take care of himself. So paternal are the feelings of government, so eager for the welfare of its subjects, that it has drawn within its jurisdiction the most rare as well as the most ordinary actions of life. In order that the French may not make imprudent wills, it has limited the right of bequest ; and, for fear that they should bequeath their property wrongly, it prevents them from bequeathing the greater part of it at all.* In order that society may be protected by its police, it has directed that no one shall travel without a passport. And when men are actually travelling, they are met at every turn by the same interfering spirit, which, under pretence of protecting their persons, shackles their liberty. Into another matter, far more serious, the French have carried the same principle. Such is their anxiety to protect society against criminals, that when an offender is placed at the bar of one of their courts, there is exhibited a spectacle which it is no idle boast to say we in England could not tolerate for a single hour. There is seen a great public magistrate, by whom the prisoner is about to be tried, examining him in order to ascertain † his supposed guilt, re-examining him, cross-examining him, performing the duties, not of a judge, but of a prosecutor, and bringing to bear against the unhappy man all the authority of his judicial position, all his professional subtlety, all his experience, all the dexterity of his practised understanding. This is, perhaps, the most alarming of the many instances in which the tendencies of the French intellect are shown; because it supplies a machinery

"le système énergique de la centralisation"), it may be well to state how it actually works.

Mr. Bulwer, writing twenty years ago, says : "Not only cannot a commune determine its own expenses without the consent of the minister or one of his deputed functionaries, it cannot even erect a building, the cost of which shall have been sanctioned, without the plan being adopted by a board of public works attached to the central authority, and having the supervision and direction of every public building throughout the kingdom." *Bulwer's Monarchy of the Middle Classes*, 1836, vol. ii. p. 262.

M. Tocqueville, writing in the present year (1856), says, "Sous l'ancien régime, *comme de nos jours*, il n'y avait ville, bourg, village, ni si petit hameau en France, hôpital, fabrique, couvent ni collége, qui pût avoir une volonté indépendante dans ses affaires particulières, ni administrer à sa volonté ses propres biens. Alors, *comme aujourd'hui*, l'administration tenait donc tous les Français en tutelle, et si l'insolence du mot ne s'était pas encore produite, on avait du moins déjà la chose." *Tocqueville, l'Ancien Régime*, 1856, pp. 79, 80.

[41] The number of civil functionaries in France, who are paid by the government to trouble the people, passes all belief, being estimated, at different periods during the present century, at from 138,000 to upwards of 800,000. *Tocqueville, de la Démocratie*, vol. i. p. 220 ; *Alison's Europe*, vol. xiv. pp. 127, 140 ; *Kay's Condition of the People*, vol. i. p. 272 ; *Laing's Notes*, 2nd series, p. 185. Mr. Laing, writing in 1850, says : "In France, at the expulsion of Louis-Philippe, the civil functionaries were stated to amount to 807,030 individuals."

[* The right of bequest is often limited in England by entails; and the provision that wife and children shall share in the property of the husband and father, is common to Scotland and Holland as well as to other countries which derived their law from the Pandects. "In fact, the right of free bequest is of comparatively late growth in the development of society." (*Sidgwick, The Elements of Politics*, 1891, p. 95). "The power of diverting property from the family . . . is not older than the later portion of the Middle Ages." (*Maine, Ancient Law*, p. 224.)

[† "Ascertain," that is, in the sense of demonstrate. There has been a previous investigation by the *juge d'instruction*. Reforms are being gradually introduced in the procedure.—ED.]

ready for the purposes of absolute power; because it brings the administration of justice into disrepute, by associating with it an idea of unfairness; and because it injures that calm and equable temper which it is impossible fully to maintain under a system that makes a magistrate an advocate, and turns the judge into a partizan. But this, mischievous as it is, only forms part of a far larger scheme. For, to the method by which criminals are discovered, there is added an analogous method, by which crime is prevented. With this view, the people, even in their ordinary amusements, are watched and carefully superintended. Lest they should harm each other by some sudden indiscretion, precautions are taken similar to those with which a father might surround his children. In their fairs, at their theatres, their concerts, and their other places of public resort, there are always present soldiers, who are sent to see that no mischief is done, that there is no unnecessary crowding, that no one uses harsh language, that no one quarrels with his neighbour.* Nor does the vigilance of government stop there. Even the education of children is brought under the control of the state, instead of being regulated by the judgment of masters or parents.[42] And the whole plan is executed with such energy that, as the French while men are never let alone, just so while children they are never left alone.[43] At the same time, it being reasonably supposed that adults thus kept in pupilage cannot be proper judges of their own food, the government has provided for this also. Its prying eye follows the butcher to the shambles, and the baker to the oven. By its paternal hand, meat is examined lest it should be bad, and bread is weighed lest it should be light.† In short, without multiplying instances with which most readers must be familiar, it is enough to say that, in France, as in every country where the protective principle is active, the government has established a monopoly of the worst kind; a monopoly which comes home to the business and bosoms of men, follows them in their daily avocations, troubles them with its petty, meddling spirit, and, what is worse than all, diminishes their responsibility to themselves; thus depriving them of what is the only real education that most minds receive,—the constant necessity of providing for future contingencies, and the habit of grappling with the difficulties of life.

The consequence of all this has been that the French, though a great and splendid people,—a people full of mettle, high-spirited, abounding in knowledge, and perhaps less oppressed by superstition than any other in Europe,—have always been found unfit to exercise political power.‡ Even when they have pos-

[42] "The government in France possesses control over all the education of the country, with the exception of the colleges for the education of the clergy, which are termed seminaries, and their subordinate institutions." *Report on the State of Superior Education in France in* 1843, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 304. On the steps taken during the power of Napoleon, see *Alison's Europe*, vol. viii. p. 203: "Nearly the whole education of the empire was brought effectually under the direction and appointment of government." [In 1870, England saw fit to enter on the same course.—Ed.]

[43] "Much attention is paid to the *surveillance* of pupils; it being a fundamental principle of French education, that children should never be left alone." *Report on General Education in France in* 1842, in *Journal of Statist. Soc.* vol. v. p. 20.

[* It cannot now be said that French gendarmes interfere more with ordinary life than do English policemen (cp. *Bodley, France*, one-vol. ed., p. 103); and in recent years the Parisian authorities have sent their officials to London to take lessons in the regulation of street traffic.—Ed.]

[† Here again "we" have decided that the French plan is right. Meat and fish are to-day "examined" in England by inspectors; and there are demands for the weighing of bread.—Ed.]

[‡ The phrase "have always been found unfit" is inappropriate. In terms of the whole preceding evolution, and of the *military* position of France, "the French" had much greater difficulty than the English in attaining to a constitutional system. They have now maintained one for a generation, and seem likely to preserve it. Buckle's prediction that they must fail for "at least some generations" is thus falsified.—Ed.]

sessed it, they have never been able to combine permanence with liberty. One of these two elements has always been wanting. They have had free governments, which have not been stable. They have had stable governments, which have not been free. Owing to their fearless temper, they have rebelled, and no doubt will continue to rebel, against so evil a condition.[44] But it does not need the tongue of a prophet to tell that, for at least some generations, all such efforts must be unsuccessful. For men can never be free unless they are educated to freedom. And this is not the education which is to be found in schools, or gained from books; but it is that which consists in self-discipline, in self-reliance, and in self-government. These, in England, are matters of hereditary descent—traditional habits, which we imbibe in our youth, and which regulate us in the conduct of life.* The old associations of the French all point in another direction. At the slightest difficulty, they call on the government for support. What with us is competition, with them is monopoly. That which we effect by private companies, they effect by public boards. They cannot cut a canal, or lay down a railroad, without appealing to the government for aid. With them, the people look to the rulers; with us, the rulers look to the people. With them, the executive is the centre from which society radiates;[45] with us, society is the instigator, and the executive the organ. The difference in the result has corresponded with the difference in the process. We have been made fit for political power by the long exercise of civil rights; they, neglecting the exercise, think they can at once begin with the power.† We have always shown a determination to uphold our liberties, and, when the times are fitting, to increase them; and this we have done with a decency and a gravity natural to men to whom such subjects have long been familiar. But the French, always treated as children, are in political matters children still. And as they have handled the most weighty concerns in that gay and volatile spirit which adorns their lighter literature, it is no wonder that they have failed in matters where the first condition of success is, that men should have been long accustomed to rely upon their own energies, and that before they try their skill in a political struggle their resources should have been sharpened by that preliminary discipline which a contest with the difficulties of civil life can never fail to impart.

These are among the considerations by which we must be guided, in estimating the probable destinies of the great countries of Europe. But what we are now rather concerned with is, to notice how the opposite tendencies of France and England long continued to be displayed in the condition and treatment of their aristocracy; and how from this there naturally followed some striking differences between the war conducted by the Fronde and that waged by the Long Parliament.

[44] A distinguished French author says: "La France souffre du mal du siècle; elle en est plus malade qu'aucun autre pays; ce mal c'est la haine de l'autorité." *Custine, Russie*, vol. ii. p. 136. Compare *Rey, Science Sociale*, vol. ii. p. 86 note.

[45] It is to the activity of this protective and centralizing spirit that we must ascribe what a very great authority noticed thirty years ago as "le défaut de spontanéité, qui caractérise les institutions de la France moderne." *Meyer, Instit. Judic.* vol. iv. p. 536. It is also this which, in literature and in science, makes them favour the establishment of academies; and it is probably to the same principle that their jurists owe their love of codification. All these are manifestations of an unwillingness to rely on the general march of affairs, and show an undue contempt for the unaided conclusions of private men. [Codification has often been craved, and would be widely welcomed, in England.—Ed.]

[* At the very time at which Buckle wrote, the French suffrage was wider than the English, as it is to-day. While he thus extolled British liberty, the agricultural labourers were without the franchise, and the town franchise was closely limited. He was thinking solely of the middle classes.—Ed.]

[† The proposition here is in effect a "bull." In the terms of the case, to "begin with the power" is to begin the "exercise." To learn to swim it is necessary to go into the water. The subsequent remarks as to "preliminary discipline" merely repeat the confusion.—Ed.]

When, in the fourteenth century, the authority of the French kings began rapidly to increase, the political influence of the nobility was of course correspondingly diminished. What, however, proves the extent to which their power had taken root, is the undoubted fact that, notwithstanding this to them unfavourable circumstance, the people were never able to emancipate themselves from their control.[46] The relation the nobles bore to the throne became entirely changed; that which they bore to the people remained almost the same. In England, slavery, or villenage, as it is mildly termed, quickly diminished, and was extinct by the end of the sixteenth century.[47] In France, it lingered on two hundred years later, and was only destroyed in that great Revolution by which the possessors of ill-gotten power were called to so sharp an account.[48] Thus, too, until the last seventy years, the nobles were in France exempt from those onerous taxes which oppressed the people. The taille and corvée were heavy and grievous exactions, but they fell solely on men of ignoble birth;[49]

[46] Mably (*Observations*, vol. iii. pp. 154, 155, 352–362) has collected some striking evidence of the tyranny of the French nobles in the sixteenth century; and as to the wanton cruelty with which they exercised their power in the seventeenth century, see *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. vii. p. 155, vol. viii. p. 79, vol. ix. pp. 40, 61, 62, vol. x. pp. 255–257. In the eighteenth century matters were somewhat better; but still the subordination was excessive, and the people were poor, ill-treated and miserable. Compare *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iv. p. 139; *Letter from the Earl of Cork*, dated Lyons, 1754, in *Burton's Diary*, vol. iv. p. 80; the statement of Fox, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxxi. p. 406; *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 45; and *Smith's Tour on the Continent*, edit. 1793, vol. iii. pp. 201, 202.

[47] Mr. Eccleston (*English Antiq.* p. 138) says, that in 1450 "villenage had almost passed away;" and according to Mr. Thornton (*Over-Population*, p. 182), "Sir Thomas Smith, who wrote about the year 1550, declares that he had never met with any personal or domestic slaves; and that the villains, or predial slaves, still to be found, were so few, as to be scarcely worth mentioning." Mr. Hallam can find no "unequivocal testimony to the existence of villenage" later than 1574. *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 312: see, to the same effect, *Barrington on the Statutes*, pp. 308, 309. If, however, my memory does not deceive me, I have met with evidence of it in the reign of James I., but I cannot recall the passage. [Predial slavery existed in Scotland at that period, in the case of the colliers and salt-workers (*Burton, History of Scotland*, viii. 7–8); and not till 1799, after France had set the example, was it abolished. See *Cockburn's Memorials*, ed. 1856, p. 79. Such facts ought to have been known to Buckle.—Ed.]

[48] M. Cassagnac (*Causes de la Révolution*, vol. iii. p. 11) says: "Chose surprenante, il y avait encore, au 4 août 1789, *un million cinq cent mille serfs de corps*;" and M. Giraud (*Précis de l Ancien Droit*, Paris, 1852, p. 3), "jusqu' à la révolution une division fondamentale partageait les personnes en personnes libres et personnes sujettes à condition servile." A few years before the Revolution this shameful distinction was abolished by Louis XVI. in his own domains. Compare *Eschbach, Étude du Droit*, pp. 271, 272, with *Du Mesnil, Mém. sur le Prince Le Brun*, p. 94. I notice this particularly, because M. Monteil, a learned and generally accurate writer, supposes that the abolition took place earlier than it really did. *Hist. des divers États*, vol. vi. p. 101.

[49] *Cassagnac, de la Révolution*, vol. i. pp. 122, 173; *Giraud, Ancien Droit*, p. 11; *Soulavie, Mém. de Louis XVI*, vol. vi. p. 156; *Mém. au Roi sur les Municipalités*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. vii. p. 423; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. i. p. 200.

Further information respecting the amount and nature of these vexatious impositions will be found in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xiii. p. 24, vol. xiv. p. 118; *Saint Aulaire, Hist. de la Fronde*, vol. i. p. 125; *Tocqueville, Ancien Régime*, pp. 135, 191, 420, 440; *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ii. p. 412, vol. iii. p. 226, vol. iv. p. 199, vol. v. pp. 339, 410, vol. vi p. 94; *Relat. des Ambassad. Vénit.* vol. i. p. 96; *Mably, Observations*, vol iii. pp. 355, 356; *Boulainvilliers, Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. iii. p. 109; *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII*, vol. ii. p. 29; *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. pp. 103 369; *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. i. p. 82; *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. i. pp. 87, 332. *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. i. p. 372, vol. iv. pp. 58, 59, 74, 75, 242, 278, vol. v. pp. 226, 242, vol. vi. p. 144, vol. viii. pp. 152, 280.

for the French aristocracy, being a high and chivalrous race, would have deemed it an insult to their illustrious descent if they had been taxed to the same amount as those whom they despised as their inferiors.[50] Indeed, everything tended to nurture this general contempt. Everything was contrived to humble one class and exalt the other. For the nobles there were reserved the best appointments in the church, and also the most important military posts.[51] The privilege of entering the army as officers was confined to them;[52] and they alone possessed a prescriptive right to belong to the cavalry.[53] At the same time, and to avoid the least chance of confusion, an equal vigilance was displayed in the most trifling matters, and care was taken to prevent any similarity even in the amusements of the two classes. To such a pitch was this brought that in many parts of France, the right of having an aviary or a dovecote depended entirely on a man's rank; and no Frenchman, whatever his wealth might be, could keep pigeons, unless he were a noble; it being considered that these recreations were too elevated for persons of plebeian origin.[54]

Circumstances like these are valuable as evidence of the state of society to which they belong; and their importance will become peculiarly obvious when we compare them with the opposite condition of England.

For in England, neither these nor any similar distinctions have ever been known. The spirit of which our yeomanry, copyholders, and free burgesses were the representatives, proved far too strong for those protective and monopolizing principles, of which the aristocracy are the guardians in politics, and the clergy in religion. And it is to the successful opposition made by these feelings of individual independence, that we owe our two greatest national acts—our Reformation * in the sixteenth, and our Rebellion in the seventeenth century. Before, however, tracing the steps taken in these matters, there is one other point of view to which I wish to call attention, as a further illustration of the early and radical difference between France and England.

In the eleventh century there arose the celebrated institution of chivalry,[55]

[50] So deeply rooted were these feelings that even in 1789, the very year the Revolution broke out, it was deemed a great concession that the nobles "will consent, indeed, to equal taxation." See a letter from Jefferson to Jay, dated Paris, May 9th, 1789, in *Jefferson's Corresp.* vol. ii. pp. 462, 463. Compare *Mercier sur Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 136.

[51] "Les nobles, qui avaient le privilége exclusif des grandes dignités et des gros bénéfices." *Mém. de Rivarol*, p. 97: see also *Mém. de Bouillé*, vol. i. p. 56; *Lemontey, Etablissement Monarchique*, p. 337; *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Françoise*, vol. ii. p. 556; *Campan, Mém. sur Marie Antoinette*, vol. i. pp. 238, 239.

[52] "L'ancien régime n'avait admis que des nobles pour officiers." *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. p. 398. Ségur mentions that early in the reign of Louis XVI. "les nobles seuls avaient le droit d'entrer au service comme sous-lieutenans." *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 65. Compare pp. 117, 265–271, with *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. iii. p. 74, and *De Staël, Consid. sur la Rév.* vol. i. p. 123.

[53] Thus, De Thou says of Henry III., "il remet sous l'ancien pied la cavalerie ordinaire, qui n'étoit composée que de la noblesse." *Hist. Univ.* vol. ix. pp. 202, 203; and see vol. x. pp. 504, 505, vol. xiii. p. 22; and an imperfect statement of the same fact in *Boullier, Hist. des divers Corps de la Maison Militaire des Rois de France*, Paris, 1818, p. 58, a superficial work on an uninteresting subject.

[54] M. Tocqueville (*L'Ancien Régime*, p. 448) mentions, among other regulations still in force late in the eighteenth century, that "en Dauphiné, en Bretagne, en Normandie, il est prohibé à tout roturier d'avoir des colombiers, fuies et volière; il n'y a que les nobles qui puissent avoir des pigeons."

[55] "Dès la fin du onzième siècle, à l'époque même où commencèrent les croisades, on

[* The Reformation, in the sense of the overthrow of the Church of Rome in England was certainly not made by the people. It was the work first of the king and those to whom he gave the church lands, later of the nobility carrying out the same policy. Buckle appears to be thinking of the ecclesiastical policy of the reign of Elizabeth when he alludes to "the Reformation."—Ed.]

which was to manners what feudalism was to politics. This connexion is clear, not only from the testimony of contemporaries, but also from two general considerations. In the first place, chivalry was so highly aristocratic, that no one could even receive knighthood unless he were of noble birth ;[56] and the preliminary education which was held to be necessary was carried on either in schools appointed by the nobles, or else in their own baronial castles.[57] In the second place, it was essentially a protective, and not at all a reforming institution. It was contrived with a view to remedy certain oppressions, as they successively arose ; opposed in this respect to the reforming spirit, which, being remedial rather than palliative, strikes at the root of an evil by humbling the class from which the evil proceeds, passing over individual cases in order to direct its attention to general causes. But chivalry, so far from doing this, was in fact a fusion of the aristocratic and the ecclesiastical forms of the protective spirit.[58] For, by introducing among the nobles the principle of knighthood, which, being personal, could never be bequeathed, it presented a point at which the ecclesiastical doctrine of celibacy could coalesce with the aristocratic doctrine of hereditary descent.[59] Out of this coalition sprung results of great moment. It is to this that Europe owes those orders, half aristocratic, half religious,[60] the Knights Templars, the Knights of St. James, the Knights of St. John, the Knights of St. Michael : establishments which inflicted the greatest evils on society : and whose members, combining analogous vices, enlivened the superstition of monks with the debauchery of soldiers. As a natural consequence, an immense number of noble knights were solemnly pledged to " defend the church ; " an ominous expression, the meaning of which is too well known to the readers of ecclesiastical history.[61] Thus it was that chivalry, uniting the hostile principles of celibacy

trouve la chevalerie établie." *Koch, Tab. des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 143 : see also *Sainte-Palaye, Mém. sur la Chevalerie*, vol. i. pp. 42, 68. M. Guizot (*Civilis. en France*, vol. iii. pp. 349–354) has attempted to trace it back to an earlier period ; but he appears to have failed, though of course its germs may be easily found. According to some writers it originated in northern Europe ; according to others in Arabia ! *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 202 ; *Journal of Asiat. Soc.* vol. ii. p. 11.

[56] " L'ordre de chevalerie n'étoit accordé qu'aux hommes d'un sang noble." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iv. p. 204. Compare *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice*, vol. i. p. 97, and *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. p. 20.

[57] " In some places there were schools appointed by the nobles of the country, but most frequently their own castles served." *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. p. 31 ; and see *Sainte-Palaye, Mém. sur l'Anc. Chevalerie*, vol. i. pp. 30, 56, 57, on this education.

[58] This combination of knighthood and religious rites is often ascribed to the crusades ; but there is good evidence that it took place a little earlier, and must be referred to the latter half of the eleventh century. Compare *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. pp. 10, 11 ; *Daniel, Hist. de la Milice*, vol. i. pp. 101, 102, 108 ; *Boulainvilliers, Ancien Gouv.* vol. i. p. 236. Sainte-Palaye (*Mém. sur la Chevalerie*, vol. i. pp. 119–123), who has collected some illustrations of the relation between chivalry and the church, says, p. 119, " enfin la chevalerie étoit regardée comme une ordination, un sacerdoce." The superior clergy possessed the right of conferring knighthood, and William Rufus was actually knighted by Archbishop Lanfranc : " Archiepiscopus Lanfrancus, eo quòd eum nutrierat, et militem fecerat." *Will. Malmes.* lib. iv., in *Scriptores post Bedam*, p. 67. Compare *Fosbroke's British Monachism*, 1843, p. 101, on knighting by abbots.

[59] The influence of this on the nobles is rather exaggerated by Mr. Mills ; who, on the other hand, has not noticed how the unhereditary element was favourable to the ecclesiastical spirit. *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. pp. 15, 389, vol. ii. p. 169 ; a work interesting as an assemblage of facts, but almost useless as a philosophic estimate.

[60] " In their origin all the military orders, and most of the religious ones, were entirely aristocratic." *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. p. 336.

[61] *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. i. pp. 148, 333. About the year 1127, St. Bernard wrote a discourse in favour of the Knights Templars, in which " he extols this order as a combination of monasticism and knighthood. . . . He describes the design of it as being to give the military order and knighthood a serious Christian direction, and to convert

and noble birth, became the incarnation of the spirit of the two classes to which those principles belonged. Whatever benefit, therefore, this institution may have conferred upon manners,[62] there can be no doubt that it actively contributed to keep men in a state of pupilage, and stopped the march of society by prolonging the term of its infancy.[63]

On this account it is evident that, whether we look at the immediate or at the remote tendency of chivalry, its strength and duration become a measure of the predominance of the protective spirit. If, with this view, we compare France and England, we shall find fresh proof of the early divergence of those countries. Tournaments, the first open expression of chivalry, are of French origin.[64] The greatest and, indeed, the only two great describers of chivalry are Joinville and Froissart, both of whom were Frenchmen. Bayard, that famous chevalier, who is always considered as the last representative of chivalry, was a Frenchman, and was killed when fighting for Francis I. Nor was it until nearly forty years after his death that tournaments were finally abolished in France, the last one having been held in 1560.[65]

But in England, the protective spirit being much less active than in France, we should expect to find that chivalry, as its offspring, had less influence. And such was really the case. The honours that were paid to knights, and the social distinctions by which they were separated from the other classes, were never so great in our country as in France.[66] As men became more free, the little respect

war into something that God might approve." *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. vii. p. 358. To this may be added that early in the thirteenth century a chivalric association was formed, and afterwards merged in the Dominican order, called the Militia of Christ: "un nouvel ordre de chevalerie destiné à poursuivre les hérétiques, sur le modèle de celui des Templiers, et sous le nom de Milice de Christ." *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. i. pp. 52, 133, 203.

[62] Several writers ascribe to chivalry the merit of softening manners, and of increasing the influence of women. *Sainte-Palaye, Mém. sur la Chevalerie*, vol. i. pp. 220–223, 282, 284, vol. iii. pp. vi. vii. 159–161; *Helvétius de l'Esprit*, vol. ii. pp. 50, 51; *Schlegel's Lectures*, vol. i. p. 209. That there was such a tendency is, I think, indisputable; but it has been greatly exaggerated, and an author of considerable reading on these subjects says, "The rigid treatment shown to prisoners of war in ancient times strongly marks the ferocity and uncultivated manners of our ancestors, and that even to ladies of high rank; notwithstanding the homage said to have been paid to the fair sex in those days of chivalry." *Grose's Military Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 114. Compare *Manning on the Law of Nations*, 1839, pp. 145, 146.

[63] Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 464) says, "A third reproach may be made to the character of knighthood, that it widened the separation between the different classes of society, and confirmed that aristocratical spirit of high birth, by which the large mass of mankind were kept in unjust degradation."

[64] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. iv. pp. 370, 371, 377; *Turner's Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 478; *Foncemagne de l'Origine des Armoiries*, in *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xx. p. 580. Koch also says (*Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 139), "c'est de la France que l'usage des tournois se répandit chez les autres nations de l'Europe." They were first introduced into England in the reign of Stephen. *Lingard's England*, vol. ii. p. 27.

[65] Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 470) says they were "entirely discontinued in France" in consequence of the death of Henry II.: but according to *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. ii. p. 226, they lasted the next year; when another fatal accident occurred, and "tournaments ceased for ever." Compare *Sainte-Palaye sur la Chevalerie*, vol. ii. pp. 39, 40.

[66] Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 467) observes, that the knight, as compared with other classes, "was addressed by titles of more respect. *There was not, however, so much distinction in England as in France.*" The great honour paid to knights in France is noticed by Daniel (*Milice Française*, vol. i. pp. 128, 129); and Herder (*Ideen zur Geschichte*, vol. iv. pp. 266, 267) says, that in France chivalry flourished more than in any other country. The same remark is made by *Sismondi* (*Hist. des Français*, vol. iv.

they had for such matters still further diminished. In the thirteenth century, and indeed in the very reign in which burgesses were first returned to parliament, the leading symbol of chivalry fell into such disrepute that a law was passed obliging certain persons to accept that rank of knighthood which in other nations was one of the highest objects of ambition.[67] In the fourteenth century this was followed by another blow, which deprived knighthood of its exclusively military character; the custom having grown up in the reign of Edward III. of conferring it on the judges in the courts of law, thus turning a warlike title into a civil honour.[68] Finally, before the end of the fifteenth century, the spirit of chivalry, in France still at its height, was in our country extinct, and this mischievous institution had become a subject for ridicule even among the people themselves.[69] To these circumstances we may add two others which seem worthy of observation. The first is that the French, notwithstanding their many admirable qualities, have always been more remarkable for personal vanity than the English;[70] a peculiarity partly referrible to those chivalric

p. 198). [Green, nevertheless, decides that it "told most fatally on our manners, our literature, our national spirit." (*Short History*, ed. 1881, ch. iv. p. 176.) And see below, ch. xv. *note* 14, as to "the brutal crimes of our wretched and ignorant ancestors" in respect of the English treatment of Scotland in the reign of Edward I.—Ed.]

[67] The *Statutum de Militibus*, in 1307, was perhaps the first recognition of this. Compare *Blackstone's Comment*, vol. ii. p. 69; *Barrington on the Statutes*, pp. 192, 193. But we have positive evidence that compulsory knighthood existed in the reign of Henry III.; or at least that those who refused it were obliged to pay a fine. See *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 421, and *Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II.*, vol. ii. pp. 238, 239, 2nd edit. 4to, 1767. Lord Lyttelton, evidently puzzled, says, "Indeed it seems a deviation from the original principle of this institution. For one cannot but think it a very great inconsistency, that a dignity, which was deemed an accession of honour to kings themselves, should be forced upon any." [Compulsory "knighthood" is not a proof that in the thirteenth century "chivalry" had fallen into disrepute. It was late in that century that Edward I. introduced the tournament into England, "where it had been rigidly prohibited by his predecessors and forbidden by the Church." (*Green, Short History*, p. 177. —Ed.]

[68] In *Mills' Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. ii. p. 154, it is said, that "the judges of the courts of law" were first knighted in the reign of Edward III.

[69] Mr. Mills (*Hist. of Chivalry*, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100) has printed a curious extract from a lamentation over the destruction of chivalry, written in the reign of Edward IV.; but he has overlooked a still more singular instance. This is a popular ballad, written in the middle of the fifteenth century, and called the Turnament of Tottenham, in which the follies of chivalry are admirably ridiculed. See *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, edit. 1840, vol. iii. pp. 98-101; and *Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, edit. 1845, pp. 92-95. According to Turner (*Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 363), "the ancient books of chivalry were laid aside" about the reign of Henry VI.

[70] This is not a mere popular opinion, but rests upon a large amount of evidence, supplied by competent and impartial observers. Addison, who was a lenient as well as an able judge, and who had lived much among the French, calls them "the vainest nation in the world." *Letter to Bishop Hough*, in *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 90. Napoleon says, "vanity is the ruling principle of the French." *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. vi. p. 25 Dumont (*Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, p. 111) declares, that "le trait le plus dominant dans le caractère français, c'est l'amour propre;" and Ségur (*Souvenirs*, vol. i. pp. 73, 74), "car en France l'amour propre, ou, si on le veut, la vanité, est de toutes les passions la plus irritable." It is moreover stated, that phrenological observations prove that the French are vainer than the English. *Combe's Elements of Phrenology*, 6th edit. Edinb. 1845, p. 90; and a partial recognition of the same fact in *Broussais, Cours de Phrénologie*, p. 297. For other instances of writers who have noticed the vanity of the French see *Tocqueville, l'Ancien Régime*, p. 148; *Barante, Lit. Franç. au XVIII. Siècle*, p. 80; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. p. 272; *Mézéray, Hist. de France*, vol. ii. p. 933; *Lemontey, Etablissement Monarchique*, p. 418; *Voltaire, Lettres inédites*, vol. ii. p. 282; *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV* vol. ii. p. 358; *De Staël sur la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 260.

traditions which even their occasional republics have been unable to destroy, and which makes them attach undue importance to external distinctions, by which I mean, not only dress and manners, but also medals, ribbons, stars, crosses, and the like, which we, a prouder people, have never held in such high estimation. The other circumstance is, that duelling has from the beginning been more popular in France than in England; and as this is a custom which we owe to chivalry, the difference in this respect between the two countries supplies another link in that long chain of evidence by which we must estimate their national tendencies.[71]

The old associations, of which these facts are but the external expression, now continued to act with increasing vigour. In France, the protective spirit, carried into religion, was strong enough to resist the Reformation,* and preserve to the clergy the forms, at least, of their ancient supremacy. In England,

vol. ii. p. 258. [It must be remembered that the term "vanity" may stand for a number of different qualities when used by different writers. The terms "*amour-propre*" and "*vanité*" are by some of the phrenologists used to signify opposed tendencies, as Buckle used "pride" and "vanity." Combe's statement in his *Elements* is supported by no evidence; and in his fuller *System of Phrenology* he does not advance it. In any case his analysis does not help Buckle, for he asserts that the organ of Love of Approbation (="vanity") "is uniformly large in bashful individuals" and that it is large in the skull of Robert the Bruce. It is clear that the psychology of the whole subject is here in a most elementary state. Broussais finally does not support Buckle, for in the passage cited he expressly says: "*Reste à verifier* si sur la plus grande masse des crânes cet organe est plus prononcé en France qu'en Angleterre . . . . l'éducation, les habitudes, l'exemple, donnent la prépondérance, tantôt à un organe, tantôt à un autre."—Ed.]

[71] The relation between chivalry and duelling has been noticed by several writers: and in France, where the chivalric spirit was not completely destroyed until the Revolution, we find occasional traces of this connexion even in the reign of Louis XVI. See, for instance, in *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. p. 86, a curious letter in regard to chivalry and duelling in 1778. In England there is, I believe, no evidence of even a single private duel being fought earlier than the sixteenth century, and there were not many till the latter half of Elizabeth's reign; but in France the custom arose early in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth it became usual for the seconds to fight as well as the principals. Compare *Montlosier, Monarc. Franç.* vol. ii. p. 436, with *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vi. p. 48. From that time the love of the French for duelling became quite a passion until the end of the eighteenth century, when the Revolution, or rather the circumstances which led to the Revolution, caused its comparative cessation. Some idea may be formed of the enormous extent of this practice formerly in France, by comparing the following passages; which I have the more pleasure in bringing together, as no one has written even a tolerable history of duelling, notwithstanding the great part it once played in European society. *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. ix. pp. 592, 593, vol. xv. p. 57; *Daniel, Milice Françoise*, vol. ii. p. 582; *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. i. p. 301, vol. iii. p. 406, vol. vi. p. 122, vol. viii. p. 41. vol. ix. p. 408; *Carew's State of France under Henry IV.*, in *Birch's Historical Negotiations*, p. 467; *Ben Jonson's Works*, edit. Gifford, vol. vi. p. 69; *Dulaure, Hist. de Paris* (1825, 3rd. edit.), vol. iv. p. 567, vol. v. pp. 300, 301; *Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Univ.* vol. xx. p. 242; *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 536; *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. viii. p. 98; *Capefigue's Richelieu*, vol. i. p. 63; *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. x. p. 13; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. ii. p. 191, vol. vii. p. 215, vol. ix. p. 351; *Mem. of the Baroness d'Oberkirch*, vol. i. p. 71, edit. Lond. 1852; *Lettres inédites d'Agues-seau*, vol. i. p. 211; *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. iii. p. 249, vol. iv. pp. 27, 28, 152; *Boullier, Maison Militaire des Rois de France*, pp. 87, 88; *Biog. Univ.* vol. v. pp. 402, 403, vol. xxiii. p. 411, vol. xliv. pp. 127, 401, vol. xlviii. p. 522, vol. xlix. p. 130. [Voltaire writes: "Ce n'est pas trop dire, que dans le cours de vingt années, dont dix avaient été troublées par guerre, il était mort plus de gentilshommes français de la main des Français mêmes que de celle des ennemis." *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. ii. near end.—Ed.]

[* In England it was actually "the protective spirit," represented by the king, that did the destructive work for the Reformation.—Ed.]

the pride of men, and their habits of self-reliance, enabled them to mature into a system what is called the right of private judgment, by which some of the most cherished traditions were eradicated ; and this, as we have already seen, being quickly succeeded, first by scepticism, and then by toleration, prepared the way for that subordination of the church to the state, for which we are pre-eminent, and without a rival, among the nations of Europe.* The very same tendency, acting in politics, displayed analogous results. Our ancestors found no difficulty in humbling the nobles, and reducing them to comparative insignificance. The wars of the Roses, by breaking up the leading families into two hostile factions, aided this movement ;[72] and, after the reign of Edward IV., there is no instance of any Englishman, even of the highest rank, venturing to carry on those private wars, by which, in other countries, the great lords still disturbed the peace of society.[73] When the civil contests subsided, the same spirit displayed itself in the policy of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. For those princes, despots as they were, mainly oppressed the highest classes ; and even Henry VIII., notwithstanding his barbarous cruelties, was loved by the people, to whom his reign was, on the whole, decidedly beneficial. Then there came the Reformation ; which, being an uprising of the human mind,† was essentially a rebellious movement, and thus increasing the insubordination of men, sowed, in the sixteenth century, the seeds of those great political revolutions which in the seventeenth century broke out in nearly every part of Europe. The connexion between these two revolutionary epochs is a subject full of interest ; but for the purpose of the present chapter it will be sufficient to notice such events, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, as explain the sympathy between the ecclesiastical and aristocratic classes, and prove how the same circumstances that were fatal to the one, also prepared the way for the downfall of the other.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, a large majority of the nobility were opposed to the Protestant religion. This we know from the most decisive evidence ; and, even if we had no such evidence, a general acquaintance with human nature would induce us to suspect that such was the case. For the aristocracy, by the very conditions of their existence, must as a body always be averse to innovation. And this not only because by a change they have much to lose and little to gain, but because some of their most pleasurable emotions are connected with the past rather than with the present. In the collision of actual life, their vanity is sometimes offended by the assumptions of inferior men ; it is frequently wounded by the successful competition of able men. These are mortifications to which, in the progress of society, their liability is constantly increasing. But the moment they turn to the past, they see in those good old times which are now gone by, many sources of consolation. There they find a period in which their glory is without a rival. When they look at their pedigrees, their quarterings, their escutcheons ; when they think of the purity of their blood, and the antiquity of their ancestors,—they experience a comfort

[72] On the effect of the wars of the Roses upon the nobles, compare *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 10 ; *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 340 ; *Eccleston's English Antiq.* pp. 224, 320 : and on their immense pecuniary, or rather territorial, losses, *Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue*, vol. i. p. 155.

[73] "The last instance of a pitched battle between two powerful noblemen in England occurs in the reign of Edward IV." *Allen on the Prerogative*, p. 123.

[* The idea here is that "pride" and habits of self-reliance broke down the Catholic tradition by means of a systematic use of private judgment, all this before "scepticism" came into play. Yet elsewhere (ch. vii.) Buckle has declared scepticism (=doubt) to be a necessary prelude to any change of belief. In reality, as already noted, the English Reformation was primarily a political process, begun by the crown; and the element of intellectual criticism which entered later came from outside, deriving by way of Geneva from France, and otherwise from Luther and Zwingli. Calvin, educated under the "protective spirit," developed a faculty of dissolving tradition which no English theologian of the same period rivalled.—ED.]

[† See edit. note, p. 287.—ED.]

which ought amply to atone for any present inconvenience. The tendency of this is very obvious, and has shown itself in the history of every aristocracy the world has yet seen. Men who have worked themselves to so extravagant a pitch as to believe that it is any honour to have had one ancestor who came over with the Normans, and another ancestor who was present at the first invasion of Ireland,—men who have reached this ecstasy of the fancy are not disposed to stop there, but, by a process with which most minds are familiar, they generalize their view; and, even on matters not immediately connected with their fame, they acquire a habit of associating grandeur with antiquity, and of measuring value by age; thus transferring to the past an admiration which otherwise they might reserve for the present.

The connexion between these feelings and those which animate the clergy is very evident. What the nobles are to politics, that are the priests to religion. Both classes, constantly appealing to the voice of antiquity, rely much on tradition, and make great account of upholding established customs. Both take for granted that what is old is better than what is new; and that in former times there were means of discovering truths respecting government and theology which we, in these degenerate ages, no longer possess. And it may be added that the similarity of their functions follows from the similarity of their principles. Both are eminently protective, stationary, or, as they are sometimes called, conservative. It is believed that the aristocracy guard the state against revolution, and that the clergy keep the church from error. The first are the enemies of reformers; the others are the scourge of heretics.

It does not enter into the province of this Introduction to examine how far these principles are reasonable, or to inquire into the propriety of notions which suppose that, on certain subjects of immense importance, men are to remain stationary, while on all other subjects they are constantly advancing. But what I now rather wish to point out is the manner in which, in the reign of Elizabeth, the two great conservative and protective classes were weakened by that vast movement, the Reformation, which, though completed in the sixteenth century, had been prepared by a long chain of intellectual antecedents.

Whatever the prejudices of some may suggest, it will be admitted by all unbiased judges that the Protestant Reformation was neither more nor less than an open rebellion.* Indeed, the mere mention of private judgment, on which it was avowedly based, is enough to substantiate this fact. To establish the right of private judgment was to appeal from the church to individuals; it was to increase the play of each man's intellect; it was to test the opinions of the priesthood by the opinions of laymen; it was, in fact, a rising of the scholars against their teachers, of the ruled against their rulers. And although the Reformed clergy, so soon as they had organized themselves into a hierarchy, did undoubtedly abandon the great principle with which they started, and attempt to impose articles and canons of their own contrivance, still, this ought not to blind us to the merits of the Reformation itself. The tyranny of the Church of England, during the reign of Elizabeth, and still more during the reigns of her two successors, was but the natural consequence of that corruption which power always begets in those who wield it, and does not lessen the importance of the movement by which the power was originally obtained. For men could not forget that, tried by the old theological theory, the Church of England was a schismatic establishment, and could only defend itself from the charge of heresy by appealing to that private judgment to the exercise of which it owed its existence, but of the rights of which its own proceedings were a constant infraction. It was evident that if, in religious matters, private judgment were supreme, it became a high spiritual crime to issue any articles, or to take any measure, by which that judgment could be tied up; while on the other hand, if the right of private

[* The historical process here in view appears to be, not the overthrow of the Catholic ecclesiastical system by Henry VIII. and the nobles who surrounded his son, but the later erection of a system of Protestant theology. This, however, was largely the outcome of the work of the Protestants of France and Germany. Cp. *Green, Short History*, ed. 1881, pp. 342, 399, 455.—Ed.]

judgment were not supreme, the Church of England was guilty of apostasy, inasmuch as its founders did, by virtue of the interpretation which their own private judgment made of the Bible, abandon tenets which they had hitherto held, stigmatize those tenets as idolatrous, and openly renounce their allegiance to what had for centuries been venerated as the catholic and apostolic church.

This was a simple alternative, which might indeed be kept out of sight, but could not be refined away, and most assuredly has never been forgotten. The memory of the great truth it conveys was preserved by the writings and teachings of the Puritans, and by those habits of thought natural to an inquisitive age. And when the fulness of time had come, it did not fail to bear its fruit. It continued slowly to fructify; and before the middle of the seventeenth century its seed had quickened into a life, the energy of which nothing could withstand. That same right of private judgment which the early Reformers had loudly proclaimed, was now pushed to an extent fatal to those who opposed it. This it was which, carried into politics, overturned the government; and, carried into religion, upset the church.[74] For rebellion and heresy are but different forms of the same disregard of tradition, the same bold and independent spirit.* Both are of the nature of a protest made by modern ideas against old associations. They are as a struggle between the feelings of the present and the memory of the past. Without the exercise of private judgment, such a contest could never take place; the mere conception of it could not enter the minds of men, nor would they even dream of controlling, by their individual energy, those abuses to which all great societies are liable. It is therefore in the highest degree natural that the exercise of this judgment should be opposed by those two powerful classes which, from their position, their interests, and the habits of their mind, are more prone than any other to cherish antiquity, cleave to superannuated customs, and uphold institutions which, to use their favourite language, have been consecrated by the wisdom of their fathers.

From this point of view we are able to see with great clearness the intimate connexion which, at the accession of Elizabeth, existed between the English nobles and the Catholic clergy. Notwithstanding many exceptions, an immense majority of both classes opposed the Reformation, because it was based on that right of private judgment, of which they, as the protectors of old opinions, were the natural antagonists. All this can excite no surprise; it was in the order of things, and strictly accordant with the spirit of those two great sections of society. Fortunately, however, for our country, the throne was now occupied by a sovereign who was equal to the emergency, and who, instead of yielding to the two classes, availed herself of the temper of the age to humble them. The manner in which this was effected by Elizabeth, in respect, first to the Catholic clergy, and afterwards to the Protestant clergy,[75] forms one of the most interesting parts of our history; and in an account of the reign of the great queen, I hope

[74] Clarendon (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 80), in a very angry spirit, but with perfect truth, notices (under the year 1640) the connexion between "a proud and venomous dislike against the discipline of the Church of England, and so by degrees (as the progress is very natural) an equal irreverence to the government of the state too." The Spanish government, perhaps, more than any other in Europe, has understood this relation; and even so late as 1789, an edict of Charles IV. declared, "qu'il y a crime d'hérésie dans tout ce qui tend, ou contribue, à propager les idées révolutionnaires." *Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition*, vol. ii. p. 130.

[75] The general character of her policy towards the Protestant English bishops is summed up very fairly by Collier; though he, as a professional writer, is naturally displeased with her disregard for the heads of the church. *Collier's Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. vii. pp 257, 258, edit. Barham, 1840.

[* Under Henry VIII. and the Protector Somerset there was rebellion on *behalf* of the Catholic Church, and the Scottish rebellions of 1715 and 1745 were produced by the spirit of tradition. And in 1549 the "right of private judgment" of English Catholics was put down by means of German and Italian mercenaries. See *Heylyn, History of the Reformation*, ed. 1849, i. 159.—Ed.]

to examine it at considerable length. At present, it will be sufficient to glance at her policy towards the nobles,—that other class with which the priesthood, by their interests, opinions, and associations, have always much in common.

Elizabeth, at her accession to the throne, finding that the ancient families adhered to the ancient religion, naturally called to her councils advisers who were more likely to uphold the novelties on which the age was bent. She selected men who, being little burdened by past associations, were more inclined to favour present interests. The two Bacons, the two Cecils, Knollys, Sadler, Smith, Throgmorton, Walsingham, were the most eminent statesmen and diplomatists in her reign; but all of them were commoners; only one did she raise to the peerage; and they were certainly nowise remarkable, either for the rank of their immediate connexions, or for the celebrity of their remote ancestors. They, however, were recommended to Elizabeth by their great abilities, and by their determination to uphold a religion which the ancient aristocracy naturally opposed. And it is observable that, among the accusations which the Catholics brought against the queen, they taunted her, not only with forsaking the old religion, but also with neglecting the old nobility.[76]

Nor does it require much acquaintance with the history of the time to see the justice of this charge. Whatever explanation we may choose to give of the fact, it cannot be denied that, during the reign of Elizabeth, there was an open and constant opposition between the nobles and the executive government. The rebellion of 1569 was essentially an aristocratic movement; it was a rising of the great families of the north against what they considered the upstart and plebeian administration of the queen.[77] The bitterest enemy of Elizabeth was

[76] One of the charges which, in 1588, Sixtus V. publicly brought against Elizabeth was, that "she hath rejected and excluded the ancient nobility, and promoted to honour obscure people." *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. ii. p. 4. Persons also reproaches her with her low-born ministers, and says that she was influenced "by five persons in particular—all of them sprung from the earth,—Bacon, Cecil, Dudley, Hatton, and Walsingham." *Butler*, vol. ii. p. 31. Cardinal Allen taunted her with "disgracing the ancient nobility, erecting base and unworthy persons to all the civil and ecclesiastical dignities." *Dodd's Church History*, edit. Tierney, 1840, vol. iii. appendix no. xii. p. xlvi. The same influential writer, in his *Admonition*, said that she had injured England "by great contempt and abasing of the ancient nobility, repelling them from due government, offices, and places of honour." *Allen's Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland*, 1588 (reprinted London, 1842), p. xv. Compare the account of the Bull of 1588, in *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. x. p. 175: "On accusoit Elisabeth d'avoir au préjudice de la noblesse angloise élevé aux dignités, tant civiles qu'ecclésiastiques, des hommes nouveaux, sans naissance, et indignes de les posséder."

[77] To the philosophic historian this rebellion, though not sufficiently appreciated by ordinary writers, is a very important study, because it is the last attempt ever made by the great English families to establish their authority by force of arms. Mr. Wright says, that probably all those who took a leading part in it "were allied by blood or intermarriage with the two families of the Percies and Neviles." *Wright's Elizabeth*, 1838, vol. i. p. xxxiv.; a valuable work. See also, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. i. p. 730, a list of some of those who, in 1571, were attainted on account of this rebellion, and who are said to be "all of the best families in the north of England."

But the most complete evidence we have respecting this struggle consists of the collection of original documents published in 1840 by Sir C. Sharpe, under the title of *Memorials of the Rebellion of* 1569. They show very clearly the real nature of the outbreak. On 17th November, 1569, Sir George Bowes writes that the complaint of the insurgents was that "there was certaine counsellors cropen" (*i.e.* crept) "in aboute the prince, which had excluded the nobility from the prince," &c., *Memorials*, p. 42; and the editor's note says that this is one of the charges made in all the proclamations by the earls. Perhaps the most curious proof of how notorious the policy of Elizabeth had become is contained in a friendly letter from Sussex to Cecil, dated 5th January, 1569 (*Memorials*, p. 137), one paragraph of which begins, "Of late years few young noblemen have been employed in service."

certainly Mary of Scotland ; and the interests of Mary were publicly defended by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Westmoreland, and the Earl of Arundel : while there is reason to believe that her cause was secretly favoured by the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Cumberland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Earl of Sussex.[78]

The existence of this antagonism of interests could not escape the sagacity of the English government. Cecil, who was the most powerful of the ministers of Elizabeth, and who was at the head of affairs for forty years, made it part of his business to study the genealogies and material resources of the great families ; and this he did, not out of idle curiosity, but in order to increase his control over them, or, as a great historian says, to let them know " that his eye was upon them." [79] The queen herself, though too fond of power, was by no means of a cruel disposition ; but she seemed to delight in humbling the nobles. On them her hand fell heavily ; and there is hardly to be found a single instance of her pardoning their offences, while she punished several of them for acts which would now be considered no offences at all. She was always unwilling to admit them to authority ; and it is unquestionably true that, taking them as a class, they were during her long and prosperous reign treated with unusual disrespect. Indeed, so clearly marked was her policy, that when the ducal order became extinct, she refused to renew it ; and a whole generation passed away to whom the name of duke was a mere matter of history, a point to be mooted by antiquaries, but with which the business of practical life had no concern.[80] Whatever may be her other faults, she was on this subject always consistent. Although she evinced the greatest anxiety to surround the throne with men of ability, she cared little for those conventional distinctions by which the minds of ordinary sovereigns are greatly moved. She made no account of dignity of rank ; she did not even care for purity of blood. She valued men neither for the splendour of their ancestry, nor for the length of their pedigrees, nor for the grandeur of their titles. Such questions she left for her degenerate successors, to the size of whose understandings they were admirably fitted. Our great queen regulated her conduct by another standard. Her large and powerful intellect, cultivated to its highest point by reflection and study, taught her the true measure of affairs, and enabled her to see that to make a government flourish its councillors must be men of ability and of virtue ; * but that if these two conditions are fulfilled, the nobles may be left to repose in the enjoyment of their leisure, unoppressed by those cares of the state for which, with a few brilliant exceptions, they are naturally disqualified by the number of their prejudices and by the frivolity of their pursuits.

After the death of Elizabeth an attempt was made, first by James, and then by Charles, to revive the power of the two great protective classes, the nobles and the clergy. But so admirably had the policy of Elizabeth been supported by the general temper of the age, that it was found impossible for the Stuarts to execute their mischievous plans. The exercise of private judgment, both in

[78] *Hallam*, i. p. 130 ; *Lingard*, v. pp. 97, 102 ; *Turner*, xii. pp. 245, 247.

[79] *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 241 ; an interesting passage. Turner (*Hist. of England*, vol. xii. p. 237) says that Cecil ' knew the tendency of the great lords to combine against the crown, that they might reinstate the peerage in the power from which the house of Tudor had depressed it."

[80] In 1572 the order of dukes became extinct : and was not revived till fifty years afterwards, when James I. made the miserable Villiers duke of Buckingham. *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. i. p. 397. This evidently attracted attention ; for Ben Jonson, in one of his comedies in 1616, mentions " the received heresy that England bears no dukes." *Jonson's Works*, edit. Gifford, 1816, vol. v. p. 47, where Gifford, not being aware of the extinction in 1572, has made an unsatisfactory note.

[* Compare, however, *Bishop Creighton, Queen Elizabeth*, 1899, p. 65, and *Motley, History of the United Netherlands*, 1867, i. 391 seq., as to the character and policy of her favourite Dudley ; and note in the same connexion those of Essex.—Ed.]

religion and in politics, had become so habitual, that these princes were unable to subjugate it to their will. And as Charles I., with inconceivable blindness, and with an obstinacy even greater than that of his father, persisted in adopting in their worst forms the superannuated theories of protection,* and attempted to enforce a scheme of government which men from their increasing independence were determined to reject, there inevitably arose that memorable collision which is well termed The Great Rebellion of England.[81] The analogy between this and the Protestant Reformation I have already noticed; but what we have now to consider, and what, in the next chapter, I will endeavour to trace, is the nature of the difference between our Rebellion and those contemporary wars of the Fronde, to which it was in some respects very similar.

[81] Clarendon (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 216) truly calls it "the most prodigious and the boldest rebellion that any age or country ever brought forth." See also some striking remarks in *Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 207.

[* The real cause of the beginning of the troubles in Scotland, which began the Rebellion, is now known to have been Charles' plan to resume the tithes, that is, to force the nobles to disgorge their plunder—a course the reverse of friendly to them. See *Sir James Balfour's Annales of Scotland* (=*Histor. Works*, 1825), ii. 128; *Sir Roger Manley's History of the Rebellions*, 1691, p. 7; *Laing, History of Scotland*, 2nd ed. 1804, iii. 91; *Burton, History of Scotland*, vi. 75; *Gardiner, History of England*, 1603-1642, vol. vii. ch. 72. All the while, as Buckle shows hereinafter, the Presbyterian clergy were practising a "protection" which left the tyrannies of Laud far in the rear.—Ed.]

CHAPTER X

THE ENERGY OF THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT IN FRANCE EXPLAINS THE FAILURE OF THE FRONDE. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE FRONDE AND THE CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH REBELLION.

THE object of the last chapter was to inquire into the origin of the protective spirit. From the evidence there collected, it appears that this spirit was first organized into a distinct secular form at the close of the dark ages; but that, owing to circumstances which then arose, it was, from the beginning, much less powerful in England than in France. It has likewise appeared that in our country it continued to lose ground; while in France, it early in the fourteenth century assumed a new shape, and gave rise to a centralizing movement, manifested not only in the civil and political institutions, but also in the social and literary habits of the French nation. Thus far we seem to have cleared the way for a proper understanding of the history of the two countries; and I now purpose to follow this up a little further, and point out how this difference explains the discrepancy between the civil wars of England and those which at the same time broke out in France.

Among the obvious circumstances connected with the Great English Rebellion, the most remarkable is, that it was a war of classes as well as of factions. From the beginning of the contest, the yeomanry and traders adhered to the parliament;[1] the nobles and the clergy rallied round the throne.[2] And the name given to the two parties, of Roundheads[3] and Cavaliers,[4] proves that the true nature of this opposition was generally known. It proves that men were aware that a question was at issue upon which England was divided, not so much by the particular interests of individuals, as by the general interests of the classes to which those individuals belonged.

[1] "From the beginning it may be said that the yeomanry and trading classes of towns were generally hostile to the king's side, even in those counties which were in his military occupation: except in a few, such as Cornwall, Worcestor, Salop, and most of Wales, where the prevailing sentiment was chiefly royalist." *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 578. See also *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 304; and *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 49.

[2] On this division of classes, which, notwithstanding a few exceptions, is undoubtedly true as a general fact, compare *Memoirs of Sir P. Warwick*, p. 217; *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. iii. p. 307; *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, pp. 294, 297, 345, 346, 401, 476; *May's Hist. of the Long Parliament*, book i. pp. 22, 64, book ii. p. 63, book iii. p. 78; *Hutchinson's Memoirs*, p. 100; *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 104, vol. iii. p. 258; *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, p. 86.

[3] Lord Clarendon says, in his grand style, "the rabble contemned and despised under the name of roundheads." *Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 136. This was in 1641, when the title appears to have been first bestowed. See *Fairfax Corresp.* vol. ii. pp. 185, 320.

[4] Just before the battle of Edgehill, in 1642, Charles said to his troops, "You are called cavaliers in a reproachful signification." See the king's speech, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. iv. p. 478. Directly after the battle he accused his opponents of "rendering all persons of honour odious to the common people under the style of cavaliers." *May's Hist. of the Long Parliament*, book ii. p. 25.

But in the history of the French rebellion there is no trace of so large a division. The objects of the war were in both countries precisely the same ; the machinery by which those objects were obtained was very different. The Fronde was like our Rebellion, insomuch that it was a struggle of the parliament against the crown ; an attempt to secure liberty, and raise up a barrier against the despotism of Government.[5] So far, and so long, as we merely take a view of political objects, the parallel is complete. But the social and intellectual antecedents of the French being very different from those of the English, it necessarily followed that the shape which the rebellion took should likewise be different, even though the motives were the same. If we examine this divergence a little nearer, we shall find that it is connected with the circumstance I have already noticed,—namely that in England a war for liberty was accompanied by a war of classes, while in France there was no war of classes at all. From this it resulted, that in France the rebellion, being merely political, and not, as with us, also social, took less hold of the public mind : it was unaccompanied by those feelings of insubordination, in the absence of which freedom has always been impossible ; and, striking no root into the national character, it could not save the country from that servile state into which, a few years later, it, under the government of Louis XIV., rapidly fell.*

That our Great Rebellion was in its external form a war of classes, is one of those palpable facts which lie on the surface of history. At first, the parliament[6] did indeed attempt to draw over to their side some of the nobles ; and

[5] M. Saint-Aulaire (*Hist. de la Fronde*, vol. i. p. v.) says, that the object of the Frondeurs was, "limiter l'autorité royale, consacrer les principes de la liberté civile et en confier la garde aux compagnies souveraines ; " and at p. vi. he calls the declaration of 1648, "une véritable charte constitutionnelle." See also, at vol. i. p. 128, the concluding paragraph of the speech of Omer Talon. Joly, who was much displeased at this tendency, complains that in 1648, "le peuple tomboit imperceptiblement dans le sentiment dangereux, qu'il est naturel et permis de se défendre et de s'armer contre la violence des supérieurs." *Mém. de Joly*, p. 15. [The remark of Joly is sardonic, not serious. He was condemning the policy of the Court.—Ed.] Of the immediate objects proposed by the Fronde, one was to diminish the taille, and another was to obtain a law that no one should be kept in prison more than twenty-four hours, "sans être remis entre les mains du parlement pour lui faire son procès s'il se trouvoit criminel, ou l'élargir s'il étoit innocent." *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. ii. p. 135 ; *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 398 ; *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 265 ; *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. pp. 224, 225, 240, 328.

[6] I use the word "parliament" in the sense given to it by writers of that time, and not in the legal sense.

[* It is possible to make the explanation more concrete. 1. The power of the crown in France had been greatly strengthened under Richelieu, where in England it was weak. 2. The Paris Parlement, as is implied in Buckle's previous expositions, had had no such preparation for affairs as the English. 3. In France there was a union of incongruous forces—those of the *noblesse*, fighting for their feudal interests and for fighting's sake, and those of the Parisian *bourgeoisie*, fighting for relief from arbitrary taxation. 4. In France the royal cause had on its side military genius, in the person of Condé. Had a leader of such capacity been found on the royalist side in England, the popular cause would certainly have been destroyed. It was the faculty of Cromwell that retrieved it, when its prospects were very bad. 5. The English rising was not merely more homogeneous as to class elements: it was united by *sectarian* feeling, which fused the whole with fanaticism. All the pent-up Puritan feeling of many years against the party and policy of Laud went to inspire the Parliamentary cause ; so that on one side were Presbyterians, Independents, and other dissenters, and on the other side Churchmen. Thus the English rising resembled in spirit the movements of French fanaticism in the previous century and under Richelieu. The Fronde, in comparison, was a farce, religious fanaticism having now been discounted, as Buckle has already shown.—Ed.]

in this they for a time succeeded. But as the struggle advanced, the futility of this policy became evident. In the natural order of the great movement the nobles grew more loyal ;[7] the parliament grew more democratic.[8] And when it was clearly seen that both parties were determined either to conquer or to die, this antagonism of classes was too clearly marked to be misunderstood ; the perception which each had of its own interests being sharpened by the magnitude of the stake for which they contended.

For, without burdening this Introduction with what may be read in our common histories, it will be sufficient to remind the reader of a few of the conspicuous events of that time. Just before the war began, the Earl of Essex was appointed general of the parliamentary forces, with the Earl of Bedford as his lieutenant. A commission to raise troops was likewise given to the Earl of Manchester,[9] the only man of high rank against whom Charles had displayed open enmity.[10] Notwithstanding these marks of confidence, the nobles, in whom parliament was at first disposed to trust, could not avoid showing the old leaven of their order.[11] The Earl of Essex so conducted himself as to inspire the popular party with the greatest apprehensions of his treachery ;[12] and when the defence of London was intrusted to Waller he so obstinately refused to enter the name of that able officer in the commission, that the Commons were obliged to insert it by virtue of their own authority, and in spite of their own general.[13] The Earl of Bedford, though he had received a military

[7] In May, 1642, there remained at Westminster forty-two peers, *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 559 ; but they gradually abandoned the popular cause ; and, according to *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1282, so dwindled, that eventually " seldom more than five or six " were present.

[8] These increasing democratic tendencies are most clearly indicated in Walker's curious work, *The History of Independency*. See, among other passages, book i. p. 59. And Clarendon, under the year 1644, says (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 514) : " That violent party, which had at first cozened the rest into the war, and afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work as the tools which they had wrought with could be applied to, and what remained to be done must be despatched by new workmen." What these new workmen were, he afterwards explains, p. 641, to be " the most inferior people preferred to all places of trust and profit." Book xi. under the year 1648. Compare some good remarks by Mr. Bell, in *Fairfax Correspond.* vol. iii. pp. 115, 116.

[9] This was after the appointments of Essex and Bedford, and was in 1643. *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. i. p. 58 ; *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 189.

[10] " When the king attempted to arrest the five members, Manchester, at that time Lord Kymbolton, was the only peer whom he impeached. This circumstance endeared Kymbolton to the party ; his own safety bound him more closely to its interests." *Lingard's England*, vol. vi. p. 337. Compare *Clarendon*, p. 375 ; *Ludlow*, vol. i. p. 20 It is also said that Lord Essex joined the popular party from personal pique against the king. *Fairfax Corresp.* vol. iii. p. 37.

[11] Mr. Carlyle has made some very characteristic but very just observations on the " high Essexes and Manchesters of limited notions and large estates." *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 215.

[12] *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 110 ; *Hutchinson's Memoirs*, pp. 230, 231 ; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. p. 106 ; *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, pp. 112, 113, 119 ; *Clarendon's Rebellion*, pp. 486, 514 ; or, as Lord North puts it, " for General Essex began now to appear to the private cabalists somewhat wresty." *North's Narrative of Passages relating to the Long Parliament*, published in 1670, in *Somers Tracts*, vol. vi. p. 578. At p. 584 the same elegant writer says of Essex, " being the first person and last of the nobility employed by the parliament in military affairs, which soon brought him to the period of his life. And may he be an example to all future ages, to deter all persons of like dignity from being instrumental in setting up a democratical power, whose interest it is to keep down all persons of his condition." The " Letter of Admonition " addressed to him by parliament in 1644 is printed in *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 274.

[13] *Lingard's Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 318. See also, on the hostility between

command, did not hesitate to abandon those who conferred it. This apostate noble fled from Westminster to Oxford; but finding that the king, who never forgave his enemies, did not receive him with the favour he expected, he returned to London; where, though he was allowed to remain in safety, it could not be supposed that he should again experience the confidence of parliament.[14]

Such examples as these were not likely to lessen the distrust which both parties felt for each other. It soon became evident that a war of classes was unavoidable, and that the rebellion of the parliament against the king must be reinforced by a rebellion of the people against the nobles.[15] To this the popular party, whatever may have been their first intention, now willingly agreed. In 1645 they enacted a law, by which not only the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Manchester lost their command, but all members of either house were made incapable of military service.[16] And, only a week after the execution of the king, they formally took away the legislative power of the peers; putting at the same time on record their memorable opinion, that the House of Lords is "useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished."[17]

But we may find proofs still more convincing of the true character of the English rebellion, if we consider who those were by whom it was accomplished. This will show us the democratic nature of a movement which lawyers and antiquaries have vainly attempted to shelter under the form of constitutional precedent. Our great rebellion was the work, not of men who looked behind, but of men who looked before. To attempt to trace it to personal and temporary causes; to ascribe this unparalleled outbreak to a dispute respecting ship-money, or to a quarrel about the privileges of parliament, can only suit the habits of those historians who see no further than the preamble of a statute or the decision of a judge. Such writers forget that the trial of Hampden, and the impeachment of the five members, could have produced no effect on the country unless the people had already been prepared, and unless the spirit of inquiry and of insubordination had so increased the discontents of men, as to put them in a state where, the train being laid, the slightest spark sufficed to kindle a conflagration.

The truth is, that the rebellion was an outbreak of the democratic spirit. It was the political form of a movement, of which the Reformation was the

Essex and Waller, *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part i. pp. 28, 29; and *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 177. Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, p. 254) contemptuously calls Waller "favourite-generall of the city of London."

[14] Compare *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. pp. 569, 570, with *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, p. 96, and Lord Bedford's letter, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 189, 190. This shuffling letter confirms the unfavourable account of the writer which is given in *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 422.

[15] Dr. Bates, who had been physician to Cromwell, intimates that this was foreseen from the beginning. He says that the popular party offered command to some of the nobles, "not that they had any respect for the lords, whom shortly they intended to turn out and to level with the commoners, but that they might poison them with their own venom, and rise to greater authority by drawing more over to their side." *Bates's Account of the late Troubles in England*, part i. p. 76. Lord North too supposes that almost immediately after the war began, it was determined to dissolve the House of Lords. See *Somers Tracts*, vol. vi. p. 582. Beyond this, I am not aware of any direct early evidence; except that in 1644 Cromwell is alleged to have stated that "there would never be a good time in England till we had done with lords." *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 217; and, what is evidently the same circumstance, in *Holles's Memoirs*, p. 18.

[16] This was the "Self-denying Ordinance," which was introduced in December, 1644: but, owing to the resistance of the peers, was not carried until the subsequent April. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. pp. 326–337, 340–343, 354, 355. See also *Mem. of Lord Holles*, p. 30; *Mem. of Sir P. Warwick*, p. 283.

[17] On this great epoch in the history of England, see *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1284; *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 643; *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. i. p. 424; *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. i. p. 246; *Warwick's Mem.* pp. 182, 336, 352.

religious form. As the Reformation was aided,* not by men in high ecclesiastical offices, not by great cardinals or wealthy bishops, but by men filling the lowest and most subordinate posts, just so was the English rebellion a movement from below, an uprising from the foundations, or, as some will have it, the dregs of society.† The few persons of high rank who adhered to the popular cause were quickly discarded, and the ease and rapidity with which they fell off was a clear indication of the turn that things were taking. Directly the army was freed from its noble leaders, and supplied with officers drawn from the lower classes, the fortune of war changed, the royalists were everywhere defeated, and the king made prisoner by his own subjects. Between his capture and execution, the two most important political events were his abduction by Joyce, and the forcible expulsion from the House of Commons of those members who were thought likely to interfere in his favour. Both these decisive steps were taken, and indeed only could have been taken, by men of great personal influence, and of a bold and resolute spirit. Joyce, who carried off the king, and who was highly respected in the army, had however been recently a common working tailor ; [18] while Colonel Pride, whose name is preserved in history as having purged the House of Commons of the malignants, was about on a level with Joyce, since his original occupation was that of a drayman.[19] The tailor and the drayman were in that age strong enough to direct the course of public affairs, and to win for themselves a conspicuous position in the state. After the execution of Charles the same tendency was displayed. The old monarchy being destroyed, that small but active party known as the fifth-monarchy men increased in importance, and for a time exercised considerable influence. Their three principal and most distinguished members were Venner, Tuffnel, and Okey. Venner, who was the leader, was a wine-cooper ; [20] Tuffnel, who was second in command, was a carpenter ; [21] and Okey, though he became a colonel, had filled the menial office of stoker in an Islington brewery.[22]

Nor are these to be regarded as exceptional cases. In that period promotion depended solely on merit ; and if a man had ability he was sure to rise, no

[18] "Cornet Joyce, who was one of the agitators in the army, a tailor, a fellow who had two or three years before served in a very inferior employment in Mr. Hollis's house." *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 612. "A shrewd tailor-man." *D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Reign of Charles I.*, 1851, vol. ii. p. 466.

[19] Ludlow (*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 139) ; Noble (*Memoirs of the House of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 470) ; and Winstanley (*Loyal Martyrology*, edit. 1665, p. 108), mentions that Pride had been a drayman. It is said that Cromwell, in ridicule of the old distinctions, conferred knighthood on him "with a faggot." *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 164 ; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. iii. p. 478.

[20] "The fifth-monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner, a wine-cooper." *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. iii. p. 282. "Venner, a wine-cooper." *Lister's Life and Corresp. of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 62.

[21] "The second to Venner was one Tuffnel, a carpenter living in Gray's Inn Lane. *Winstanley's Martyrology*, p. 163.

[22] "He was stoaker in a brew-house at Islington, and next a most poor chandler near Lion-Key in Thames Street." *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1605. See also *Winstanley's Martyrology*, p. 122.

[* The use of the word "aided" points to a flaw in the analogy. As already noted, the destructive work of the Reformation was done by the crown and the nobility, new and old, only slightly responded to by the common people for over a generation. Until the beginnings of Puritanism under Elizabeth, it had nothing to do with "the democratic spirit."—Ed.]

[† This must be pronounced an extravagant statement. The emergence of men of the working classes as officers in the army does not mean that the rebellion was a working-class movement. Joyce and Pride were *not*, as stated below, "strong enough to direct the course of public affairs." They were only officers of the army, obeying orders. See Buckle's own correction, below, at *note* 52.—Ed.]

matter what his birth or former avocations might have been. Cromwell himself was a brewer ;[23] and Colonel Jones, his brother-in-law, had been servant to a private gentleman.[24] Deane was the servant of a tradesman ; but he became an admiral, and was made one of the commissioners of the navy.[25] Colonel Goffe had been apprentice to a drysalter ;[26] Major-General Whalley had been apprentice to a draper.[27] Skippon, a common soldier who had received no education,[28] was appointed commander of the London militia ; he was raised to the office of sergeant-major-general of the army ; he was declared commander-in-chief in Ireland ; and he became one of the fourteen members of Cromwell's council.[29] Two of the lieutenants of the Tower were Berkstead and Tichborne. Berkstead was a pedlar, or at all events a hawker of small wares ;[30] and Tichborne, who was a linendraper, not only received the lieutenancy of the Tower, but became a colonel, and a member of the committee of state in 1655, and of the council of state in 1659.[31] Other trades were equally successful ; the highest prizes being open to all men, provided they displayed the requisite capacity. Colonel Harvey was a silk-mercer ;[32] so was Colonel Rowe ;[33] so also was Colonel Venn.[34] Salway had been apprentice to a grocer, but, being an able man, he rose to the rank of major in the army ; he received the king's remembrancer's office ; and in 1659 he was appointed by parliament a member of the

[23] Some of the clumsy eulogists of Cromwell wish to suppress the fact of his being a brewer ; but that he really practised that useful trade is attested by a variety of evidence, and is distinctly stated by his own physician, Dr. Bates. *Bates's Troubles in England*, vol. ii. p. 238. See also *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part i. p. 32, part ii. p. 25, part iii. p. 37 ; *Noble's House of Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 328–331. Other passages, which I cannot now call to mind, will occur to those who have studied the literature of the time.

[24] "John Jones, at first a serving-man, then a colonel of the Long Parliament, . . . married the Protector's sister." *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1600. "A serving-man ; . . . in process of time married one of Cromwell's sisters." *Winstanley's Martyrology*, p. 125.

[25] "Richard Deane, Esq., is said to have been a servant to one Button, a toyman in Ipswich, and to have himself been the son of a person in the same employment ; . . . was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy with Popham and Blake, and in April (1649) he became an admiral and general at sea." *Noble's Lives of the Regicides*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173. Winstanley (*Martyrol.* p. 121) also says that Deane was "servant in Ipswich."

[26] "Apprentice to one Vaughan a dry-salter." *Noble's House of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 507 : and see his *Regicides*, vol. i. p. 255.

[27] "Bound apprentice to a woollen-draper." *Winstanley's Martyr*, p. 108. He afterwards set up in the same trade for himself ; but with little success, for Dr. Bates (*Troubles in England*, vol. ii. p. 222) calls him "a broken clothier."

[28] "Altogether illiterate." *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 152. Two extraordinary speeches by him are preserved in *Burton's Diary*, vol. i. pp. 24, 25, 48–50.

[29] *Holles's Mem.* p. 82 ; *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. ii. p. 39 ; and a letter from Fairfax in *Cary's Memorials of the Civil War*, 1842, vol. i. p. 413.

[30] "Berkstead, who heretofore sold needles, bodkins, and thimbles, and would have run on an errand anywhere for a little money ; but who now by Cromwell was preferred to the honourable charge of lieutenant of the Tower of London." *Bates's Account of the Troubles*, part ii. p. 222.

[31] *Noble's Regicides*, vol. ii. pp. 272, 273. Lord Holles (*Memoirs*, p. 174) also mentions that he was "a linen-draper."

[32] "Edward Harvy, late a poor silk-man, now colonel, and hath got the Bishop of London's house and mannor of Fulham." *Walker's Independency*, part i. p. 170. "One Harvey, a decayed silk-man." *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 418.

[33] Owen Rowe, "put to the trade of a silk-mercer, . . . went into the parliament army, and became a colonel." *Noble's Regicides*, vol. ii. p. 150.

[34] "A silkman in London ; . . . went into the army, and rose to the rank of colonel." *Noble's Regicides*, vol. ii. p. 283. "A broken silk-man in Cheap-side." *Winstanley's Martyrol.* p. 130.

council of state.[35] Around that council-board were also gathered Bond the draper,[36] and Cawley the brewer ; [37] while by their side we find John Berners, who is said to have been a private servant,[38] and Cornelius Holland, who is known to have been a servant, and who was, indeed, formerly a link-boy.[39] Among others who were now favoured and promoted to offices of trust, were Packe the woollen-draper,[40] Puryt he weaver,[41] and Pemble the tailor.[42] The parliament which was summoned in 1653 is still remembered as Barebone's parliament, being so called after one of its most active members, whose name was Barebone, and who was a leather-seller in Fleet Street.[43] Thus too, Downing, though a poor charity-boy,[44] became teller of the exchequer, and representative of England at the Hague.[45] To these we may add, that Colonel Horton had been a gentleman's servant ; [46] Colonel Berry had been a woodmonger ; [47] Colonel Cooper a haberdasher ; [48] Major Rolfe a shoemaker ; [49] Colonel Fox a tinker ; [50] and Colonel Hewson a cobbler.[51]

Such were the leaders of the English rebellion, or to speak more properly,

[35] *Walker's Independency*, part i. p. 143 ; *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1608 ; *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. ii. pp. 241, 259 ; *Noble's Regicides*, vol. ii. pp. 158, 162.

[36] He was "a woollen-draper at Dorchester," and was "one of the council of state in 1649 and 1651." *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. p. 99 : see also *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1594.

[37] "A brewer in Chichester ; . . . in 1650–1 he was appointed one of the council of state." *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. p. 136. "William Cawley, a brewer of Chichester." *Winstanley's Martyrol.* p. 138.

[38] John Berners, "supposed to have been originally a serving-man," was "one of the council of state in 1659." *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. p. 90.

[39] "Holland the linke-boy." *Walker's Independency*, part iii. p. 37. "He was originally nothing more than a servant to Sir Henry Vane ; . . . upon the establishment of the Commonwealth, he was made one of the council of state in 1649, and again in 1650." *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. pp. 357, 358.

[40] *Noble's Mem. of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 502.

[41] *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part i. p. 167.

[42] *Ellis's Original Letters illustrative of English History*, third series, vol. iv. p. 219, Lond. 1846.

[43] *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 1407 ; *Rose's Biog. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 172 ; *Clarendon's Rebellion*, p. 794.

[44] "A poor child bred upon charity." *Harris's Stuarts*, vol. v. p. 281. "A man of an obscure birth, and more obscure education." *Clarendon's Life of Himself*, p. 1116.

[45] See *Vaughan's Cromwell*, vol. i. pp. 227, 228, vol. ii. pp. 299, 302, 433 ; *Lister's Life and Corresp. of Clarendon*, vol. ii. p. 231, vol. iii. p. 134. The common opinion is that he was the son of a clergyman at Hackney ; but if so, he was probably illegitimate, considering the way he was brought up. However, his Hackney origin is very doubtful, and no one appears to know who his father was. See *Notes and Queries*, vol. iii. pp. 69, 213.

[46] *Noble's Regicides*, vol. i. p. 362. Cromwell had a great regard for this remarkable man, who not only distinguished himself as a soldier, but, judging from a letter of his recently published, appears to have repaired the deficiencies of his early education. See *Fairfax Correspond.* vol. iv. pp. 22–25, 108. There never has been a period in the history of England in which so many men of natural ability were employed in the public service as during the Commonwealth.

[47] *Noble's House of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 507.

[48] *Noble's Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 518 ; *Bates's Troubles*, vol. iii. p. 222

[49] *Bates's Late Troubles*, vol. i. p. 87 ; *Ludlow's Mem.* vol. i. p. 220.

[50] *Walker's Hist. of Independency*, part ii. p. 87.

[51] Ludlow, who was well acquainted with Colonel Hewson, says that he "had been a shoemaker." *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 139. But this is the amiable partiality of a friend ; and there is no doubt that the gallant colonel was neither more nor less than a cobbler. See *Walker's Independency*, part ii. p. 39 ; *Winstanley's Martyrol.* p. 123 ; *Bates's Late Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 222 ; *Noble's Cromwell*, vol. ii. pp. 251, 345, 470.

such were the instruments by which the rebellion was consummated.[52] If we now turn to France we shall clearly see the difference between the feelings and temper of the two nations. In that country the old protective spirit still retained its activity; and the people, being kept in a state of pupilage, had not acquired those habits of self-command and self-reliance by which alone great things can be effected. They had been so long accustomed to look with timid reverence to the upper classes that even when they rose in arms they could not throw off the ideas of submission which were quickly discarded by our ancestors. The influence of the higher ranks was, in England, constantly diminishing; in France, it was scarcely impaired. Hence it happened that, although the English and French rebellions were contemporary, and, in their origin, aimed at precisely the same objects, they were distinguished by one most important difference. This was, that the English rebels were headed by popular leaders; the French rebels by noble leaders. The bold and sturdy habits which had long been cultivated in England enabled the middle and lower classes to supply their own chiefs out of their own ranks. In France such chiefs were not to be found; simply because, owing to the protective spirit, such habits had not been cultivated. While, therefore, in our island the functions of civil government, and of war, were conducted with conspicuous ability and complete success by butchers, by bakers, by brewers, by cobblers, and by tinkers, the struggle which at the same moment was going on in France presented an appearance totally different. In that country the rebellion was headed by men of a far higher standing; men, indeed, of the longest and most illustrious lineage. There, to be sure, was a display of unexampled splendour; a galaxy of rank, a noble assemblage of aristocratic insurgents and titled demagogues. There was the Prince de Condé, the Prince de Conti, the Prince de Marsillac, the Duke de Bouillon, the Duke de Beaufort, the Duke de Longueville, the Duke de Chevreuse, the Duke de Nemours, the Duke de Luynes, the Duke de Brissac, the Duke d'Elbœuf, the Duke de Candale, the Duke de la Tremouille, the Marquis de la Boulaye, the Marquis de Laigues, the Marquis de Noirmoutier, the Marquis de Vitry, the Marquis de Fosseuse, the Marquis de Sillery, the Marquis d'Estissac, the Marquis d'Hocquincourt, the Count de Rantzau, the Count de Montresor.

These were the leaders of the Fronde;[53] and the mere announcement of their names indicates the difference between the French and English rebellions. And in consequence of this difference there followed some results which are well worth the attention of those writers who, in their ignorance of the progress of human affairs, seek to uphold that aristocratic power, which, fortunately for the interests of mankind has long been waning; and which during the last seventy years has in the most civilized countries received such severe and repeated shocks that its ultimate fate is hardly a matter respecting which much doubt can now be entertained.

[52] Walker, who relates what he himself witnessed, says that about 1649 the army was commanded by "colonels and superior officers, who lord it in their gilt coaches, rich apparel, costly feastings; though some of them led dray-horses, wore leather-pelts, and were never able to name their own fathers or mothers." *Hist. of Independ.* part ii. p. 244. The *Mercurius Rusticus*, 1647, says, "Chelmsford was governed by a tinker, two cobblers, two tailors, two pedlars." *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, 1850, p. 430. And, at p. 434, another work, in 1647, makes a similar statement in regard to Cambridge; while Lord Holles assures us, that "most of the colonels and officers (were) mean tradesmen, brewers, taylors, goldsmiths, shoemakers, and the like." *Holles's Memoirs*, p. 149. When Whitelocke was in Sweden, in 1653, the prætor of one of the towns abused the parliament, saying, "that they had killed their king, and were a company of taylors and cobblers." *Whitelocke's Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. p. 205. See also a note in *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 156.

[53] Even De Retz, who vainly attempted to organize a popular party, found that it was impossible to take any step without the nobles; and notwithstanding his democratic tendencies he in 1648 thought it advisable "tâcher d'engager dans les intérêts publics les personnes de qualité." *Mém. de Joly*, p. 31.

The English rebellion was headed by men whose tastes, habits, and associations, being altogether popular, formed a bond of sympathy between them and the people, and preserved the union of the whole party. In France the sympathy was very weak, and therefore the union was very precarious. What sort of sympathy could there be between the mechanic and the peasant, toiling for their daily bread, and the rich and dissolute noble, whose life was passed in those idle and frivolous pursuits which debased his mind, and made his order a byword and a reproach among the nations? To talk of sympathy existing between the two classes is a manifest absurdity, and most assuredly would have been deemed an insult by those high-born men who treated their inferiors with habitual and insolent contempt. It is true that, from causes which have been already stated, the people did, unhappily for themselves, look up to those above them with the greatest veneration ;[54] but every page of French history proves how unworthily this feeling was reciprocated, and in how complete a thraldom the lower classes were kept. While, therefore, the French, from their long-established habits of dependence, were become incapable of conducting their own rebellion, and on that account were obliged to place themselves under the command of their nobles, this very necessity confirmed the servility which caused it, and thus stunting the growth of freedom, prevented the nation from effecting by their civil wars those great things which we in England were able to bring about by ours.

Indeed, it is only necessary to read the French literature of the seventeenth century to see the incompatibility of the two classes, and the utter hopelessness of fusing into one party the popular and aristocratic spirit. While the object of the people was to free themselves from the yoke, the object of the nobles was merely to find new sources of excitement,[55] and minister to that personal vanity for which, as a body, they have always been notorious. As this is a department of history that has been little studied, it will be interesting to collect a few instances which will illustrate the temper of the French aristocracy, and will show what sort of honours and what manner of distinctions those were which this powerful class was most anxious to obtain.

That the objects chiefly coveted were of a very trifling description will be anticipated by whoever has studied the effect which, in an immense majority of minds, hereditary distinctions produce upon personal character. How pernicious such distinctions are may be clearly seen in the history of all the European aristocracies ; and in the notorious fact that none of them have preserved even a mediocrity of talent, except in countries where they are frequently invigorated by the infusion of plebeian blood, and their order strengthened by the accession of those masculine energies which are natural to men who make their own position, but cannot be looked for in men whose position is made for them. For when the notion is once firmly implanted in the mind that the source of honour is from without, rather than from within, it must invariably happen that the possession of external distinction will be preferred

[54] Mably (*Observations sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. i. p. 357) frankly says, "L'exemple d'un grand a toujours été plus contagieux chez les Français que partout ailleurs." See also vol. ii. p. 267 : "Jamais l'exemple des grands n'a été aussi contagieux ailleurs qu'en France ; on dirait qu'ils ont le malheureux privilége de tout justifier." Rivarol, though his opinions on other points were entirely opposed to those of Mably, says that in France "la noblesse est aux yeux du peuple une espèce de religion, dont les gentilshommes sont les prêtres." *Mém. de Rivarol*, p. 94. Happily, the French Revolution, or rather the circumstances which caused the French Revolution, have utterly destroyed this ignominious homage.

[55] The Duke de la Rochefoucauld candidly admits that in 1649 the nobles raised a civil war, "avec d'autant plus de chaleur que c'était une nouveauté." *Mém. de Rochefoucauld*, vol. i. p. 406. Thus too Lemontey (*Etablissement de Louis XIV.*, p. 368) : "La vieille noblesse, qui ne savait que combattre, faisait la guerre par goût, par besoin, par vanité, par ennui." Compare, in *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. pp. 467, 468, a summary of the reasons which in 1649 induced the nobles to go to war ; and on the way in which their frivolity debased the Fronde see *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. pp. 169, 170.

to the sense of internal power. In such cases, the majesty of the human intellect, and the dignity of human knowledge, are considered subordinate to those mock and spurious gradations by which weak men measure the degrees of their own littleness. Hence it is that the real precedence of things becomes altogether reversed; that which is trifling is valued more than that which is great; and the mind is enervated by conforming to a false standard of merit, which its own prejudices have raised. On this account, they are evidently in the wrong who reproach the nobles with their pride, as if it were a characteristic of their order. The truth is, that if pride were once established among them, their extinction would rapidly follow. To talk of the pride of hereditary rank is a contradiction in terms. Pride depends on the consciousness of self-applause; vanity is fed by the applause of others.* Pride is a reserved and lofty passion, which disdains those external distinctions that vanity eagerly grasps. The proud man sees in his own mind the source of his own dignity; which, as he well knows, can be neither increased nor diminished by any acts except those which proceed solely from himself. The vain man, restless, insatiable, and always craving after the admiration of his contemporaries, must naturally make great account of those external marks, those visible tokens, which, whether they be decorations or titles, strike directly on the senses, and thus captivate the vulgar, to whose understandings they are immediately obvious. This therefore being the great distinction, that pride looks within, while vanity looks without, it is clear that when a man values himself for a rank which he inherited by chance, without exertion and without merit, it is a proof not of pride but of vanity, and of vanity of the most despicable kind. It is a proof that such a man has no sense of real dignity, no idea of what that is in which alone all greatness consists. What marvel if, to minds of this sort, the most insignificant trifles should swell into matters of the highest importance? What marvel if such empty understandings should be busied with ribbons, and stars, and crosses; if this noble should yearn after the Garter, and that noble pine for the Golden Fleece; if one man should long to carry a wand in the precincts of the court, and another man to fill an office in the royal household; while the ambition of a third is to make his daughter a maid-of-honour, or to raise his wife to be mistress of the robes?

[* Buckle here follows a definition of Blair's (cited by *Combe, System of Phrenology*, 5th ed. i. 365); and he takes for granted the completeness of a dichotomy that has not been made out. The love of applause and the consciousness of self-applause may go together; and the latter may centre round any personal attribute, such as hereditary rank, without involving a craving for applause. Yet again, a love of applause may subsist without involving what is ordinarily understood by vanity. The latter term almost invariably carries some of the force of "conceit," and this again implies "the consciousness of self-applause" which Buckle calls pride. "Pride," in turn, so often connotes the ideas of satisfaction in one's caste or race or family, that it will not avail to call "pride of rank" a contradiction in terms. In effect, Buckle is simply contending for a rectification of the standards of self-satisfaction; and it now appears that no good sociological use can be made of the theorem of the "vanity of the French and pride of the English" (Table of Contents for ch. ix., and above, pp. 352, 363), which he adopted from Chenevix (*An Essay upon National Character*, 1832, i. ch. ii. p. 53). The idea had already been turned by Montesquieu to entirely different account in the *Esprit des Lois*. It is there laid down (liv. xix. ch. 9) that "la paresse est l'effet de l'orgueil; le travail est une suite de la vanité: l'orgueil d'un Espagnol le portera à ne pas travailler: la vanité d'un Français le portera à savoir travailler mieux que les autres." Here "vanity" proceeds upon the desire to satisfy self-esteem, not upon the desire for the applause of others; while "pride" is something quite different from the complex of qualities conceived by Buckle, which (above, p. 365) leads to the insistence on the right of private judgment. The terminology being thus chaotic, there is no durable proposition to discuss; and sociology must revert to the *veræ causæ* of institutions and national experience for the explanation of so-called national characteristics, not *vice versâ*. Whole peoples cannot be congenitally "proud" and "vain" in any of the senses under notice. See Buckle's own avowal above, p. 352.—ED.]

We, seeing these things, ought not to be surprised that the French nobles, in the seventeenth century, displayed in their intrigues and disputes a frivolity which, though redeemed by occasional exceptions, is the natural characteristic of every hereditary aristocracy. A few examples of this will suffice to give the reader some idea of the tastes and temper of that powerful class which, during several centuries, retarded the progress of French civilization.

Of all the questions on which the French nobles were divided, the most important was that touching the right of sitting in the royal presence. This was considered to be a matter of such gravity that in comparison with it a mere struggle for liberty faded into insignificance. And what made it still more exciting to the minds of the nobles was the extreme difficulty with which this great social problem was beset. According to the ancient etiquette of the French court, if a man were a duke, his wife might sit in the presence of the queen; but if his rank were inferior, even if he were a marquis, no such liberty could be allowed.[56] So far, the rule was very simple, and, to the duchesses themselves, highly agreeable. But the marquises, the counts, and the other illustrious nobles, were uneasy at this invidious distinction, and exerted all their energies to procure for their own wives the same honour. This the dukes strenuously resisted; but, owing to circumstances which unfortunately are not fully understood, an innovation was made in the reign of Louis XIII., and the privilege of sitting in the same room with the queen was conceded to the female members of the Bouillon family.[57] In consequence of this evil precedent, the question became seriously complicated, since other members of the aristocracy considered that the purity of their descent gave them claims nowise inferior to those of the house of Bouillon, whose antiquity, they said, had been grossly exaggerated. The contest which ensued had the effect of breaking up the nobles into two hostile parties, one of which sought to preserve that exclusive privilege in which the other wished to participate. To reconcile these rival pretensions various expedients were suggested; but all were in vain, and the court, during the administration of Mazarin, being pressed by the fear of a rebellion, showed symptoms of giving way, and of yielding to the inferior nobles the point they so ardently desired. In 1648 and 1649, the queen-regent, acting under the advice of her council, formally conceded the right of sitting in the royal presence to the three most distinguished members of the lower aristocracy, namely, the Countess de Fleix, Madame de Pons, and the Princess de Marsillac.[58] Scarcely had this decision been promulgated, when the princes

[56] Hence the duchesses were called "femmes assises;" those of lower rank "non assises." *Mém. de Fontenay Mareuil*, vol. i. p. 111. The Count de Ségur tells us that "les duchesses jouissaient de la prérogative d'être assises sur un tabouret chez la reine." *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 79. The importance attached to this is amusingly illustrated in *Mém. de Saint-Simon*, vol. iii. pp. 215–218, Paris, 1842; which should be compared with *De Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV.*, vol. ii. p. 116, and *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. x. p. 383.

[57] "Survint incontinent une autre difficulté à la cour sur le sujet des tabourets, que doivent avoir les dames dans la chambre de la reine; car encore que cela ne s'accorde régulièrement qu'aux duchesses, néanmoins le feu roi Louis XIII l'avoit accordé aux filles de la maison de Bouillon," etc. *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. iii. p. 5. See also, on this encroachment on the rights of the duchesses under Louis XIII., the case of Séguier, in *Duclos, Mémoires Secrets*, vol. i. pp. 360, 361. The consequences of the innovation were very serious; and Tallemant des Réaux (*Historiettes*, vol. viii. pp. 223, 224) mentions a distinguished lady, of whom he says, "Pour satisfaire son ambition, il lui falloit un tabouret: elle cabale pour épouser le vieux Bouillon La Marck veuf pour la seconde fois." In this she failed; but, determined not to be baffled, "elle ne se rebute point, et voulant à toute force avoir un tabouret, elle épouse le fils aîné du duc de Villars; c'est un ridicule de corps et d'esprit, car il est bossu et quasi imbécile, et gueux pardessus cela." This melancholy event happened in 1649.

[58] As to the Countess de Fleix and Madame de Pons, see *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 116, 369. According to the same high authority (vol. iii. p. 367), the inferiority of the Princess de Marsillac consisted in the painful fact, that her husband was merely

of the blood and the peers of the realm were thrown into the greatest agitation.[59] They immediately summoned to the capital those members of their own order who were interested in repelling this daring aggression, and, forming themselves into an assembly, they at once adopted measures to vindicate their ancient rights.[60] On the other hand, the inferior nobles, flushed by their recent success, insisted that the concession just made should be raised into a precedent; and that, as the honour of being seated in the presence of majesty had been conceded to the house of Foix, in the person of the Countess de Fleix, it should likewise be granted to all those who could prove that their ancestry was equally illustrious.[61] The greatest confusion now arose; and both sides urgently insisting on their own claims, there was for many months imminent danger lest the question should be decided by an appeal to the sword.[62] But as the higher nobles, though less numerous than their opponents, were more powerful, the dispute was finally settled in their favour. The queen sent to their assembly a formal message, which was conveyed by four of the marshals of France, and in which she promised to revoke those privileges, the concession of which had given such offence to the most illustrious members of the French aristocracy. At the same time, the marshals not only pledged themselves as responsible for the promise of the queen, but undertook to sign an agreement that they would personally superintend its execution.[63] The nobles, however, who felt that they had been aggrieved in their most tender point, were not yet satisfied, and to appease them it was necessary that the atonement should be as public as the injury. It was found necessary, before they would peaceably disperse, that government should issue a document, signed by the queen-regent, and by the four secretaries of state,[64] in which the favours granted to the unprivileged nobility were withdrawn, and the much-cherished honour of sitting in the royal presence was taken away from the Princess de Marsillac, from Madame de Pons, and from the Countess de Fleix.[65]

These were the subjects which occupied the minds, and wasted the energies, of the French nobles, while their country was distracted by civil war, and while questions were at issue of the greatest importance,—questions concerning the liberty of the nation and the reconstruction of the government.[66] It is hardly

the son of a duke, and the duke himself was still alive, "il n'étoit que gentilhomme, et son père le duc de la Rochefoucauld n'étoit pas mort."

[59] The long account of these proceedings in *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 367–393 shows the importance attached to them by contemporary opinion.

[60] In October, 1649, "la noblesse s'assembla à Paris sur le fait des tabourets." *Mém de Lenet*, vol. i. p. 184.

[61] "Tous ceux donc qui par leurs aïeux avoient dans leurs maisons de la grandeur, par des alliances des femmes descendues de ceux qui étoient autrefois maîtres et souverains des provinces de France, demandèrent la même prérogative que celle qui venoit d'être accordée au sang de Foix." *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 117. Another contemporary says: "Cette prétention émut toutes les maisons de la cour sur cette différence et inégalité." *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. iii. p. 6; and vol. ii. p. 437: "le marquis de Noirmoutier et celui de Vitry demandoient le tabouret pour leurs femmes."

[62] Indeed, at one moment, it was determined that a counter-demonstration should be made on the part of the inferior nobles; a proceeding which, if adopted, must have caused civil war: "Nous résolûmes une contre-assemblée de noblesse pour soutenir le tabouret de la maison de Rohan." *De Retz, Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 284.

[63] *Mém de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 389.

[64] "Signé d'elle, et de quatre secrétaires d'état." *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 391.

[65] The best accounts of this great struggle will be found in the *Memoirs of Madame de Motteville* and in those of Omer Talon; two writers of very different minds, but both of them deeply impressed with the magnitude of the contest.

[66] Saint Aulaire (*Hist. de la Fronde*, vol. i. p. 317) says that in this same year (1649) "l'esprit de discussion fermentait dans toutes les têtes, et chacun à cette époque soumettait les actes de l'autorité à un examen raisonné." Thus, too, in *Mém. de Montglat*, under 1649, "on ne parlait publiquement dans Paris que de république et de liberté."

necessary to point out how unfit such men must have been to head the people in their arduous struggle, and how immense was the difference between them and the leaders of the great English Rebellion. The causes of the failure of the Fronde are indeed obvious, when we consider that its chiefs are drawn from that very class respecting whose tastes and feelings some evidence has just been given.[67] How that evidence might be almost indefinitely extended is well known to readers of the French memoirs of the seventeenth century,—a class of works which, being mostly written either by the nobles or their adherents, supplies the best materials from which an opinion may be formed. In looking into these authorities, where such matters are related with a becoming sense of their importance, we find the greatest difficulties and disputes arising as to who was to have an arm-chair at court ;[68] who was to be invited to the royal dinners, and who was to be excluded from them ;[69] who was to be kissed by the queen, and who was not to be kissed by her ;[70] who should have the first seat in church ;[71] what the proper proportion was between the rank of different persons, and the length of the cloth on which they were allowed to stand ;[72] what was the dignity a noble must have attained in order to justify his entering the Louvre in a coach ;[73] who was to have precedence at coronations ;[74] whether all dukes were equal, or whether, as some thought, the Duke de Bouillon, having once possessed the sovereignty of Sedan, was superior to

vol. ii. p. 186. In 1648, "effusa est contemptio super principes." *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. p. 271.

[67] That the failure of the Fronde is not to be ascribed to the inconstancy of the people is admitted by De Retz, by far the ablest observer of his time : "Vous vous étonnerez peut-être de ce que je dis plus sûr, à cause de l'instabilité du peuple : mais il faut avouer que celui de Paris se fixe plus aisément qu'aucun autre ; et M. de Villeroi, qui a été le plus habile homme de son siècle, et qui en a parfaitement connu le naturel dans tout le cours de la ligue, où il le gouverna sous M. du Maine, a été de ce sentiment. Ce que j'en éprouvois moi-même me le persuadoit." *Mém. de Retz*, vol. i. p. 348 ; a remarkable passage, and forming a striking contrast to the declamation of those ignorant writers who are always reproaching the people with their fickleness.

[68] This knotty point was decided in favour of the Duke of York, to whom, in 1649, "la reine fit de grands honneurs, et lui donna une chaise à bras." *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 275. In the chamber of the king the matter seems to have been differently arranged ; for Omer Talon (*Mém.* vol. ii. p. 332) tells us that "le duc d'Orléans n'avoit point de fauteuil, mais un simple siège pliant, à cause que nous étions dans la chambre du roi." In the subsequent year, the scene not being in the king's room, the same writer describes "M. le duc d'Orléans assis dans un fauteuil." *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 95. Compare *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.*, vol. viii. p. 310. Voltaire (*Dict. Philos.* art. *Cérémonies*) says : "Le fauteuil à bras, la chaise à dos, le tabouret, la main droite et la main gauche, ont été pendant plusieurs siècles d'importants objets de politique, et d'illustres sujets de querelles." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxvii. p. 486. The etiquette of the "fauteuil" and "chaise" is explained in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. x. p. 287.

[69] See *Mém. de Motteville*, vo . iii. pp. 309, 310.

[70] See a list of those it was proper for the queen to kiss, in *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. p. 318.

[71] *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. i. pp. 217–219. The Prince de Condé hotly asserted that at a *Te Deum* "il ne pouvait être assis en autre place que dans la première chaire." This was in 1642.

[72] For a quarrel respecting the "drap de pied," see *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 249.

[73] A very serious dispute was caused by the claim of the Prince de Marsillac, for "permission d'entrer dans le Louvre en carrosse." *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. iii. pp. 367, 389.

[74] *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. i. pp. 422, 423, at the coronation of Louis XIII. Other instances of difficulties caused by questions of precedence will be found in *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. iii. pp. 23, 24, 437 ; and even in the grave work of Sully, *Œconomies Royales*, vol. vii. p. 126, vol. viii. p. 395 ; which should be compared with *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. ix. pp. 86, 87.

the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who had never possessed any sovereignty at all ; [75] whether the Duke de Beaufort ought or ought not to enter the council chamber before the Duke de Nemours, and whether, being there, he ought to sit above him.[76] These were the great questions of the day: while, as if to exhaust every form of absurdity, the most serious misunderstandings arose as to who should have the honour of giving the king his napkin as he ate his meals,[77] and who was to enjoy the inestimable privilege of helping on the queen with her shift.[78]

It may perhaps be thought that I owe some apology to the reader for obtruding upon his notice these miserable disputes respecting matters which, however despicable they now appear, were once valued by men not wholly devoid of understanding. But it should be remembered that their occurrence and, above all, the importance formerly attached to them, is part of the history of the French mind ; and they are therefore to be estimated, not according to their intrinsic dignity, but according to the information they supply respecting a state of things which has now passed away. Events of this sort, though neglected by ordinary historians, are among the staff and staple of history. Not only do they assist in bringing before our minds the age to which they refer, but in a philosophic point of view they are highly important. They are part of the materials from which we may generalize the laws of that great protective spirit which in different periods assumes different shapes ; but which, whatever its form may be, always owes its power to the feeling of veneration as opposed to the feeling of independence. How natural this power is, in certain stages of society, becomes evident if we examine the basis on which veneration is itself supported. The origin of veneration is wonder and fear. These two passions, either alone or combined, are the ordinary source of veneration ; and the way in which they arise is obvious. We wonder because we are ignorant, and we fear because we are weak. It is therefore natural that in former times, when men were more ignorant and more weak than they now are, they should likewise have been more given to veneration, more inclined to those habits of reverence which, if carried into religion, cause superstition, and if carried into politics, cause despotism. In the ordinary march of society, these evils are

[75] *Mém. de Lenet*, vol. i. pp. 378, 379. Lenet, who was a great admirer of the nobles, relates all this without the faintest perception of its absurdity. I ought not to omit a terrible dispute, in 1652, respecting the recognition of the claims of the Duke de Rohan (*Mém. de Conrart*, pp. 151, 152) ; nor another dispute, in the reign of Henry IV., as to whether a duke ought to sign his name before a marshal, or whether the marshal should sign first. *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 11.

[76] This difficulty, in 1652, caused a violent quarrel between the two dukes, and ended in a duel, in which the Duke de Nemours was killed, as is mentioned by most of the contemporary writers. See *Mém. de Montglat*, vol. ii. p. 357 ; *Mém. de la Rochefoucauld*, vol. ii. p. 172 ; *Mém. de Conrart*, pp. 172–175 ; *Mém. de Retz*, vol. ii. p. 203 ; *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. iii. p. 437.

[77] Pontchartrain, one of the ministers of state, writes, under the year 1620 : " En ce même temps s'étoit mû un très grand différend entre M. le prince de Condé et M. le comte de Soissons, sur le sujet de la serviette que chacun d'eux prétendoit devoir présenter au roi quand ils se rencontreroient tous deux près sa majesté." *Mém. de Pontchartrain*, vol. ii. p. 295. Le Vassor, who gives a fuller account (*Règne de Louis XIII.*, vol. iii. pp. 536, 537), says : " Chacun des deux princes du sang fort échauffez à qui feroit une fonction de maître d'hôtel, tiroit la serviette de son côté, et la contestation augmentoit d'une manière dont les suites pouvoient devenir facheuses." But the king interposing, " ils furent donc obligez de céder : mais ce ne fut pas sans se dire l'un à l'autre des paroles hautes et menaçantes."

[78] According to some authorities, a man ought to be a duke before his wife could be allowed to meddle with the queen's shift ; according to other authorities, the lady-in-waiting, whoever she might be, had the right, unless a princess happened to be present. On these alternatives, and on the difficulties caused by them, compare *Mém. de Saint-Simon*, 1842, vol. vii. p. 125, with *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. pp. 28, 276, 277.

remedied by that progress of knowledge which at once lessens our ignorance and increases our resources: in other words, which diminishes our proneness to wonder and to fear, and thus weakening our feelings of veneration, strengthens in the same proportion our feelings of independence. But in France this natural tendency was, as we have already seen, counteracted by an opposite tendency; so that while on the one hand the protective spirit was enfeebled by the advance of knowledge, it was on the other hand invigorated by those social and political circumstances which I have attempted to trace; and by virtue of which, each class exercising great power over the one below it, the subordination and subserviency of the whole were completely maintained. Hence the mind became accustomed to look upwards, and to rely not on its own resources but on the resources of others. Hence that pliant and submissive disposition, for which the French, until the eighteenth century, were always remarkable. Hence, too, that inordinate respect for the opinions of others, on which vanity, as one of their national characteristics, is founded.[79] For the feelings of vanity and of veneration have evidently this in common, that they induce each man to measure his actions by a standard external to himself; while the opposite feelings of pride and of independence would make him prefer that internal standard which his own mind alone can supply. The result of all this was that when in the middle of the seventeenth century the intellectual movement stimulated the French to rebellion, its effect was neutralized by that social tendency which, even in the midst of the struggle, kept alive the habits of their old subservience. Thus it was that, while the war went on, there still remained a constant inclination on the part of the people to look up to the nobles, on the part of the nobles to look up to the crown. Both classes relied upon what they saw immediately above them. The people believed that without the nobles there was no safety; the nobles believed that without the crown there was no honour. In the case of the nobles, this opinion can hardly be blamed; for as their distinctions proceed from the crown, they have a direct interest in upholding the ancient notion that the sovereign is the fountain of honour. They have a direct interest in that preposterous doctrine according to which, the true source of honour being overlooked, our attention is directed to an imaginary source, by whose operation it is believed that in a moment, and at the mere will of a prince, the highest honours may be conferred upon the meanest men. This, indeed, is but part of the old scheme to create distinctions for which nature has given no warrant; to substitute a superiority which is conventional for that which is real; and thus try to raise little minds above the level of great ones. The utter failure, and, as society advances, the eventual cessation of all such attempts, is certain; but it is evident that as long as the attempts are made, they who profit by them must be inclined to value those from whom they proceed. Unless counteracting circumstances interpose, there must be between the two parties that sympathy which is caused by the memory of past favours, and the hope of future ones. In France, this natural feeling being strengthened by that protective spirit which induced men to cling to those above them, it is not strange that the nobles, even in the midst of their turbulence, should seek the slightest favours of the crown with an eagerness of which some examples have just been given. They had been so long accustomed to look up to the sovereign as the source of their own dignity, that they believed there was some hidden dignity even in his commonest actions; so that to their minds it was a matter of the greatest importance which of them should hand him his napkin, which of them should hold his basin, and which

[79] Also connected with the institution of chivalry, both being cognate symptoms of the same spirit. [If "vanity" be a fixed national characteristic, and "respect for the opinions of others" its natural sequence, it is quite unintelligible how the nation in question could ever come to be revolutionary. Once more, this must be pronounced a spurious theory of causation. Boldness and independence have been above credited to "the French" before Louis XIV.: below, they are credited to them after his death. The theorem of "vanity" is thus beside the case.—Ed.]

of them should put on his shirt.[80] It is not, however, for the sake of casting ridicule upon these idle and frivolous men that I have collected evidence respecting the disputes with which they were engrossed. So far from this, they are rather to be pitied than blamed: they acted according to their instincts; they even exerted such slender abilities as nature had given to them. But we may well feel for that great country whose interests depended on their care. And it is solely in reference to the fate of the French people that the historian need trouble himself with the history of the French nobles. At the same time, evidence of this sort, by disclosing the tendencies of the old nobility, displays in one of its most active forms that protective and aristocratic spirit of which they know little who only know it in its present reduced and waning condition. Such facts are to be regarded as the symptoms of a cruel disease, by which Europe is indeed still afflicted, but which we now see only in a very mitigated form, and of whose native virulence no one can have an idea unless he has studied it in those early stages when, raging uncontrolled, it obtained such a mastery as to check the growth of liberty, stop the progress of nations, and dwarf the energies of the human mind.

It is hardly necessary to trace at greater length the way in which France and England diverged from each other, or to point out what I hope will henceforth be considered the obvious difference between the civil wars in the two countries. It is evident that the low-born and plebeian leaders of our rebellion could have no sympathy with those matters which perplexed the understanding of the great French nobles. Men like Cromwell and his coadjutors were not much versed in the mysteries of genealogy, or in the subtleties of heraldic lore. They had paid small attention to the etiquette of courts; they had not even studied the rules of precedence. All this was foreign to their design. On the other hand, what they did was done thoroughly. They knew that they had a great work to perform; and they performed it well.[81] They had risen in arms against a corrupt and despotic government, and they would not stay their hands until they had pulled down those who were in high places; until they had not only removed the evil, but had likewise chastized those bad men by whom the evil was committed. And although in this their glorious undertaking they did undoubtedly display some of the infirmities to which even the highest minds are subject, we at least ought never to speak of them but with that unfeigned respect which is due to those who taught the first great lesson to the kings of Europe, and who, in language not to be mistaken, proclaimed to them that the impunity which they had long enjoyed was now come to an end, and that against their transgressions the people possessed a remedy, sharper and more decisive than any they had hitherto ventured to use.

[80] Even just before the French Revolution these feelings still existed. See, for instance, the extraordinary details in *Campan, Mém. sur Marie Antoinette*, vol. i. pp. 98, 99; which should be compared with an extract from *Prudhomme's Miroir de Paris*, in *Southey's Commonplace Book*, third series, 1850, p. 251, no. 165.

[81] Ludlow thus expresses the sentiments which induced him to make war upon the crown: "The question in dispute between the king's party and us being, as I apprehended, whether the king should govern as a god by his will, and the nation be governed by force like beasts? or whether the people should be governed by laws made by themselves, and live under a government derived from their own consent? being fully persuaded, that an accommodation with the king was unsafe to the people of England, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it." *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 230. Compare Whitelocke's spirited speech to Christina, in *Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, vol. i. p. 238; and see pp. 390, 391.

CHAPTER XI

THE PROTECTIVE SPIRIT CARRIED BY LOUIS XIV. INTO LITERATURE. EXAMINATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE INTELLECTUAL CLASSES AND THE GOVERNING CLASSES.

THE reader will now be able to understand how it was that the protective system, and the notions of subordination connected with it, gained in France a strength unknown in England, and caused an essential divergence between the two countries. To complete the comparison, it seems necessary to examine how this same spirit influenced the purely intellectual history of France, as well as its social and political history. For the ideas of dependence upon which the protective scheme is based, encouraged a belief that the subordination which existed in politics and in society ought also to exist in literature; and that the paternal, inquisitive, and centralizing system which regulated the material interests of the country, should likewise regulate the interests of its knowledge. When, therefore, the Fronde was finally overthrown, everything was prepared for that singular intellectual polity which during fifty years characterized the reign of Louis XIV., and which was to French literature what feudalism was to French politics. In both cases, homage was paid by one party, and protection and favour accorded by the other. Every man of letters became a vassal of the French crown. Every book was written with a view to the royal favour; and to obtain the patronage of the king was considered the most decisive proof of intellectual eminence. The effects produced by this system will be examined in the present chapter. The apparent cause of the system was the personal character of Louis XIV.; but the real and overruling causes were those circumstances which I have already pointed out, and which established in the French mind associations that remained undisturbed until the eighteenth century. To invigorate those associations, and to carry them into every department of life, was the great aim of Louis XIV.; and in that he was completely successful. It is on this account that the history of his reign becomes highly instructive, because we see in it the most remarkable instance of despotism which has ever occurred; a despotism of the largest and most comprehensive kind; a despotism of fifty years over one of the most civilized people in Europe, who not only bore the yoke without repining, but submitted with cheerfulness, and even with gratitude, to him by whom it was imposed.[1]

[1] On the disgraceful subserviency of the most eminent men of letters, see *Capefigue's Louis XIV.*, vol. i. pp. 41, 42, 116; and on the feeling of the people, Le Vassor, who wrote late in the reign of Louis XIV., bitterly says, "mais les Français, accoutumés à l'esclavage, ne sentent plus la pesanteur de leurs chaînes." *Le Vassor, Hist. de Louis XIII.*, vol. vi. p. 670. Foreigners were equally amazed at the general, and still more at the willing, servility. Lord Shaftesbury, in a letter dated February, 1704–5, passes a glowing eulogy upon liberty; but he adds, that in France, "you will hardly find this argument understood; for whatever flashes may now and then appear, I never yet knew one single Frenchman a free man." *Forster's Original Letters of Locke, Sidney, and Shaftesbury*, 1830, p. 205. In the same year De Foe makes a similar remark in

What makes this the more strange is that the reign of Louis XIV. must be utterly condemned if it is tried even by the lowest standard of morals, of honour, or of interest. A coarse and unbridled profligacy, followed by the meanest and most grovelling superstition, characterized his private life; while in his public career he displayed an arrogance and a systematic perfidy which eventually roused the anger of all Europe, and brought upon France sharp and signal retribution. As to his domestic policy, he formed a strict alliance with the church; and although he resisted the authority of the Pope, he willingly left his subjects to be oppressed by the tyranny of the clergy.[2] To them he abandoned everything except the exercise of his own prerogative.[3] Led on by them, he, from the moment he assumed the government, began to encroach upon those religious liberties of which Henry IV. had laid the foundation, and which down to this period had been preserved intact.[4] It was at the instigation of the clergy that he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which the principle of toleration had for nearly a century been incorporated with the law of the land.[5] It was at their instigation that, just before this outrage upon the most sacred rights of his subjects, he, in order to terrify the Protestants into conversion, suddenly let loose upon them whole troops of dissolute soldiers, who were allowed to practise the most revolting cruelties. The frightful barbarities which followed are related by authentic writers;[6] and of the effect produced on the

regard to the French nobles, *Wilson's Life of De Foe*, vol. ii. p. 209; and, in 1699, Addison writes from Blois a letter which strikingly illustrates the degradation of the French. *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 80. Compare *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iv. pi 365, on "the gross excess of flattery to which the French have run, beyond the examples of former ages, in honour of their king."

[2] The terms of this compact between the crown and the church are fairly stated by M. Ranke: "Wir sehen, die beiden Gewalten unterstützten einander. Der König ward von den Einwirkungen der weltlichen, der Clerus von der unbedingten Autorität der geistlichen Gewalt des Papstthums freigesprochen." *Die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 168.

[3] This part of his character is skilfully drawn by Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxv. p. 43.

[4] Flassan supposes that the first persecuting laws were in 1679: "Dès l'année 1679 les concessions faites aux protestans avaient été graduellement restreintes." *Diplomatie Française*, vol. iv. p. 92. But the fact is, that these laws began in 1662, the year after the death of Mazarin. See *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxv. p. 167; *Benoist, Edit de Nantes*, vol. iii. pp. 460–462, 481. In 1667, a letter from Thynne to Lord Clarendon (*Lister's Life of Clarendon*, vol. iii. p. 446) mentions "the horrid persecutions the reformed religion undergoes in France;" and Locke, who travelled in France in 1675 and 1676, states in his Journal (*King's Life of Locke*, vol. i. p. 110) that the Protestants were losing "every day some privilege or other."

[5] An account of the revocation will be found in all the French historians; but I do not remember that any of them have noticed that there was a rumour of it in Paris twenty years before it occurred. In March, 1665, Patin writes, "On dit que, pour miner les huguenots, le roi veut supprimer les chambres de l'édit, et abolir l'édit de Nantes." *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 516.

[6] Compare *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iii. pp. 73–76, with *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xx. pp. 377, 378. Voltaire says that the Protestants who persisted in their religion "étaient livrés aux soldats, qui eurent toute licence, excepté celle de tuer. Il y eut pourtant plusieurs personnes si cruellement maltraitées qu'elles en moururent." And Burnet, who was in France in 1685, says "all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty." What some of those methods were I shall now relate; because the evidence, however painful it may be, is necessary to enable us to understand the reign of Louis XIV. It is necessary that the veil should be rent; and that the squeamish delicacy which would hide such facts should give way before the obligation which the historian is under of holding up to public opprobrium, and branding with public infamy, the church by which the measures were instigated, the sovereign by whom they were enforced, and the age in which they were permitted.

The two original sources for our knowledge of these events are *Quick's Synodicon in*

material interests of the nation, some idea may be formed from the fact that these religious persecutions cost France half a million of her most industrious inhabitants, who fled to different parts, taking with them those habits of labour,

Gallia, 1692, folio; and *Benoist, Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, 1695, 4to. From these works I extract the following accounts of what happened in France in 1685. "Afterwards they fall upon the persons of the Protestants; and there was no wickedness, though never so horrid, which they did not put in practice, that they might enforce them to change their religion. . . . They bound them as criminals are when they be put to the rack; and in that posture, putting a funnel into their mouths, they poured wine down their throats till its fumes had deprived them of their reason, and they had in that condition made them consent to become Catholics. Some they stripped stark naked, and after they had offered them a thousand indignities, they stuck them with pins from head to foot; they cut them with pen-knives, tear them by the noses with red-hot pincers, and dragged them about the rooms till they promised to become Roman Catholics, or that the doleful outcries of these poor tormented creatures, calling upon God for mercy, constrained them to let them go. . . . In some places they tied fathers and husbands to the bed-posts, and ravished their wives and daughters before their eyes. . . . From others they pluck off the nails of their hands and toes, which must needs cause an intolerable pain. They burnt the feet of others. They blew up men and women with bellows till they were ready to burst in pieces. If these horrid usages could not prevail upon them to violate their consciences, and abandon their religion, they did then imprison them in close and noisome dungeons, in which they exercised all kinds of inhumanities upon them." *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. cxxx. cxxxi. "Cependant les troupes exerçoient partout des cruautez inouies. Tout leur étoit permis, pourveu qu'ils ne fissent pas mourir. Ils faisoient danser quelquefois leurs hôtes, jusqu'à ce qu'ils tombassent en défaillance. Ils bernoient les autres jusqu'à ce qu'ils n'en pouvoient plus. . . . Il y en eut quelques-uns à qui on versa de l'eau bouillante dans la bouche. . . . Il y en eut plusieurs à qui on donna des coups de bâton sous les pieds, pour éprouver si ce supplice est aussi cruel que les relations le publient. On arrachoit à d'autres le poil de la barbe. . . . D'autres brûloient à la chandelle le poil des bras et des jambes de leurs hôtes. D'autres faisoient brûler de la poudre, si près du visage de ceux qui leur resistoient, qu'elle leur grilloit toute la peau. Ils mettoient à d'autres des charbons allumez dans les mains, et les contraignoient de les tenir fermées, jusqu'à ce que les charbons fussent éteints. . . . On brûla les pieds à plusieurs, tenant les uns long-tems devant un grand feu; appliquant aux autres une pelle ardente sous les pieds; liant les pieds des autres dans des bottines pleines de graisse, qu'on faisoit fondre et chauffer peu à peu devant un brasier ardent." *Benoist, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. v. pp. 887–889. One of the Protestants, named Ryau, they "lièrent fort étroitement; lui sevrèrent les doigts des mains; lui fichèrent des épingles sous les ongles; lui firent brûler de la poudre dans les oreilles; lui percèrent les cuisses en plusieurs lieux, et versèrent du vinaigre et du sel dans ses blessures. *Par ce tourment ils épuisèrent sa patience en deux jours; et le forcèrent à changer de religion.*" p. 890. "Les dragons étoient les mêmes en tous lieux. Ils battoient, ils étourdissoient, ils brûloient en Bourgogne comme en Poitou, en Champagne comme en Guyenne, en Normandie comme en Languedoc. Mais ils n'avoient pour les femmes ni plus de respect, ni plus de pitié que pour les hommes. Au contraire, ils abusoient de la tendre pudeur qui est une des propriétez de leur sexe; et ils s'en prevaloient pour leur faire de plus sensibles outrages. On leur levoit quelquefois leurs juppes par dessus la tête, et on leur jettoit des seaux d'eau sur le corps. Il y en eut plusieurs que les soldats mirent en chemise, et qu'ils forcèrent de danser avec eux dans cet état. . . . Deux filles de Calais, nommées le Noble, furent mises toutes nuës sur le pavé, et furent ainsi exposées à la mocquerie et aux outrages des passans. . . . Des dragons ayant lié la dame de Vezençai à la quenouille de son lit, lui crachoient dans la bouche quand elle l'ouvroit pour parler ou pour soupirer." pp. 891, 892. At p. 917 are other details, far more horrible, respecting the treatment of women, and which indignation rather than shame prevents me from transcribing. Indeed, the shame can only light on the church and the government under whose united authority such scandalous outrages could be openly perpetrated, merely for the sake of compelling men to change their religious opinions.

and that knowledge and experience in their respective trades, which had hitherto been employed in enriching their own country.[7] These things are notorious, they are incontestable, and they lie on the surface of history. Yet, in the face of them, there are still found men who hold up for admiration the age of Louis XIV. Although it is well known that in his reign every vestige of liberty was destroyed; that the people were weighed down by an insufferable taxation; that their children were torn from them by tens of thousands to swell the royal armies; that the resources of the country were squandered to an unprecedented extent; that a despotism of the worst kind was firmly established;—although all this is universally admitted, yet there are writers, even in our own day, who are so infatuated with the glories of literature as to balance them against the most enormous crimes, and who will forgive every injury inflicted by a prince during whose life there were produced the Letters of Pascal, the Orations of Bossuet, the Comedies of Molière, and the Tragedies of Racine.

This method of estimating the merits of a sovereign is indeed so rapidly dying away, that I shall not spend any words in refuting it. But it is connected with a more widely diffused error respecting the influence of royal patronage upon national literature. This is a delusion which men of letters have themselves been the first to propagate. From the language too many of them are in the habit of employing, we might be led to believe that there is some magical power in the smiles of a king which stimulates the intellect of the fortunate individual whose heart they are permitted to gladden. Nor must this be despised as one of those harmless prejudices that still linger round the person of the sovereign. It is not only founded on a misconception of the nature of things, but it is in its practical consequences very injurious. It is injurious to the independent spirit which literature should always possess; and it is injurious to princes themselves, because it strengthens that vanity of which they generally have too large a share. Indeed, if we consider the position they now occupy in the most civilized countries, we shall at once see the absurdity of an opinion which, in the present state of knowledge, is unfit to be held by educated men.

From the moment that there was finally abandoned the theological fiction of the divine right of kings, it necessarily followed that the respect felt for them should suffer a corresponding diminution.[8] The superstitious reverence with which they were formerly regarded is extinct, and at the present day we are no longer awed by that divinity with which their persons were once supposed to be hedged.[9] The standard, therefore, by which we should measure them is obvious. We should applaud their conduct in proportion as they contribute towards the happiness of the nation over which they are entrusted with power;

[7] M. Blanqui (*Hist. de l'Economie Politique*, vol. ii. p. 10) says, that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes cost France "cinq cent mille de ses enfants les plus industrieux," who carried into other countries "les habitudes d'ordre et de travail dont ils étaient imbus." See also *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, chap. xxxvi., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xx. pp. 380, 381. Several of them emigrated to North America. Compare *Godwin on Population*, pp. 388, 389, with *Benoist, l'Edit de Nantes*, vol. v. pp. 973, 974, and *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, edit. 1849, vol. ii. p. 159. See also, on the effects of the Revocation, *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 473.

[8] On the diminished respect for kings, caused by the abandonment of divine right, see *Spencer's Social Statics*, pp. 423, 424; and on the influence of the clergy in propagating the old doctrine, see Allen's learned work on the *Royal Prerogative*, edit. 1849, p. 150. See also some striking remarks by Locke, in *King's Life of Locke*, vol. ii. p. 90.

[9] "Qu'est devenu, en effet, le droit divin, cette pensée, autrefois acceptée par les masses, que les rois étaient les représentants de Dieu sur la terre, que la racine de leur pouvoir était dans le ciel? Elle s'est évanouie devant cette autre pensée, qu'aucun nuage, aucun mysticisme n'obscurcit; devant cette pensée si naturelle et brillant d'une clarté si nette et si vive, que la souveraine puissance, sur la terre, appartient au peuple entier, et non à une fraction, et moins encore à un seul homme." *Rey, Science Sociale*, vol. iii. p. 308. Compare *Manning on the Law of Nations*, p. 101; *Laing's Sweden*, p. 408; *Laing's Denmark*, p. 196; *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 391.

but we ought to remember that, from the manner in which they are educated, and from the childish homage always paid to them, their information must be very inaccurate, and their prejudices very numerous.[10] On this account, so far from expecting that they should be judicious patrons of literature, or should in any way head their age, we ought to be satisfied if they do not obstinately oppose the spirit of their time, and if they do not attempt to stop the march of society. For unless the sovereign, in spite of the intellectual disadvantages of his position, is a man of very enlarged mind, it must usually happen that he will reward, not those who are most able, but those who are most compliant; and that while he refuses his patronage to a profound and independent thinker, he will grant it to an author who cherishes ancient prejudices and defends ancient abuses. In this way, the practice of conferring on men of letters either honorary or pecuniary rewards is agreeable, no doubt, to those who receive them; but has a manifest tendency to weaken the boldness and energy of their sentiments, and therefore to impair the value of their works. This might be made evident by publishing a list of those literary pensions which have been granted by European princes. If this were done, the mischief produced by these and similar rewards would be clearly seen. After a careful study of the history of literature, I think myself authorized to say that for one instance in which a sovereign has recompensed a man who is before his age, there are at least twenty instances of his recompensing one who is behind his age. The result is that in every country where royal patronage has been long and generally bestowed, the spirit of literature, instead of being progressive, has become reactionary. An alliance has been struck up between those who give and those who receive. By a system of bounties, there has been artificially engendered a greedy and necessitous class; who, eager for pensions, and offices, and titles, have made the pursuit of truth subordinate to the desire of gain, and have infused into their writings the prejudices of the court to which they cling. Hence it is that the marks of favour have become the badge of servitude. Hence it is that the acquisition of knowledge, by far the noblest of all occupations, an occupation which of all others raises the dignity of man, has been debased to the level of a common profession,* where the chances of success are measured by the number of rewards, and where the highest honours are in the gift of whoever happens to be the minister or sovereign of the day.

This tendency forms of itself a decisive objection to the views of those who wish to entrust the executive government with the means of rewarding literary men. But there is also another objection, in some respects still more serious. Every nation which is allowed to pursue its course uncontrolled, will easily satisfy the wants of its own intellect, and will produce such a literature as is best suited to its actual condition. And it is evidently for the interest of all classes that the production shall not be greater than the want; that the supply shall not exceed the demand. It is moreover necessary to the well-being of society that a healthy proportion should be kept up between the intellectual classes and the practical classes. It is necessary that there should be a certain ratio between those who are most inclined to think and those who are most inclined to act. If we were all authors, our material interests would suffer; if we were all men of business, our mental pleasures would be abridged. In

[10] In this, as in all instances, the language of respect long survives the feeling to which the language owed its origin. Lord Brougham (*Political Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 42, Lond. 1849) observes, that "all their titles are derived from a divine original—all refer to them as representing the Deity on earth. They are called '*Grace*,' '*Majesty*.' They are termed '*The Lord's anointed*,' '*The Vicegerent of God upon earth*;' with many other names which are either nonsensical or blasphemous, but which are outdone in absurdity by the kings of the East." True enough; but if Lord Brougham had written thus three centuries ago, he would have had his ears cut off for his pains.

[* In the sequel, it will be seen, Buckle really proposes that the business of spreading knowledge *should* be "debased to the level of a common profession," inasmuch as he insists that it should be solely a matter of commercial demand and supply.—Ed.]

the first case, we should be famished philosophers ; in the other case, we should be wealthy fools. Now it is obvious that, according to the commonest principles of human action, the relative numbers of these two classes will be adjusted without effort by the natural, or, as we call it, the spontaneous movement of society. But if a government takes upon itself to pension literary men, it disturbs this movement ; it troubles the harmony of things. This is the unavoidable result of that spirit of interference, or, as it is termed, protection, by which every country has been greatly injured. If, for instance, a fund were set apart by the state for rewarding butchers and tailors, it is certain that the number of those useful men would be needlessly augmented. If another fund is appropriated for the literary classes, it is as certain that men of letters will increase more rapidly than the exigencies of the country require. In both cases, an artificial stimulus will produce an unhealthy action.* Surely, food and clothes are as necessary for the body as literature is for the mind. Why, then, should we call upon government to encourage those who write our books any more than to encourage those who kill our mutton and mend our garments ? The truth is that the intellectual march of society is in this respect exactly analogous to its physical march. In some instances a forced supply may indeed create an unnatural want. But this is an artificial state of things, which indicates a diseased action. In a healthy condition, it is not the supply which causes the want, but it is the want which gives rise to the supply. To suppose, therefore, that an increase of authors would necessarily be followed by a diffusion of knowledge, is as if we were to suppose that an increase of butchers must be followed by a diffusion of food. This is not the way in which things are ordered. Men must have appetite before they will eat ; they must have money before they can buy ; they must be inquisitive before they will read. The two great principles which move the world are the love of wealth and the love of knowledge. These two principles respectively represent and govern the two most important classes into which every civilized country is divided. What a government gives to one of these classes, it must take from the other. What it gives to literature, it must take from wealth.† This can never be done to any great

[* The argument which follows is one of the most overstrained in Buckle's work. From the sound proposition that kings individually are likely to " protect " injudiciously, he proceeds without notice to the argument (loosely adapted from Adam Smith) that all evocative action by the State in regard to the mental life is injurious. As the chapter proceeds, he will be found to misstate the evidence in the interests of his thesis, which he reached in the main deductively, the induction in the following pages being quite inadequate to the argument. As the word literature ordinarily connotes rather *belles lettres* than scientific and scholarly research, the preliminary argument is fallaciously plausible ; but by Buckle's own definition all knowledge is conveyed by "literature." In terms of his argument as to butchers and tailors, the State acted perniciously in ever founding universities and schools ; and the desire for knowledge evoked by hearing that knowledge is somewhere to be had is " an unnatural want." The assertion that " every nation " left alone " will easily satisfy the wants of its own intellect " is either an argument in a circle or a quite false allegation to the effect that nobody ever wants more instruction than comes in his way. It is not even true as regards *belles lettres :* it is doubly untrue as regards knowledge in general. Buckle's minor premiss as to the paralysing effect of the protective policy of Louis XIV. is an expansion of the proposition of Barante (*Tableau Litt. du 18e Siècle* (1819), ed. 8ième, pp. 36–37) that all the great men of the reign of Louis had been born and educated before his government was in force, and that " cette première génération d'hommes une fois épuisée, elle ne se renouvela pas." Even this statement, though broadly true, errs from want of circumspection ; and Buckle added to its inaccuracy, as we shall see, in developing it into an attack on all endowment of research.—Ed.]

[† As this argument obviously applies to all taxation whatever, and to all public expenditure whatever, its limitation to the present issue amounts to a sophism. Louis expended on his wars a thousand times what he spent on men of letters. But the military expenditure of all governments is to their expenditure on " literature " as 100 or 1000 to 1. Then " the most ruinous consequences " must be always present.—Ed.]

extent without entailing the most ruinous consequences. For, the natural proportions of society being destroyed, society itself will be thrown into confusion. While men of letters are protected, men of industry will be depressed. The lower classes can count for little in the eyes of those to whom literature is the first consideration. The idea of the liberty of the people will be discouraged ; their persons will be oppressed ; their labour will be taxed. The arts necessary to life will be despised, in order that those which embellish life may be favoured. The many will be ruined, that the few may be pleased. While everything is splendid above, all will be rotten below. Fine pictures, noble palaces, touching dramas,—these may for a time be produced in profusion, but it will be at the cost of the heart and strength of the nation. Even the class for whom the sacrifice has been made, will soon decay. Poets may continue to sing the praises of the prince who has bought them with his gold.* It is, however, certain that men who begin by losing their independence will end by losing their energy. Their intellect must be robust indeed, if it does not wither in the sickly atmosphere of a court. Their attention being concentrated on their master, they insensibly contract those habits of servility which are suited to their position ; and, as the range of their sympathies is diminished, the use and action of their genius become impaired. To them submission is a custom, and servitude a pleasure. In their hands, literature soon loses its boldness, tradition is appealed to as the ground of truth, and the spirit of inquiry is extinguished. Then it is that there comes one of those sad moments in which, no outlet being left for public opinion, the minds of men are unable to find a vent ; their discontents, having no voice, slowly rankle into a deadly hatred ; their passions accumulate in silence, until at length, losing all patience, they are goaded into one of those terrible revolutions, by which they humble the pride of their rulers, and carry retribution even into the heart of the palace.

The truth of this picture is well known to those who have studied the history of Louis XIV., and the connexion between it and the French Revolution. That prince adopted, during his long reign, the mischievous practice of rewarding literary men with large sums of money, and of conferring on them numerous marks of personal favour. As this was done for more than half a century, and as the wealth which he thus unscrupulously employed was of course taken from his other subjects, we can find no better illustration of the results which such patronage is likely to produce. He, indeed, has the merit of organizing into a system that protection of literature which some are so anxious to restore. What the effect of this was upon the general interests of knowledge we shall presently see. But its effect upon authors themselves should be particularly attended to by those men of letters who, with little regard to their own dignity, are constantly reproaching the English government for neglecting the profession of which they themselves are members. In no age have literary men been rewarded with such profuseness as in the reign of Louis XIV. ; and in no age have they been so mean-spirited, so servile, so utterly unfit to fulfil their great vocation as the apostles of knowledge and the missionaries of truth. The history of the most celebrated authors of that time proves that, notwithstanding their acquirements and the power of their minds, they were unable to resist the surrounding corruption. To gain the favour of the king, they sacrificed that independent spirit which should have been dearer to them than life. They gave away the inheritance of genius ; they sold their birthright for a mess of pottage.† What happened then, would under the same circumstances happen now. A few eminent thinkers may be able

[* Buckle has here left his own definition (above, p. 151) entirely out of sight. He now makes "literature" mean merely *belles lettres*, whereas his argument above applies to all production of food for the mind.—Ed.]

[† The details which follow disprove this assertion. Among the men who, on Buckle's own showing, did *not* sell their birthright, were Corneille, Racine, Molière, Boileau, La Fontaine, Malebranche, La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère. And we shall see that he entirely ignored the names of many other distinguished writers who were not corrupted by the "protection" around them.—Ed.]

for a certain time to resist the pressure of their age. But, looking at mankind generally, society can have no hold on any class except through the medium of their interests. It behoves, therefore, every people to take heed that the interests of literary men are on their side rather than on the side of their rulers. For literature is the representative of intellect, which is progressive; government is the representative of order, which is stationary. As long as these two great powers are separate, they will correct and react upon each other, and the people may hold the balance. If, however, these powers coalesce, if the government can corrupt the intellect, and if the intellect will yield to the government, the inevitable result must be despotism in politics, and servility in literature. This was the history of France under Louis XIV.; and this, we may rest assured, will be the history of every country that shall be tempted to follow so attractive but so fatal an example.

The reputation of Louis XIV. originated in the gratitude of men of letters; but it is now supported by a popular notion that the celebrated literature of his age is mainly to be ascribed to his fostering care. If, however, we examine this opinion, we shall find that, like many of the traditions of which history is full, it is entirely devoid of truth. We shall find two leading circumstances, which will prove that the literary splendour of his reign was not the result of his efforts, but was the work of that great generation which preceded him; and that the intellect of France, so far from being benefited by his munificence, was hampered by his protection.

I. The first circumstance is that the immense impulse which, during the administrations of Richelieu and of Mazarin, had been given to the highest branches of knowledge, was suddenly stopped.* In 1661 Louis XIV. assumed the government; [11] and from that moment until his death in 1715 the history of France, so far as great discoveries are concerned, is a blank in the annals of Europe. If, putting aside all preconceived notions respecting the supposed glory of that age, we examine the matter fairly, it will be seen that in every department there was a manifest dearth of original thinkers. There was much that was elegant, much that was attractive. The senses of men were soothed and flattered by the creations of art, by paintings, by palaces, by poems; but scarcely anything of moment was added to the sum of human knowledge. If we take the mathematics, and those mixed sciences to which they are applicable, it will be universally admitted that their most successful cultivators in France during the seventeenth century were Descartes, Pascal, Fermat, Gassendi, and Mersenne. But, so far from Louis XIV. having any share in the honour due to them, these eminent men were engaged in their investigations while the king was still in his cradle, and completed them before he assumed the government, and therefore before his system of protection came into play. Descartes died in 1650,[12] when the king was twelve years old. Pascal, whose name, like that of Descartes, is commonly associated with the age of Louis XIV., had gained a European reputation while Louis, occupied in the nursery with his toys, was not aware that any such man existed. His treatise on conic sections was written in 1639; [13] his decisive ex-

[11] "La première période du gouvernement de Louis XIV commence donc en 1661." *Capefigue's Louis XIV.*, vol. i. p. 4.

[12] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 157.

[13] In *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiii. p. 50, he is said to have composed it "à l'âge de seize ans;" and at p. 46, to have been born in 1623.

[* It is not clear whether this stimulus is here asserted to have been given by the administrations. If yes, the argument is a contradiction. If not, the alleged sudden stoppage is unintelligible. "Great discoveries" cannot be counted on as certainties under any system whatever: they did not continue to be made in England after Newton and Harvey; and if, as is shown below, the great group of French discoverers of the preceding reign were dead when Louis XIV. applied his policy, that policy is not reasonably to be treated as the sole cause of the dearth.—Ed.]

periments on the weight of air were made in 1648 ;[14] and his researches on the cycloid, the last great inquiry he ever undertook, were in 1658,[15] when Louis, still under the tutelage of Mazarin, had no sort of authority. Fermat was one of the most profound thinkers of the Seventeenth century, particularly as a geometrician, in which respect he was second only to Descartes.[16] The most important steps he took are those concerning the geometry of infinites, applied to the ordinates and tangents of curves ; which, however, he completed in or before 1636.[17] As to Gassendi and Mersenne, it is enough to say that Gassendi died in 1655,[18] six years before Louis was at the head of affairs ; while Mersenne died in 1648,[19] when the great king was ten years old.

These were the men who flourished in France just before the system of Louis XIV. came into operation. Shortly after their death the patronage of the king began to tell upon the national intellect ; and during the next fifty years no addition of importance was made to either branch of the mathematics, or, with the single exception of acoustics,[20] to any of the sciences to which the mathematics are applied.[21] The further the seventeenth century advanced, the more evident did the decline become, and the more clearly can we trace the connexion between the waning powers of the French and that protective spirit which enfeebled the energies it wished to strengthen. Louis had heard that astronomy is a noble study ; he was therefore anxious, by encouraging its cultivation in France, to add to the glories of his own name.[22] With this view, he rewarded its

[14] *Leslie's Natural Philosophy*, p. 201 ; *Bordas Demoulin, Le Cartésianisme*, vol. i. p. 310. Sir John Herschel (*Disc. on Nat. Philos.* pp. 229, 230) calls this "one of the first, if not the very first," crucial instance recorded in physics ; and he thinks that it "tended, more powerfully than anything which had previously been done in science, to confirm in the minds of men that disposition to experimental verification which had scarcely yet taken full and secure root." In this point of view, the addition it actually made to knowledge is the smallest part of its merit.

[15] Montucla (*Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. ii. p. 61) says, "vers 1658 ;" and at p. 65, 'il se mit, vers le commencement de 1658, à considérer plus profondément les propriétés de cette courbe."

[16] Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. p. 136) enthusiastically declares that, "si Descartes eût manqué à l'esprit humain, Fermat l'eût remplacé en géométrie." Simson, the celebrated restorer of Greek geometry, said that Fermat was the only modern who understood porisms. See *Trail's Account of Simson*, 1812, 4to, pp. 18, 41. On the connexion between his views and the subsequent discovery of the differential calculus, see *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. ii. pp. 7–8 ; and compare *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. i. pp. 228, 229, 726, 727.

[17] See extracts from two letters written by Fermat to Roberval, in 1636, in *Montucla, Hist. des Mathématiques*, vol. ii. pp. 136, 137 ; respecting which there is no notice in the meagre article on Fermat, in *Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 510, 4to, 1815. It is a disgrace to English mathematicians that this unsatisfactory work of Hutton's should still remain the best they have produced on the history of their own science. The same disregard of dates is shown in the hasty remarks on Fermat by Playfair. See *Playfair's Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical Science, Encyclop. Brit.* vol. i. p. 440, 7th edition. [Considering the alleged freedom of English science from "protection," the "disgrace" in question must on Buckle's view be a species of miracle !—Ed.]

[18] *Hutton's Mathemat. Dict.* vol. i. p. 572. [19] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 46.

[20] Of which Sauveur may be considered the creator. Compare *Éloge de Sauveur*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. p. 435, with *Whewell's Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 334 ; *Comte, Philos. Pos.* vol. ii. pp. 627, 628.

[21] In the report presented to Napoleon by the French Institute, it is said of the reign of Louis XIV., "les sciences exactes et les sciences physiques peu cultivées en France dans un siècle qui paroissoit ne trouver de charmes que dans la littérature." *Dacier, Rapport Historique*, p. 24. Or, as Lacretelle expresses it (*Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 10), "La France, après avoir fourni Descartes et Pascal, eut pendant quelque temps à envier aux nations étrangères la gloire de produire des génies créateurs dans les sciences."

[22] A writer late in the seventeenth century says, with some simplicity, "the present

professors with unexampled profusion ; he built the splendid Observatory of Paris ; he invited to his court the most eminent foreign astronomers, Cassini from Italy, Römer from Denmark, Huygens from Holland. But, as to native ability, France did not produce a single man who made even one of those various discoveries which mark the epochs of astronomical science. In other countries vast progress was made ; and Newton in particular, by his immense generalizations, reformed nearly every branch of physics, and remodelled astronomy * by carrying the laws of gravitation to the extremity of the solar system. On the other hand, France had fallen into such a torpor, that these wonderful discoveries which changed the face of knowledge were entirely neglected, there being no instance of any French astronomer adopting them until 1732, that is, forty-five years after they had been published by their immortal author.[23] Even in matters of detail, the most valuable improvement made by French astronomers during the power of Louis XIV. was not original. They laid claim to the invention of the micrometer ; an admirable resource, which, as they supposed, was first contrived by Picard and Auzout.[24] The truth however is that here again they were anticipated by the activity of a freer and less protected people, since the micrometer was invented by Gascoigne in or just before 1639, when the English monarch, so far from having leisure to patronize science, was about to embark in that struggle which, ten years later, cost him his crown and his life.[25]

The absence in France, during this period, not only of great discoveries, but also of mere practical ingenuity, is certainly very striking.† In investigations

king of France is reputed an encourager of choice and able men, in all faculties, who can attribute to his greatness." *Aubrey's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 624.

[23] The *Principia* of Newton appeared in 1687 ; and Maupertuis, in 1732, "was the first astronomer of France who undertook a critical defence of the theory of gravitation." *Grant's Hist. of Physical Astronomy*, pp. 31, 43. In 1738, Voltaire writes, "La France est jusqu'à présent le seul pays où les théories de Newton en physique, et de Boërhaave en médecine, soient combattues. Nous n'avons pas encore de bons éléments de physique ; nous avons pour toute astronomie le livre de Bion, qui n'est qu'un ramas informe de quelques mémoires de l'académie." *Correspond.* in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lvii. p. 340. On the tardy reception of Newton's discoveries in France, compare *Éloge de Lacaille*, in *Œuvres de Bailly*, Paris, 1790, vol. i. pp. 175, 176. All this is the more remarkable, because several of the conclusions at which Newton had arrived were divulged before they were embodied in the *Principia* ; and it appears from *Brewster's Life of Newton* (vol. i. pp. 25, 26, 290), that his speculations concerning gravity began in 1666, or perhaps in the autumn of 1665.

[24] "L'abbé Picard fut en société avec Auzout, l'inventeur du micromètre." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiv. p. 253. See also *Préface de l'Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, vol. x. p. 20.

[25] The best account I have seen of the invention of the micrometer is in Mr. Grant's recent work, *History of Physical Astronomy*, pp. 428, 450–453, where it is proved that Gascoigne invented it in 1639, or possibly a year or two earlier. Compare *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. iii. p. 52 ; who also ascribes it to Gascoigne, but erroneously dates it in 1640. Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.* vol. ii. pp. 570, 571) admits the priority of Gascoigne ; but underrates his merit, being apparently unacquainted with the evidence which Mr. Grant subsequently adduced.

[*As Newton was "protected" from first to last by public endowments or salaried posts, the main argument is by this time at an end. The alleged "torpor" of France was in reality a result of an excessive expenditure of French energy on war, and the theological reaction fostered by the king. In the eighteenth century things went the opposite way, Newton having soon no English successors, while "the French" did all the new astronomical work. In this case the thesis of "protection" cannot be made even to seem to meet the case.—Ed.]

[† This ignores the vast amount of practical ingenuity lavished in Louis's reign on fortifications. And Buckle here strangely omits to mention the steam engines invented by Papin and De Caus, though towards the end of his book he alludes to both inventions.—Ed.]

requiring minute accuracy, the necessary tools, if at all complicated, were made by foreigners, the native workmen being too unskilled to construct them; and Dr. Lister, who was a very competent judge,[26] and who was in Paris at the end of the seventeenth century, supplies evidence that the best mathematical instruments sold in that city were made, not by a Frenchman, but by Butterfield, an Englishman residing there.[27] Nor did they succeed better in matters of immediate and obvious utility. The improvements effected in manufactures were few and insignificant, and were calculated, not for the comfort of the people, but for the luxury of the idle classes.[28] What was really valuable was neglected; no great invention was made; and by the end of the reign of Louis XIV. scarcely anything had been done in machinery, or in those other contrivances which, by economizing national labour, increase national wealth.[29]

While such was the state, not only of mathematical and astronomical science, but also of mechanical and inventive arts, corresponding symptoms of declining power were seen in other departments. In physiology, in anatomy, and in medicine, we look in vain for any men equal to those by whom France had once been honoured. The greatest discovery of this kind ever made by a Frenchman was that of the receptacle of the chyle; a discovery which, in the opinion of a high authority, is not inferior to that of the circulation of the blood by Harvey.[30] This important step in our knowledge is constantly assigned to the age of Louis XIV., as if it were one of the results of his gracious bounty; but it would be difficult to tell what L uis had to do with it, since the discovery was made by Pecquet in 1647,[31] when the great king was nine years old. After Pecquet, the most eminent of the French anatomists in the seventeenth century was Riolan; and his name we also find among the illustrious men who adorned the reign of

[26] For a short account of this able man, see *Lankester's Mem. of Ray*, p. 17.

[27] Notwithstanding the strong prejudice then existing against Englishmen, Butterfield was employed by "the king and all the princes." *Lister's Account of Paris at the close of the seventeenth century, edited by Dr. Henning*, p, 85. Fontenelle mentions "M. Hubin," as one of the most celebrated makers in Paris in 1687 (*Éloge d'Amoltons*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, Paris, 1766, vol. v. p. 113); but has forgotten to state that he too was an Englishman. "Lutetiæ sedem posuerat ante aliquod tempus *Anglus quidam nomine Hubinus*, vir ingeniosus, atque hujusmodi machinationum peritus opifex et industrius. Hominem adii," &c. *Huetii Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, p. 346. Thus, again, in regard to time-keepers, the vast superiority of the English makers, late in the reign of Louis XIV., was equally incontestable. Compare *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. pp. 242, 243, with *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. ii. p. 262; and as to the middle of the reign of Louis XIV., see *Éloge de Sebastien*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, vol. vi. pp. 332, 333.

[28] "Les manufactures étaient plutôt dirigées vers le brillant que vers l'utile. On s'efforça, par un arrêt du mois de mars 1700, d'extirper, ou du moins de réduire beaucoup les fabriques de bas au métier. Malgré cette fausse direction, les objets d'un luxe très-recherché faisaient des progrès bien lents. En 1687, après la mort de Colbert, la cour soldait encore l'industrie des barbares, et faisait fabriquer et broder ses plus beaux habits à Constantinople." *Lemontey, Établissement de Louis XIV.*, p. 364. Lacretelle (*Dixhuitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 5) says, that during the last thirty years of the reign of Louis XIV. "les manufactures tombaient."

[29] Cuvier (*Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvii. p. 199) thus describes the condition of France only seven years after the death of Louis XIV.: "Nos forges étaient alors presque dans l'enfance; et nous ne faisions point d'acier: tout celui qu'éxigeaient les différents métiers nous venait de l'étranger. . . . Nous ne faisions point non plus alors de fer-blanc, et il ne nous venait que de l'Allemagne."

[30] "Certainement la découverte de Pecquet ne brille pas moins dans l'histoire de notre art que la vérité démontrée pour la première fois par Harvey." *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. p. 208.

[31] Henle (*Anatomie Générale*, vol. ii. p. 106) says, that the discovery was made in 1649; but the historians of medicine assign it to 1647. *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. pp. 207, 405; *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 173.

Louis XIV. But the principal works of Riolan were written before Louis XIV. was born; his last work was published in 1652; and he himself died in 1657.[32] Then there came a pause, and during three generations the French did nothing for these great subjects; they wrote no work upon them which is now read,* they made no discoveries, and they seemed to have lost all heart, until that revival of knowledge which, as we shall presently see, took place in France about the middle of the eighteenth century. In the practical parts of medicine, in its speculative parts, and in the arts connected with surgery, the same law prevails. The French, in these as in other matters, had formerly produced men of great eminence, who had won for themselves a European reputation, and whose works are still remembered. Thus, only to mention two or three instances, they had a long line of illustrious physicians, among whom Fernel and Joubert were the earliest;[33] they had, in surgery, Ambroise Paré, who not only introduced important practical improvements[34] but has the still rarer merit of being one of the founders of comparative osteology;[35] and they had Baillou, who, late in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century, advanced pathology, by connecting it with the study of morbid anatomy.[36] Under Louis XIV. all this was changed. Under him, surgery was neglected, though in other countries its progress was rapid.[37] The English, by the middle of the seventeenth century, had taken considerable steps in medicine; its therapeutical branch being reformed

[32] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxviii. pp. 123, 124.

[33] Some of the great steps taken by Joubert are concisely stated in *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. i. pp. 293, 294, vol. iii. p. 361. Compare *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 210. Fernel, though enthusiastically praised by Patin, was probably hardly equal to Joubert. *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. pp. 59, 199, 648. At p. 106, Patin calls Fernel "le premier médecin de son temps, et peut-être le plus grand qui sera jamais."

[34] See a summary of them in *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iii. pp. 405, 406, vol. vii. pp. 14, 15. Sir Benjamin Brodie (*Lectures on Surgery*, p. 21) says, "Few greater benefits have been conferred on mankind than that for which we are indebted to Ambrose Parey—the application of a ligature to a bleeding artery."

[35] "C'était là une vue très ingénieuse et très juste qu'Ambroise Paré donnait pour la première fois. C'était un commencement d'ostéologie comparée." *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 42. To this I may add, that he is the first French writer on medical jurisprudence. See *Paris and Fonblanque's Medical Jurisprudence*, 1823, vol. i. p. xviii.

[36] "L'un des premiers auteurs à qui l'on doit des observations cadavériques sur les maladies, est le fameux Baillou." *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. ii. p. 218. See also vol. iii. p. 362; and *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 89. The value of his services is recognized in a recent able work, *Phillips on Scrofula*, 1846, p. 16.

[37] "The most celebrated surgeon of the sixteenth century was Ambroise Paré. . . . From the time of Paré until the commencement of the eighteenth century, surgery was but little cultivated in France. Mauriceau, Saviard, and Belloste were the only French surgeons of note who could be contrasted with so many eminent men of other nations. During the eighteenth century France produced two surgeons of extraordinary genius; these are Petit and Desault." *Bowman's Surgery*, in *Encyclop. of Medical Sciences*, 1847, 4to, pp. 829, 830. [Rambaud (*Histoire de la Civilisation Française*, 6a edit. ii. 469) names four distinguished French surgeons of the period: Dionis (d. 1718, author of several works on surgery), Saviard (1656–1702), who published a number of observations; Boulot or Beaulieu (1651–1714), a successful lithotomist; Belloste (1654–1730), who published *Le Chirurgien d'Hôpital*; and Félix and Maréchal, distinguished court surgeons. Voltaire also gives praise to Méry, who is named in *note* 41.—Ed.]

[* The phrase "no work which is now read" is a false test. *No* anatomist of that age is "now read," save by the special students of medical history. And Buckle here ignores Vieussens, who published a *Neurographia Universalis* of great repute in 1685, and Du Verney (1648–1730), who made a special study of the maladies of the bones and of the structure of the ear. Buckle's disparagement of him below, *note* 41, is beside the case.—Ed.]

chiefly by Sydenham,* its physiological branch by Glisson.[38] But the age of Louis XIV. cannot boast of a single medical writer who can be compared to these; not even one whose name is now known as having made any specific addition to our knowledge. In Paris, the practice of medicine was notoriously inferior to that in the capitals of Germany, Italy, and England; while in the French provinces the ignorance even of the best physicians was scandalous.[39] Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that during the whole of this long period, the French in these matters effected comparatively nothing; they made no contributions to clinical literature,[40] and scarcely any to therapeutics, to pathology, to physiology, or to anatomy.[41]

In what are called the natural sciences, we also find the French now brought to a stand. In zoology, they had formerly possessed remarkable men, among whom Belon and Rondelet were the most conspicuous; [42] but under Louis XIV. they did not produce one original observer in this great field of inquiry.[43] In chemistry, again, Rey had in the reign of Louis XIII. struck out views of such vast importance that he anticipated some of those generalizations which formed the glory of the French intellect in the eighteenth century.[44] During the corrupt and frivolous age of Louis XIV. all this was forgotten; the labours of Rey were neglected; and so complete was the indifference that even the celebrated ex-

[38] It is unnecessary to adduce evidence respecting the services rendered by Sydenham, as they are universally admitted; but what perhaps is less generally known is that Glisson anticipated those important views concerning irritability, which were afterwards developed by Haller and Gorter. Compare *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 192; *Elliotson's Human Physiol.* p. 471; *Bordas Demoulin, Cartésianisme*, vol. i. p. 170. In *Wagner's Physiol.* 1841, p. 655, the theory is too exclusively ascribed to Haller.

[39] Of this we have numerous complaints from foreigners who visited France. I will quote the testimony of one celebrated man. In 1699, Addison writes from Blois: "I made use of one of the physicians of this place, who are as cheap as our English farriers, and generally as ignorant." *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 74.

[40] Indeed, France was the last great country in Europe in which a chair of clinical medicine was established. See *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 312; and *Bouillaud, Philos. Médicale*, p. 114. [As medical chairs are in all countries instituted as a rule by the "protective" action of the State, Buckle is here in effect simply complaining that French protection at that period was misdirected.—Ed.]

[41] M. Bouillaud, in his account of the state of medicine in the seventeenth century, does not mention a single Frenchman during this period. See *Bouillaud, Philosophie Médicale*, pp. 13 seq. During many years of the power of Louis XIV., the French academy only possessed one anatomist; and of him few students of physiology have ever heard: "M. du Verney fut assez long-temps le seul anatomiste de l'académie, et ce ne fut qu'en 1684 qu'on lui joignit M. Mery." *Eloge de Du Verney*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, vol. vi. p. 392. [Membership of the academy is from Buckle's own point of view no test.—Ed.]

[42] *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. pp. 64–73, 76–80.

[43] After Belon, nothing was done in France for the natural history of animals until 1734, when there appeared the first volume of Réaumur's great work. See *Swainson on the Study of Nat. Hist.* pp. 24, 43. [This will not hold good. Claude Perrault, who published his *Mémoires sur l'Histoire Naturelle* in 1671–76, is to-day reckoned one of the founders of comparative anatomy.—Ed.]

[44] On this remarkable man, who was the first philosophic chemist Europe produced, and who, so early as 1630, anticipated some of the generalizations made a hundred and fifty years later by Lavoisier, see *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, pp. 46, 47; *Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 95, 96; *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 729; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 30.

[* It is but fair to remember that when Sydenham in 1679 was selling quinine in France at 400 pistoles the dose, Louis XIV. bought his secret and made it public. (*Rambaud, Hist. de la Civ. Française*, 6e éd. ii. 462, *note.*) Buckle's argument comes out ill beside such an episode.—Ed.]

periments of Boyle remained unknown in France for more than forty years after they were published.[45]

Connected with zoology, and, to a philosophic mind, inseparable from it, is botany; which, occupying a middle place between the animal and mineral world, indicates their relation to each other, and at different points touches the confines of both. It also throws great light on the functions of nutrition,[46] and on the laws of development; while, from the marked analogy between animals and vegetables, we have every reason to hope that its further progress, assisted by that of electricity, will prepare the way for a comprehensive theory of life, to which the resources of our knowledge are still unequal, but towards which the movements of modern science are manifestly tending. On these grounds, far more than for the sake of practical advantages, botany will always attract the attention of thinking men, who, neglecting views of immediate utility, look to large and ultimate results, and only value particular facts in so far as they facilitate the discovery of general truths. The first step in this noble study was taken towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when authors, instead of copying what previous writers had said, began to observe nature for themselves.[47] The next step was, to add experiment to observation; but it required another hundred years before this could be done with accuracy; because the microscope, which is essential to such inquiries, was only invented about 1620, and the labour of a whole generation was needed to make it available for minute investigations.[48] So soon however as this resource was sufficiently matured to be applied to plants, the march of botany became rapid, at least as far as details are concerned; for it was not until the eighteenth century that the facts were actually generalized. But, in the preliminary work of accumulating the facts, great energy was shown;

[45] Cuvier (*Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 30) says of Rey, "son écrit était tombé dans l'oubli le plus profond;" and, in another work, the same great authority writes (*Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 333): "Il y avait plus de quarante ans que Becker avait présenté sa nouvelle théorie, développée par Stahl; il y avait encore plus long-temps que les expériences de Boyle sur la chimie pneumatique avaient été publiées, et cependant rien de tout cela n'entrait encore dans l'enseignement général de la chimie, du moins en France." [But Lemery (1645–1715), praised by both Fontenelle and Voltaire for his rationalism of method, produced hydrogen and burned it in his experiments. *Rambaud*, ii. 454.—Ed.]

[46] The highest present generalizations of the laws of nutrition are those by M. Chevreul; which are thus summed up by MM. Robin et Verdeil in their admirable work, *Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. p. 203, Paris, 1853: "En passant des plantes aux animaux, nous voyons que plus l'organisation de ces derniers est compliquée, plus les aliments dont ils se nourrissent sont complexes et analogues par leurs principes immédiats aux principes des organes qu'ils doivent entretenir.

"En définitive, on voit que les végétaux se nourrissent d'eau, d'acide carbonique, d'autres gaz et de matières organiques à l'état d'engrais, ou en d'autres termes altérées, c'est-à-dire ramenées à l'état de principes plus simples, plus solubles. Au contraire, les animaux plus élevés dans l'échelle organique ont besoin de matières bien plus complexes quant aux principes immédiats qui les composent, et plus variées dans leurs propriétés."

[47] Brunfels in 1530, and Fuchs in 1542, were the two first writers who observed the vegetable kingdom for themselves, instead of copying what the ancients had said. Compare *Whewell's Hist. of the Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 305, 306, with *Pulteney's Hist. of Botany*, vol. i. p. 38.

[48] The microscope was exhibited in London, by Drebbel, about 1620; and this appears to be the earliest unquestionable notice of its use, though some writers assert that it was invented at the beginning of the seventeenth century, or even in 1590. Compare the different statements, in *Pouillet, Élémens de Physique*, vol. ii. p. 357; *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. ii. pp. 699, 700; *Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. iv. p. 337; *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 130; *Quekett's Treatise on the Microscope*, 1848, p. 2; *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 470; *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 202; *Leslie's Nat. Philos.* p. 52. On the subsequent improvement of the microscope during the seventeenth century, see *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. i. pp. 20, 242, 243.

and, for reasons stated in an earlier part of the Introduction, this like other studies relating to the external world advanced with peculiar speed during the reign of Charles II. The tracheæ of plants were discovered by Henshaw in 1661;[49] and their cellular tissue by Hooke in 1667.[50] These were considerable approaches towards establishing the analogy between plants and animals; and within a few years Grew effected still more of the same kind. He made such minute and extensive dissections as to raise the anatomy of vegetables to a separate study, and prove that their organization is scarcely less complicated than that possessed by animals.[51] His first work was written in 1670;[52] and in 1676 another Englishman, Millington, ascertained the existence of a distinction of sexes;[53] thus supplying further evidence of the harmony between the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and of the unity of idea which regulates their composition.

This is what was effected in England during the reign of Charles II.; and we now ask what was done in France, during the same period, under the munificent patronage of Louis XIV. The answer is, nothing: no discovery, no idea, which forms an epoch in this important department of natural science. The son of the celebrated Sir Thomas Browne visited Paris in the hope of making some additions to his knowledge of botany, which he thought he could not fail to do in a country where science was held in such honour, its professors so caressed by the court, and its researches so bountifully encouraged. To his surprise, he in 1665 found in that great city no one capable of teaching his favourite pursuit, and even the public lectures on it miserably meagre and unsatisfactory.[54] Neither then, nor at a much later period did the French possess a good popular treatise on botany: still less did they make any improvement in it. Indeed, so completely was the philosophy of the subject misunderstood, that Tournefort, the only French botanist of repute in the reign of Louis, actually rejected that discovery of the

[49] See *Balfour's Botany*, p. 15. In Pulteney's *Progress of Botany in England*, this beautiful discovery is, if I rightly remember, not even alluded to; but it appears, from a letter written in 1672, that it was then becoming generally known, and had been confirmed by Grew and Malpighi. *Ray's Correspond.* edit. 1848, p. 98. Compare *Richard, Éléments de Botanique*, p. 46; where, however, M. Richard erroneously supposes that Grew did not know of the tracheæ till 1682.

[50] Compare *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 471, with *Thomson's Vegetable Chemistry*, p. 950.

[51] Dr. Thomson (*Vegetable Chemistry*, p. 950) says: "But the person to whom we are indebted for the first attempt to ascertain the structure of plants by dissection and microscopical observations was Dr. Nathaniel Grew." The character of Grew's inquiries, as "viewing the internal, as well as external parts of plants," is also noticed in *Ray's Correspond.* p. 188; and M. Winckler (*Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 382) ascribes to him and Malpighi the "neuen Aufschwung" taken by vegetable physiology late in the seventeenth century. See also, on Grew, *Lindley's Botany*, vol. i. p. 93; and *Third Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 27.

[52] The first book of his Anatomy of Plants was laid before the Royal Society in 1670, and printed in 1671. *Hallam's Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 580; and *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 44.

[53] "The presence of sexual organs in plants was first shown in 1676, by Sir Thomas Millington; and it was afterwards confirmed by Grew, Malpighi, and Ray." *Balfour's Botany*, p. 236. See also *Pulteney's Progress of Botany*, vol. i. pp. 336, 337; and *Lindley's Botany*, vol. ii. p. 217; and, as to Ray, who was rather slow in admitting the discovery, see *Lankester's Mem. of Ray*, p. 100. Before this, the sexual system of vegetables had been empirically known to several of the ancients, but never raised to a scientific truth. Compare *Richard, Éléments de Botanique*, pp. 353, 427, 428, with *Matter, Hist. de l'École d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. p. 9.

[54] In July, 1665, he writes from Paris to his father, "The lecture of plants here is only the naming of them, their degrees in heat and cold, and sometimes their use in physick; scarce a word more than may be seen in every herball." *Browne's Works*, vol. i. p. 108. [As Louis had assumed power only in 1661, this backwardness is, in the terms of the argument, not to be ascribed to his protective policy.—ED.]

sexes of plants, which had been made before he began to write, and which afterwards became the corner-stone of the Linnean system.[55] This showed his incapacity for those large views respecting the unity of the organic world which alone give to botany a scientific value; and we find, accordingly, that he did nothing for the physiology of plants, and that his only merit was as a collector and classifier of them.[56] And even in his classification he was guided, not by a comprehensive comparison of their various parts, but by considerations drawn from the mere appearance of the flower:[57] thus depriving botany of its real grandeur, degrading it into an arrangement of beautiful objects, and supplying another instance of the way in which the Frenchmen of that generation impoverished what they sought to enrich, and dwarfed every topic, until they suited the intellect and pleased the eye of that ignorant and luxurious court to whose favour they looked for reward, and whose applause it was the business of their life to gain.

The truth is that in these as in all matters of real importance, in questions requiring independent thought, and in questions of practical utility, the age of Louis XIV. was an age of decay: it was an age of misery, of intolerance, and oppression; * it was an age of bondage, of ignominy, of incompetence. This would long since have been universally admitted, if those who have written the history of that period had taken the trouble to study subjects without which no history can be understood; or, I should rather say, without which no history can exist. If this had been done, the reputation of Louis XIV. would at once have shrunk to its natural size. Even at the risk of exposing myself to the charge of unduly estimating my own labours, I cannot avoid saying that the facts which I have just pointed out have never before been collected, but have remained isolated in the text-books and repertories of the sciences to which they belong. Yet without them it is impossible to study the age of Louis XIV. It is impossible to estimate the character of any period except by tracing its development; in other words, by measuring the extent of its knowledge. Therefore it is that to write the history of a country without regard to its intellectual progress, is as if an astronomer should compose a planetary system without regard to the sun, by whose light alone the planets can be seen, and by whose attraction they are held in their course, and compelled to run in the path of their appointed orbits. For the great luminary, even as it shines in the heaven, is not a more noble or a more powerful object than is the intellect of man in this nether world. It is to the human intellect, and to that alone, that every country owes its knowledge. And what is it but the progress and diffusion † of knowledge which has given

[55] Cuvier, mentioning the inferiority of Tournefort's views to those of his predecessors, gives as an instance, "puisqu'il a rejeté les sexes des plantes." *Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 496. Hence he held that the farina was excrementitious. *Pulteney's Progress of Botany*, vol. i. p. 340.

[56] This is admitted even by his eulogist Duvau. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlvi. p. 363. [But Claude Perrault, who studied the movements of the sap, *did* do something for plant physiology, and is here ignored.—Ed.]

[57] On the method of Tournefort, which was that of a corrollist, compare *Richard, Éléments de Botanique*, p. 547; *Jussieu's Botany*, edit. Wilson, 1849, p. 516; *Ray's Correspond.* pp. 381, 382; *Lankester's Mem. of Ray*, p. 49; *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 142. Cuvier (*Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 496), with quiet irony, says of it, "vous voyez, messieurs, que cette méthode a le mérite d'une grande clarté; qu'elle est fondée sur la forme de la fleur, et par conséquent sur des considérations agréables à saisir. . . . Ce qui en fit le succès, c'est que Tournefort joignit à son ouvrage une figure de fleur et de fruit appartenant à chacun de ses genres." Even in this he appears to have been careless, and is said to have described "a great many plants he never examined nor saw." *Letter from Dr. Sherard*, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 356.

[* This is of course perfectly true, and here the argument as to evocative protection is once more beside the case.—Ed.]

[† That very diffusion which, it is argued above, governments ought never to try to promote.—Ed.]

us our arts, our sciences, our manufactures, our laws, our opinions, our manners, our comforts, our luxuries, our civilization ; in short, everything that raises us above the savages, who by their ignorance are degraded to the level of the brutes with which they herd ? Surely, then, the time has now arrived when they who undertake to write the history of a great nation should occupy themselves with those matters by which alone the destiny of men is regulated, and should abandon the petty and insignificant details by which we have too long been wearied ; details respecting the lives of kings, the intrigues of ministers, the vices and the gossip of courts.

It is precisely these higher considerations which furnish the key to the history of the reign of Louis XIV. In that time, as in all others, the misery of the people and the degradation of the country followed * the decline of the national intellect ; while this last was, in its turn, the result of the protective spirit,—that mischievous spirit which weakens whatever it touches. If in the long course and compass of history there is one thing more clear than another, it is, that whenever a government undertakes to protect intellectual pursuits, it will almost always protect them in the wrong place,† and reward the wrong men. Nor is it surprising that this should be the case. What can kings and ministers know about those immense branches of knowledge, to cultivate which with success is often the business of an entire life ? How can they, constantly occupied with their lofty pursuits, have leisure for such inferior matters ? Is it to be supposed that such acquirements will be found among statesmen, who are always engaged in the most weighty concerns ; sometimes writing despatches, sometimes making speeches, sometimes organizing a party in the parliament, sometimes baffling an intrigue in the privy-chamber ? Or if the sovereign should graciously bestow his patronage according to his own judgment, are we to expect that mere philosophy and science should be familiar to high and mighty princes, who have their own peculiar and arduous studies, and who have to learn the mysteries of heraldry, the nature and dignities of rank, the comparative value of the different orders, decorations, and titles, the laws of precedence, the prerogatives of noble birth, the names and powers of ribbons, stars, and garters, the various modes of conferring an honour or installing into an office, the adjustment of ceremonies, the subtleties of etiquette, and all those other courtly accomplishments necessary to the exalted functions which they perform ?

The mere statement of such questions proves the absurdity of the principle which they involve. For, unless we believe that kings are omniscient as well as immaculate, it is evident that in the bestowal of rewards they must be guided either by personal caprice or by the testimony of competent judges. And since no one is a competent judge of scientific excellence unless he is himself scientific, we are driven to this monstrous alternative, that the rewards of intellectual labour must be conferred injudiciously, or else they must be given according to the verdict of that very class by whom they are received. In the first case, the reward will be ridiculous ; in the latter case, it will be disgraceful. In the former case, weak men will be benefited by wealth which is taken from industry to be lavished on idleness. But in the latter case, those men of real genius, those great and illustrious thinkers, who are the masters and teachers of the human race, are to be tricked out with trumpery titles ; and after scrambling in miserable rivalry for the sordid favours of a court, they are then to be turned into beggars of the state, who not only clamour for their share of the spoil, but even regulate the proportions into which the shares are to be divided. ‡

[* Read "accompanied."—Ed.]

[† As it is here implied that there is a right place, the original argument is in effect surrendered.—Ed.]

[‡ This declamation fails to save the argument. Newton received a "trumpery title," and science has of late been abundantly endowed under the supervision of men of science, without any scrambling and beggary. Buckle must have forgotten the case of Newton when he thus wrote ; also that of Galileo, who was protected by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and so enabled to give his mind freely to scientific discovery. On Buckle's view, the apparition of Galileo in tyranny-ridden Italy is inexplicable.—Ed.]

Under such a system, the natural results are, first, the impoverishment and servility of genius; then the decay of knowledge; then the decline of the country. Three times in the history of the world has this experiment been tried. In the ages of Augustus, of Leo X., and of Louis XIV., the same method was adopted, and the same result ensued. In each of these ages there was much apparent splendour, immediately succeeded by sudden ruin. In each instance the brilliancy survived the independence; and in each instance the national spirit sank under that pernicious alliance between government and literature, by virtue of which the political classes become very powerful, and the intellectual classes very weak, simply because they who dispense the patronage will of course receive the homage; and if on the one hand government is always ready to reward literature, so on the other hand will literature be always ready to succumb to government.

Of these three ages, that of Louis XIV. was incomparably the worst; and nothing but the amazing energy of the French people could have enabled them to rally as they afterwards did from the effects of so enfeebling a system. But though they rallied, the effort cost them dear. The struggle, as we shall presently see, lasted two generations, and was only ended by that frightful Revolution which formed its natural climax. What the real history of that struggle was, I shall endeavour to ascertain towards the conclusion of this volume. Without, however, anticipating the course of affairs, we will now proceed to what I have already mentioned as the second great characteristic of the reign of Louis XIV.

II. The second intellectual characteristic of the reign of Louis XIV. is in importance hardly inferior to the first. We have already seen that the national intellect, stunted by the protection of the court, was so diverted from the noblest branches of knowledge that in none of them did it produce anything worthy of being recorded. As a natural consequence, the minds of men, driven from the higher departments, took refuge in the lower, and concentrated themselves upon those inferior subjects where the discovery of truth is not the main object, but where beauty of form and expression are the things chiefly pursued.* Thus the first consequence of the patronage of Louis XIV. was to diminish the field for genius, and to sacrifice science to art. The second consequence was that even in art itself there was soon seen a marked decay. For a short time, the stimulus produced its effect; but was followed by that collapse which is its natural result. So essentially vicious is the whole system of patronage and reward, that after the death of those writers and artists whose works form the only redeeming point in the reign of Louis, there was found no one capable of even imita ing their excellencies. The poets, dramatists, painters, musicians, sculptors, architects, were with hardly an exception not only born but educated under that freer policy which existed before his time. When they began their labours they benefited by a munificence which encouraged the activity of their genius. But in a few years, that generation having died off, the hollowness of the whole system was clearly exposed. More than a quarter of a century before the death of Louis XIV. most of these eminent men had ceased to live; and then it was seen to how miserable a plight the country was reduced under the boasted patronage of the great king. At the moment when Louis XIV. died there was scarcely a writer or an artist in France who enjoyed a European reputation. This is a circumstance well worth our notice. If we compare the different classes of literature, we shall find that sacred oratory, being the least influenced by the king, was able the longest to bear up against his system. Massillon belongs partly to the subsequent reign; but even of the other great divines, Bossuet and Bourdaloue both lived to 1704,[58] Mascaron to 1703,[59] and Flechier to 1710.[60] As,

[58] *Biog. Univ.* vol. v. pp. 236, 358. [59] *Ibid.* xxvii. p. 351. [60] *Ibid.* xv. p. 35.

[* Here once more the argument collapses. It is now asserted that certain branches of thought failed because *others* were fostered. And this comes near the truth. As it is put by Rambaud, the "inferiorité relative des sciences françaises" under Louis XIV., "comparées aux lettres et à l'art français, tient à ce qu'elles exigent une organisation du travail *et une libéralité de la part des pouvoirs publics, qui firent alors défaut.*" (*Hist. de la Civ. Française*, ii. 471 2).—ED.]

however, the king, particularly in his latter years, was very tearful of meddling with the church, it is in profane matters that we can best trace the workings of his policy, because it is there that his interference was most active. With a view to this, the simplest plan will be to look in the first place into the history of the fine arts, and after ascertaining who the greatest artists were, observe the year in which they died, remembering that the government of Louis XIV. began in 1661, and ended in 1715.

If now we examine this period of fifty-four years, we shall be struck by the remarkable fact that everything which is celebrated was effected in the first half of it; while more than twenty years before its close the most eminent masters all died without leaving any successors. The six greatest painters in the reign of Louis XIV. were Poussin, Lesueur, Claude Lorraine, Le Brun, and the two Mignards. Of these, Le Brun died in 1690;[61] the elder Mignard in 1668;[62] the younger in 1695;[63] Claude Lorraine in 1682;[64] Lesueur in 1655;[65] and Poussin, perhaps the most distinguished of all the French school, died in 1665.[66] The two greatest architects were Claude Perrault and Francis Mansart; but Perrault died in 1688,[67] Mansart in 1666;[68] and Blondel, the next in fame, died in 1686.[69] The greatest of all the sculptors was Puget, who died in 1694.[70] Lulli, the founder of French music, died in 1687.[71] Quinault, the greatest poet of French music, died in 1688.[72] Under these eminent men, the fine arts, in the reign of Louis XIV., reached their zenith; and during the last thirty years of his life their decline was portentously rapid. This was the case not only in architecture and music but even in painting, which, being more subservient than they are to personal vanity, is more likely to flourish under a rich and despotic government. The genius, however, of painters fell so low that long before the death of Louis XIV. France ceased to possess one of any merit; and when his successor came to the throne, this beautiful art was, in that great country, almost extinct.[73]

[61] *Ibid.* xxiii. p. 496.

[62] *Ibid.* xxix. p. 17.

[63] *Ibid.* xxix. p. 19.

[64] "His best pictures were painted from about 1640 to 1660; he died in 1682." *Wornum's Epochs of Painting*, Lond. 1847, p. 399. Voltaire (*Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xix. p. 205) says that he died in 1678.

[65] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 327; *Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, vol. ii. pp. 454, 455.

[66] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxv. p. 579. Poussin was Barry's "favourite" painter. *Letter from Barry*, in *Burke's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 88. Compare *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. ii. p. 55. Sir Joshua Reynolds (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 97, 351, 376) appears to have preferred him to any of the French school; and in the report presented to Napoleon by the Institute, he is the only French painter mentioned by the side of the Greek and Italian artists. *Dacier, Rapport Historique*, p. 23.

[67] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiii. p. 411; *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 158.

[68] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 503.

[69] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 593.

[70] *Ibid.* vol. xxxvi. p. 300. Respecting him, see *Lady Morgan's France*, vol. ii. pp. 30, 31.

[71] M. Capefigue (*Louis XIV*, vol. ii. p. 79) says, "Lulli mourut en 1689;" but 1687 is the date assigned in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxv. p. 425; in *Chalmers's Biog. Dict.* vol. xx. p. 483; in *Rose's Biog. Dict.* vol. ix. p. 350; and in *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. vii. p. 63. In *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 200, he is called "le père de la vraie musique en France." He was admired by Louis XIV. *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. ii. pp. 162, 163.

[72] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvi. p. 423. Voltaire (*Œuvres*, vol. xix. p. 162) says, "personne n'a jamais égalé Quinault;" and Mr. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 507), "the unrivalled poet of French music." See also *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 432.

[73] "When Louis XV. ascended the throne, painting in France was in the lowest state of degradation." *Lady Morgan's France*, vol. ii. p. 31. Lacretelle (*Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 11) says, "Les beaux arts dégénérèrent plus sensiblement que les lettres pendant la seconde partie du siècle de Louis XIV. . . . Il est certain que les vingt-cinq dernières années du règne de Louis XIV n'offrirent que des productions très-inférieures," &c Thus too Barrington (*Observations on the Statutes*, p. 377), "It is very remarkable

These are startling facts; not matters of opinion, which may be disputed, but stubborn dates, supported by irrefragable testimony. And if we examine in the same manner the literature of the age of Louis XIV., we shall arrive at similar conclusions. If we ascertain the dates of those masterpieces which adorn his reign, we shall find that, during the last five-and-twenty years of his life, when his patronage had been the longest in operation, it was entirely barren of results; in other words, that when the French had been most habituated to his protection, they were least able to effect great things.* Louis XIV. died in 1715. Racine produced *Phèdre* in 1677; *Andromaque* in 1667; *Athalie* in 1691.[74] Molière published the *Misanthrope* in 1666; *Tartuffe* in 1667; the *Avare* in 1668.[75] The *Lutrin* of Boileau was written in 1674; his best Satires in 1666.[76] The last Fables of La Fontaine appeared in 1678, and his last Tales in 1671.[77] The *Inquiry respecting Truth*, by Malebranche, was published in 1674;[78] the *Caractères* of La Bruyère in 1687;[79] the *Maximes* of Rochefoucauld in 1665.[80] The *Provincial Letters* of Pascal were written in 1656, and he himself died in 1662.[81] As to Corneille, his great tragedies were composed, some while Louis was still a boy, and the others before the king was born.[82] Such were the dates of the masterpieces of the age of Louis XIV. The authors of these immortal works all ceased to write, and nearly all ceased to live, before the close of the seventeenth century; and we may fairly ask the admirers of Louis XIV. who those men were that succeeded them. Where have their names been registered? † Where are their

that the French school hath not produced any very capital painters since the expensive establishment by Louis XIV. of the academies at Rome and Paris." [The argument requires that the decline should be shown to be *due to* the process of protection. Of this proof is not given. The probable cause was *lack of* economic demand, such demand being always a condition precedent of great developments of art: *e.g.* classic Greece; renaissance Italy; and Holland in the seventeenth century.—Ed.]

[74] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvi. pp. 499, 502; *Hallam's Lit.* vol. iii. p. 493.

[75] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxix. pp. 306, 308.

[76] *Rose's Biog. Dict.* vol. iv. p. 376; and *Biog. Univ.* vol. v. pp. 7–8, where it is said that "ses meilleures satires" were those published in 1666.

[77] *Ibid.* vol. xxiii. p. 127.

[78] *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. x. p. 322.

[79] *Biog. Univ.* vol. vi. p. 175.

[80] *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iv. p. 105, Paris, 1843; and note in *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 421.

[81] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiii. pp. 64–71; *Palissot, Mém. pour l'Hist. de Lit.* vol. ii. pp. 239, 241.

[82] *Polyeucte*, which is probably his greatest work, appeared in 1640; *Médée* in 1635; *The Cid* in 1636; *Horace* and *Cinna* both in 1639. *Biog. Univ.* vol. ix. pp. 609–613.

[* Above, p. 393, it was asserted that "the most celebrated authors of that time" were "unable to resist the surrounding corruption." This is now tacitly given up.—Ed.]

[† They are registered in the natural places, the biographical dictionaries, also in the *Catalogue des Ecrivains* at the end of *Voltaire's Siècle de Louis XIV*, and to some extent in *Perrault's Les Hommes Illustres qui ont paru en France, pendant le xvii. siècle* (1701). The following were neither obscure hirelings nor men corrupted by the atmosphere of protection, from which several of them found reason to fly:—Bossuet (discussed by Buckle in a later chapter on his merits, but mentioned above merely for "sacred oratory," though one of the classics of French prose, 1627–1714); Fénelon, another (1651–1715); Fontenelle (1657–1757), one of the leading writers of his age, whose *Dialogues des Morts* and *Pluralité des Mondes* appeared in 1685–6; Regnard, whose *Le Joueur* is dated 1696; Le Sage, whose *Turcaret* appeared in 1709, and his *Diable Boiteux* in 1707; Saint-Evremond (1613–1703), who perforce kept out of the court atmosphere, being exiled; Bayle, whose great *Dictionnaire* dates from 1697, and who, living in Holland, did not "sell his birthright"; Huet (1630–1721), who wrote with power on many subjects, and who, as it happened, anticipated Buckle in writing that "une des principales causes de la décadence des lettres est à mon avis le trop grand soin que l'on a pris de les faire fleurir"

works to be found ? Who is there that now reads the books of those obscure hirelings, who for so many years thronged the court of the great king ? Who has heard anything of Campistron, La Chapelle, Genest, Ducerceau, Dancourt, Danchet, Vergier, Catrou, Chaulieu, Legendre, Valincour, Lamotte, and the other ignoble compilers, who long remained the brightest ornaments of France ? Was this, then, the consequence of the royal bounty ? Was this the fruit of the royal patronage ? If the system of reward and protection is really advantageous to literature and to art, how is it that it should have produced the meanest results when it had been the longest in operation ? * If the favour of kings is, as their flatterers tell us, of such importance, how comes it that the more the favour was displayed, the more the effects were contemptible ?

Nor was this almost inconceivable penury compensated by superiority in any other department. The simple fact is that Louis XIV. survived the entire intellect of the French nation,† except that small part of it which grew up in opposition to his principles, and afterwards shook the throne of his successor.[83] Several years before his death, and when his protective system had been in full force for nearly half a century, there was not to be found in the whole of France a statesman who could develop the resources of the country, or a general who could defend it against its enemies. Both in the civil service and in the military service, everything had fallen into disorder. At home there was nothing but confusion ; abroad there was nothing but disaster. The spirit of France succumbed, and was laid prostrate. The men of letters, pensioned and decorated by the court, had degenerated into a fawning and hypocritical race, who, to meet the wishes of their masters, opposed all improvement, and exerted themselves in support of every old abuse. The end of all this was a corruption, a servility, and a loss of power more complete than has ever been witnessed in any of the great countries of Europe. There was no popular liberty ; there were no great men ; there was no science ; there was no literature ; there were no arts. Within, there was a discontented people, a rapacious government, and a beggared exchequer.‡ Without, there were foreign armies, which pressed upon all the

[83] Voltaire (*Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 319–322) reluctantly confesses the decline of the French intellect in the latter part of the reign of Louis ; and Flassan (*Huetiana*, 1722, p. 171) ; Du Bos (1670–1742), whose aesthetic *Réflexions* (1719) were pronounced by Voltaire "le livre le plus utile qu'on ait jamais écrit sur ces matières chez aucune des nations de l'Europe" ; Nicholas Fréret (1688–1749), (praised by Buckle below), one of the greatest critical scholars of modern times, who had already begun to prove his powers in 1714 ; and Richard Simon (1638–1712), the greatest Biblical critic of his period. It is relevant also to name such mighty scholars as Tillemont (1637–1698) ; Montfaucon (1655–1741) ; Renaudot (1646–1720) ; Fleury (1640–1723) ; D'Herbelot (1625–1695), "protected" by Louis in a special degree ; Ducange (1610–1688), who, says Voltaire, "fut un des ceux que Louis XIV. recompensa" ; and the names of such men as Basnage (1653–1723) and Beausobre (1659–1738), who lived out of France, are part of the evidence that many scholars are proof to corruption.—Ed.]

[* As it has been above complained that the system of protection *has never ceased* in France, and Louis XV. certainly did not abandon the practice of rewards, this question answers itself. The intellectual revival after Louis XIV. with continued "protection," ought on the lines of Buckle's argument to have been impossible.—Ed.]

[† When Louis XIV. died, Voltaire was 21 years old ; Montesquieu, 26 ; Fréret, 27 ; Le Sage, 47 ; Fontenelle about 60, but with forty years of life before him ; Astruc, the great innovator in Biblical criticism, 31. Of the innovators of the next age, Diderot was then 2 years old, Rousseau 3. Helvétius was born in 1715 ; D'Alembert not till 1717. The sentence in the text is thus in every way inapplicable.—Ed.]

[‡ We now reach the true explanation. Louis XIV. had exhausted the resources of France in his policy of aggrandisement, increasing five-fold the military force of the nation. Against this total misdirection of energy nothing could avail, though had the sciences been "protected" instead of *belles lettres*, the result would probably have varied *pro tanto*. The revival in the next reign was made possible by the release of total energy after the collapse of the imperialism of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.—Ed.]

frontiers, and which nothing but their mutual jealousies, and a change in the English cabinet, prevented from dismembering the monarchy of France.[84]

Such was the forlorn position of that noble country towards the close of the reign of Louis XIV.[85] The misfortunes which embittered the declining years of

(*Diplomat. Franc.* vol. iv. p. 400) calls it "remarquable." See also *Barante, Littérature Française*, p. 28 ; *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxvi. p. 217.

[84] "Oppressed by defeats abroad, and by famine and misery at home, Louis was laid at the mercy of his enemies ; and was only saved by a party revolution in the English ministry." *Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, p. 137. Compare *Fragments sur l'Histoire*, Article xxiii. in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxvii. p. 345, with *De Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. i. p. 86.

[85] For evidence of the depression and, indeed, utter exhaustion of France during the latter years of Louis XIV., compare *Duclos, Mémoires*, vol. i. pp. 11–18, with *Marmontel, Hist. de la Régence*, Paris, 1826, pp. 79–97. The *Lettres inédites de Madame de Maintenon* (vol. i. pp. 263, 284, 358, 389, 393, 408, 414, 422, 426, 447, 457, 463, vol. ii. pp. 19, 23, 33, 46, 56, and numerous other passages) fully confirm this, and, moreover, prove that in Paris, early in the eighteenth century, the resources, even of the wealthy classes, were beginning to fail ; while both public and private credit were so shaken that it was hardly possible to obtain money on any terms. In 1710, she, the wife of Louis XIV., complains of her inability to borrow 500 livres : "Tout mon crédit échoue souvent auprès de M. Desmaretz pour une somme de cinq cents livres." *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 33. In 1709, she writes (vol. i. p. 447) : "Le jeu devient insipide, parce qu'il n'y a presque plus d'argent." See also vol. ii. p. 112 ; and in February, 1711 (p. 151) : "Ce n'est pas l'abondance mais l'avarice qui fait jouer nos courtisans ; on met le tout pour le tout pour avoir quelque argent, et les tables de lansquenet ont plus l'air d'un triste commerce que d'un divertissement."

In regard to the people generally, the French writers supply us with little information, because in that age they were too much occupied with their great king and their showy literature to pay attention to mere popular interests. But I have collected from other sources some information which I will now put together, and which I recommend to the notice of the next French author who undertakes to compose a history of Louis XIV.

Locke, who was travelling in France in 1676 and 1677, writes in his journal, "The rent of lands in France fallen one-half in these few years, by reason of the poverty of the people." *King's Life of Locke*, vol. i. p. 129. About the same time, Sir William Temple says (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 268), "The French peasantry are wholly dispirited by labour and want." In 1691, another observer, proceeding from Calais, writes, "From hence, travelling to Paris, there was opportunity enough to observe what a prodigious state of poverty the ambition and absoluteness of a tyrant can reduce an opulent and fertile country to. There were visible all the marks and signs of a growing misfortune ; all the dismal indications of an overwhelming calamity. The fields were uncultivated, the villages unpeopled, the houses dropping to decay." *Burton's Diary*, note by Rutt, vol. iv. p. 79. In a tract published in 1689, the author says (*Somers Tracts*, vol. x. p. 264), "I have known in France poor people sell their beds, and lie upon straw ; sell their pots, kettles, and all their necessary household goods, to content the unmerciful collectors of the king's taxes." Dr. Lister, who visited Paris in 1698, says, "Such is the vast multitude of poor wretches in all parts of this city, that whether a person is in a carriage or on foot, in the street, or even in a shop, he is alike unable to transact business, on account of the importunities of mendicants." *Lister's Account of Paris*, p. 46. Compare a *Letter from Prior*, in *Ellis's Letters of Literary Men*, p. 213. In 1708, Addison, who from personal observation was well acquainted with France, writes : "We think here as you do in the country, that France is on her last legs." *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 233. Finally, in 1718—that is, three years after the death of Louis—Lady Mary Montagu gives the following account of the result of his reign, in a letter to Lady Rich, dated Paris, 10th October, 1718 : "I think nothing so terrible as objects of misery, except one had the godlike attribute of being able to redress them ; and all the country villages of France show nothing else. While the post-horses are changed, the whole town comes out to beg, with such miserable starved faces, and thin, tattered clothes, they need no other eloquence to persuade one of the wretchedness of their condition." *Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, vol. iii. p. 74, edit. 1803.

the king were indeed so serious that they could not fail to excite our sympathy if we did not know that they were the result of his own turbulent ambition, of his insufferable arrogance, but, above all, of a grasping and restless vanity, which, making him eager to concentrate on his single person all the glory of France, gave rise to that insidious policy which, with gifts, with honours, and with honied words, began by gaining the admiration of the intellectual classes, then made them courtly and time-serving, and ended by destroying all their boldness, stifling every effort of original thought, and thus postponing for an indefinite period the progress of national civilization.

CHAPTER XII.

Death of Louis XIV. Reaction against the Protective Spirit, and Preparations for the French Revolution.

At length Louis XIV. died. When it was positively known that the old king had ceased to breathe, the people went almost mad with joy.[1] The tyranny which had weighed them down was removed; and there at once followed a reaction which, for sudden violence, has no parallel in modern history.[2] The great majority indemnified themselves for their forced hypocrisy by indulging in the grossest licentiousness. But among the generation then forming there were some high-spirited youths who had far higher views, and whose notions of liberty were not confined to the licence of the gaming house and the brothel. Devoted to the great idea of restoring to France that freedom of utterance which it had lost, they naturally turned their eyes towards the only country where the freedom was practised. Their determination to search for liberty in the place where alone it could be found, gave rise to that junction of the French and English intellects which, looking at the immense chain of its effects, is by far the most important fact in the history of the eighteenth century.

During the reign of Louis XIV., the French, puffed up by national vanity, despised the barbarism of a people who were so uncivilized as to be always turning on their rulers, and who, within the space of forty years, had executed one king, and deposed another.[3] They could not believe that such a restless

[1] "L'annonce de la mort du grand roi ne produisit chez le peuple français qu'une explosion de joie." *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxvii. p. 220. "Le jour des obséques de Louis XIV, on établit des guinguettes sur le chemin de Saint-Denis. Voltaire, que la curiosité avoit mené aux funérailles du souverain, vit dans ces guinguettes le peuple ivre de vin et de joie de la mort de Louis XIV." *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 29; see also *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 118; *De Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. i. p. 18; *Duclos, Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 221; *Lemontey, Etablissement de Louis XIV*, pp. 311, 388.

[2] "Kaum hatte er aber die Augen geschlossen, als alles umschlug. Der reprimirte Geist warf sich in eine zügellose Bewegung." *Ranke, die Päpste*, vol. iii. p. 192.

[3] The shock which these events gave to the delicacy of the French mind was very serious. The learned Saumaise declared that the English are "more savage than their own mastiffs." *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 444. Another writer said that we were "barbares révoltés;" and "les barbares sujets du roi." *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. pp. 105, 362. Patin likened us to the Turks; and said that having executed one king, we should probably hang the next. *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 261, vol. ii. p. 518, vol. iii. p. 148. Compare *Mém. de Campion*, p. 213. After we had sent away James II., the indignation of the French rose still higher, and even the amiable Madame Sevigné, having occasion to mention Mary the wife of William III., could find no better name for her than Tullia: "la joie est universelle de la déroute de ce prince, dont la femme est une Tullie." *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. v. p. 179. Another influential French lady mentions "la férocité des Anglais." *Lettres inédites de Maintenon*, vol. i. p. 303; and elsewhere (p. 109), "je hais les Anglais comme le peuple. . . . Véritablement je ne les puis souffrir."

I will only give two more illustrations of the wide diffusion of such feelings. In 1679

horde possessed anything worthy the attention of enlightened men. Our laws, our literature, and our manners, were perfectly unknown to them ; and I doubt if at the end of the seventeenth century there were, either in literature or in science, five persons in France acquainted with the English language.[4] But a long experience of the reign of Louis XIV. induced the French to reconsider many of their opinions. It induced them to suspect that despotism may have its disadvantages, and that a government composed of princes and bishops is not necessarily the best for a civilized country. They began to look, first with complacency, and then with respect, upon that strange and outlandish people who, though only separated from themselves by a narrow sea, appeared to be of an altogether different kind ; and who, having punished their oppressors, had carried their liberties and their prosperity to a height of which the world had seen no example. These feelings, which, before the Revolution broke out, were entertained by the whole of the educated classes in France, were in the beginning confined to those men whose intellects placed them at the head of their age. During the two generations which elapsed between the death of Louis XIV. and the outbreak of the Revolution, there was hardly a Frenchman of eminence who did not either visit England or learn English ; while many of them did both. Buffon, Brissot, Broussonnet, Condamine, Delisle, Elie de Beaumont, Gournay, Helvétius, Jussieu, Lalande, Lafayette, Larcher, L'Héritier, Montesquieu, Maupertuis, Morellet, Mirabeau, Nollet, Raynal, the celebrated Roland and his still more celebrated wife, Rousseau, Ségur, Suard, Voltaire,—all these remarkable persons flocked to London, as also did others of inferior ability, but of considerable influence, such as Brequiny, Bordes, Calonne, Coyer, Cormatin, Dufay, Dumarest, Dezallier, Favier, Girod, Grosley, Godin, D'Hancarville, Hunauld, Jars, Le Blanc, Ledru, Lescallier, Linguet, Lesuire, Lemonnier, Levesque de Pouilly, Montgolfier, Morand, Patu, Poissonier, Reveillon, Septchênes, Silhouette, Siret, Soulavie, Soulès, and Valmont de Brienne.

Nearly all of these carefully studied our language, and most of them seized the spirit of our literature. Voltaire in particular devoted himself with his usual ardour to the new pursuit, and acquired in England a knowledge of those doctrines, the promulgation of which afterwards won for him so great a reputation.[5]

an attempt was made to bring bark into discredit as a " remède anglais " (*Sprengel, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. v. p. 430) ; and at the end of the seventeenth century, one of the arguments in Paris against coffee was that the English liked it. *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. vii. p. 216.

[4] " Au temps de Boileau, personne en France n'apprenait l'Anglais." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxviii. p. 337, and see vol. xix. p. 159. " Parmi nos grands écrivains du xvii[e] siècle, il n'en est aucun, je crois, où l'on puisse reconnaître un souvenir, une impression de l'esprit anglais." *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII[e] Siècle*, vol. iii. p. 324. Compare *Barante, XVIII[e] Siècle*, p. 47, and *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. v. p. 135, vol. xvii. p. 2.

The French, during the reign of Louis XIV., principally knew us from the accounts given by two of their countrymen, Monconys and Sorbière ; both of whom published their travels in England, but neither of whom was acquainted with the English language. For proof of this, see *Monconys, Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 34, 69, 70, 96 ; and *Sorbière, Voyage*, pp. 45, 70.

When Prior arrived at the court of Louis XIV. as plenipotentiary, no one in Paris was aware that he had written poetry (*Lettres sur les Anglais*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxvi. p. 130) ; and when Addison, being in Paris, presented Boileau with a copy of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, the Frenchman learnt for the first time that we had any good poets : " first conceived an opinion of the English genius for poetry." Tickell's statement, in *Aikin's Life of Addison*, vol. i. p. 65. Finally, it is said that Milton's *Paradise Lost* was not even known by report in France until after the death of Louis XIV., though the poem was published in 1667, and the king died in 1715 ; " Nous n'avions jamais entendu parler de ce poëme en France, avant que l'auteur de la Henriade nous en eût donné une idée dans le neuvième chapitre de son Essai sur la poésie épique." *Dict. Philos.* article *Epopée*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxix. p. 175 ; see also vol. lxvi. p. 249.

[5] " Le vrai roi du xviii[e] siècle, c'est Voltaire ; mais Voltaire à son tour est un écolier

He was the first who popularized in France the philosophy of Newton, where it rapidly superseded that of Descartes.[6] He recommended to his countrymen the writings of Locke;[7] which soon gained immense popularity, and which supplied materials to Condillac for his system of metaphysics,[8] and to Rousseau for his theory of education.[9] Besides this, Voltaire was the first Frenchman who studied Shakespeare; to whose works he was greatly indebted, though he afterwards wished to lessen what he considered the exorbitant respect paid to them in France.[10] Indeed, so intimate was his knowledge of the English language[11] that we can trace his obligations to Butler,[12] one of the most difficult of our poets, and to Tillotson,[13] one of the dullest of our theologians. He was acquainted with the speculations of Berkeley,[14] the most subtle metaphysician who has ever written in English; and he had read the works, not only of Shaftesbury,[15] but even of Chubb, [16] Garth,[17] Mandeville,[18] and Woolston.[19] Montesquieu imbibed in our country many of his principles; he studied our language; and he always expressed admiration for England, not only in his writings but

de l'Angleterre. Avant que Voltaire eût connu l'Angleterre, soit par ses voyages, soit par ses amitiés, il n'était pas Voltaire, et le xviii[e] siècle se cherchait encore." *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* I. série, vol. iii. pp. 38, 39. Compare *Damiron, Hist. de la Philos. en France*, Paris, 1828, vol. i. p. 34.

[6] "J'avais été le premier qui eût osé développer à ma nation les découvertes de Newton, en langage intelligible." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. i. p. 315; see also vol. xix. p. 87, vol. xxvi. p. 71; *Whewell's Hist. of Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 206; *Weld's Hist. of the Royal Society*, vol. i. p. 441. After this, the Cartesian physics lost ground every day; and in *Grimm's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 148, there is a letter, dated Paris, 1757, which says, "Il n'y a guère plus ici de partisans de Descartes que M. de Mairan." Compare *Observations et Pensées*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iii. p. 298.

[7] Which he was never weary of praising; so that, as M. Cousin says (*Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. pp. 311, 312), "Locke est le vrai maître de Voltaire." Locke was one of the authors he put into the hands of Madame du Châtelet. *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 296.

[8] *Morell's Hist. of Philos.* 1846, vol. i. p. 134; *Hamilton's Discuss.* p. 3.

[9] "Rousseau tira des ouvrages de Locke une grande partie de ses idées sur la politique et l'éducation; Condillac toute sa philosophie." *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII[e] Siècle*, vol. i. p. 83. See also, on the obligations of Rousseau to Locke, *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. v. p. 97; *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 38, vol. ii. p. 394; *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 113; *Romilly's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 211, 212.

[10] In 1768, Voltaire (*Œuvres*, vol. lxvi. p. 249) writes to Horace Walpole, "Je suis le premier qui ait fait connaître Shakespeare aux Français." See also his *Lettres inédites*, vol. ii. p. 500; *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII[e] Siècle*, vol. iii. p. 325; and *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xii. pp. 124, 125, 133.

[11] There are extant many English letters written by Voltaire, which, though of course containing several errors, also contain abundant evidence of the spirit with which he seized our idiomatic expressions. In addition to his *Lettres inédites*, published at Paris in the present year (1856), see *Chatham Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 131–133; and *Phillimore's Mem. of Lyttelton*, vol. i. pp. 323–325, vol. ii. pp. 555, 556, 558.

[12] *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. i. p. 332; *Voltaire, Lettres inédites*, vol. ii. p. 258; and the account of Hudibras, with translations from it, in *Œuvres*, vol. xxvi. pp. 132–137; also a conversation between Voltaire and Townley, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 722.

[13] Compare *Mackintosh's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 341, with *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxix. p. 259, vol. xlvii. p. 85.

[14] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxviii. pp. 216–218, vol. xlvi. p. 282, vol. xlvii. p. 439, vol. lvii. p. 178.

[15] *Ibid.* vol. xxxvii. p. 353, vol. lvii. p. 66; *Correspond. inédite de Dudeffand*, vol. ii. p. 230.

[16] *Œuvres*, vol. xxxiv. p. 294, vol. lvii. p. 121.

[17] *Ibid.* vol. xxxvii. pp. 407, 441. [18] *Ibid.* vol. xxxvi. p. 46.

[19] *Ibid.* vol. xxxiv. p. 288, vol. xli. pp. 212–217; *Biog. Univ.* vol. li. pp. 199, 200.

also in his private conversation.[20] Buffon learnt English, and his first appearance as an author was as the translator of Newton and of Hales.[21] Diderot, following in the same course, was an enthusiastic admirer of the novels of Richardson;[22] he took the idea of several of his plays from the English dramatists, particularly from Lillo; he borrowed many of his arguments from Shaftesbury and Collins, and his earliest publication was a translation of Stanyan's *History of Greece*.[23] Helvétius, who visited London, was never weary of praising the people; many of the views in his great work on the Mind are drawn from Mandeville; and he constantly refers to the authority of Locke, whose principles hardly any Frenchman would at an earlier period have dared to recommend.[24] The works of Bacon, previously little known, were now translated into French; and his classification of the human faculties was made the basis of that celebrated Encyclopædia which is justly regarded as one of the greatest productions of the eighteenth century.[25] The *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, by Adam Smith, was during thirty-four years translated three different times, by three different French authors.[26] And such was the general eagerness, that directly the *Wealth of Nations*, by the same great writer, appeared, Morellet, who was then high in reputation, began to turn it into French; and was only prevented from printing his translation by the circumstance that before it could be completed another version of it was published in a French periodical.[27] Coyer, who is still remembered for his Life of Sobieski, visited England; and after returning to his own country, showed the direction of his studies by rendering into French the Commentaries of Blackstone.[28] Le Blanc travelled in England, wrote a work expressly upon the English, and translated into French the Political Discourses of Hume.[29] Holbach was certainly one of the most active leaders of the liberal party in Paris; but a large part of his very numerous writings consists solely in translations of English authors.[30] Indeed it may be broadly stated that while at the end of the seventeenth century it would have been difficult to find, even among the most educated Frenchmen, a single person acquainted with English, it would in the eighteenth century have been nearly as difficult to

[20] *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 291; *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 502; *Harris's Life of Hardwicke*, vol. ii. p. 398, vol. iii. pp. 432–434; *Mém. de Diderot*, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194; *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 24.

[21] *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 182; *Biog. Univ.* vol. vi. p. 235; *Le Blanc, Lettres*, vol. i. p. 93, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160.

[22] "Admirateur passionné du romancier anglais." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxvii. p. 581. Compare *Diderot, Corresp.* vol. i. p. 352, vol. ii. pp. 44, 52, 53; *Mercier sur Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 44.

[23] *Villemain, Lit.* vol. ii. p. 115; *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. pp. 34, 42; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. xi. p. 314; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 314; *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xv. p. 81. *Stanyan's History of Greece* was once famous, and, even so late as 1804, I find Dr. Parr recommending it. *Parr's Works*, vol. vii. p. 422. Diderot told Sir Samuel Romilly that he had collected materials for a history of the trial of Charles I. *Life of Romilly*, vol. i. p. 46.

[24] *Diderot, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 286; *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. p. 331; *Helvétius de l'Esprit*, vol. i. pp. 31, 38, 46, 65, 114, 169, 193, 266, 268, vol. ii. pp. 144, 163, 165, 195, 212; *Letters addressed to Hume*, Edinb. 1849, pp. 9–10.

[25] This is the arrangement of our knowledge under the heads of Memory, Reason, and Imagination, which D'Alembert took from Bacon. Compare *Whewell's Philos. of the Sciences*. vol. ii. p. 306; *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 276; *Georgel, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 241; *Bordas Demoulin, Cartésianisme*, vol. i. p. 18.

[26] *Quérard, France Lit.* ix. 193. [27] *Mém. de Morellet*, i. 236, 237.

[28] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, lxv. 161, 190, 212; *Biog. Univ.* x. 158, 159.

[29] *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. i. pp. 365, 366, 406.

[30] See the list, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. pp. 463–466; and compare *Mém. de Diderot*, vol. iii. p. 49, from which it seems that Holbach was indebted to Toland, though Diderot speaks rather doubtingly. In *Almon's Mem. of Wilkes*, 1805, vol. iv. pp. 176, 177, there is an English letter, tolerably well written, from Holbach to Wilkes.

find in the same class one who was ignorant of it. Men of all tastes, and of the most opposite pursuits, were on this point united as by a common bond. Poets, geometricians, historians, naturalists, all seemed to agree as to the necessity of studying a literature on which no one before had wasted a thought. In the course of general reading, I have met with proofs that the English language was known, not only to those eminent Frenchmen whom I have already mentioned, but also to mathematicians, as D'Alembert,[31] Darquier,[32] Du Val le Roy,[33] Jurain,[34] Lachapelle,[35] Lalande,[36] Le Cozic,[37] Montucla,[38] Pezenas,[39] Prony,[40] Romme,[41] and Roger Martin ;[42] to anatomists, physiologists, and writers on medicine, as Barthèz,[43] Bichat,[44] Bordeu,[45] Barbeu Dubourg,[46] Bosquillon,[47] Bourru,[48] Begue de Presle,[49] Cabanis,[50] Demours,[51] Duplanil,[52] Fouquet,[53] Goulin,[54] Lavirotte,[55] Lassus,[56] Petit Radel,[57] Pinel,[58] Roux,[59] Sauvages,[60] and Sue ;[61] to naturalists, as Alyon,[62] Brémond,[63] Brisson,[64] Broussonnet,[65] Dalibard,[66] Haüy,[67] Latapie,[68] Richard,[69] Rigaud,[70] and Romé de Lisle ;[71] to historians, philologists, and antiquaries, as Barthélemy,[72] Butel Dumont,[73] De Brosses,[74] Foucher,[75] Fréret,[76] Larcher, [77] Le Coq de Villeray,[78] Millot,[79] Targe,[80] Velly,[81] Volney,[82] and Wailly ; [83] to poets and dramatists, as Chéron,[84] Colardeau,[85] Delille,[86] Desforges,[87] Ducis,[88] Florian, [89] Laborde,[90] Lefèvre de Beauvray,[91] Mercier,[92] Patu,[93] Pompignan,[94] Quétant,[95] Roucher,[96] and Saint-Ange ;[97] to

31 *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, ii. 10, 175 ; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, liv. 207.
32 *Biog. Univ.* x. 556.
33 *Ibid.* xii. 418.
34 *Quérard, France Lit.* iv. 34, 272.
35 *Ibid.* iv. 361.
36 *Biog. Univ.* xxiii. 226.
37 *Montucla, Hist. des Mathém.* ii. 170
38 *Montucla*, ii. 120, iv. 662, 665, 670.
39 *Biog. Univ.* iii. 253, xxxiii. 564.
40 *Quérard, France Lit.* vii. 353.
41 *Biog. Univ.* xxxviii. 530.
42 *Biog. Univ.* xxxviii. 411.
43 *Ibid.* iii. 450.
44 *Bichat sur la Vie*, 244.
45 *Quérard*, i. 416.
46 *Biog. Univ.* iii. 345.
47 *Quérard*, i. 260, 425, ii. 354.
48 *Quérard*, i. 476.
49 *Biog. Univ.* iv. 55, 56.
50 *Notice sur Cabanis*, p. viii. in his *Physique et Moral.*
51 *Biog. Univ.* xi. 65, 66.
52 *Ibid.* xii. 276.
53 *Ibid.* xv. 359.
54 *Ibid.* xviii. 187.
55 *Quérard*, iv. 641, vi. 9, 398.
56 *Cuvier, Éloges*, i. 354.
57 *Quérard* vii. 95.
58 *Cuvier, Éloges*, iii. 382.
59 *Biog. Univ.* xxxix. 174.
60 *Le Blanc, Lettres.* i. 93.
61 *Quérard*, ix. 286.
62 *Robin et Verdeil, Chim. Anat.* ii. 416.
63 *Biog. Univ.* v. 530, 531.
64 *Cuvier, Éloges*, i. 196.
65 *Biog. Univ.* vi. 47.
66 *Quérard*, ii. 372.
67 *Haüy, Minéralogie*, ii. 247, 267, 295, 327, 529, 609, iii. 75, 293, 307, 447, 575, iv. 45, 280, 292, 362.
68 *Quérard*, iv. 598.
69 *Ibid.* viii. 22.
70 *Swainson, Disc. on Nat. Hist.* 52 ; *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, iii. 415.
71 *De Lisle, Cristallographie*, 1772, xviii. xx. xxiii. xxv. xxvii. 78, 206, 254.
72 *Albemarle's Rockingham*, ii. 156 ; *Campbell's Chancellors*, v. 365.
73 *Biog. Univ.* vi. 386.
74 *Letters to Hume*, Edin. 1849, 276, 278.
75 *Biog. Univ.* xv. 332.
76 *Brewster's Life of Newton*, ii. 302.
77 *Palissot, Mém.* ii. 56.
78 *Biog. Univ.* ix. 549.
79 *Biog. Univ.* xxix. 51, 53.
80 *Ibid.* xliv. 534.
81 *Ibid.* xlviii. 93.
82 *Volney, Syrie et Egypte*, ii. 100, 157 ; *Quérard*, x. 271, 273.
83 *Biog. Univ.* l. 42.
84 *Ibid.* viii. 340, 341.
85 *Mém. de Genlis*, i. 276.
86 *Palissot, Mém.* i. 243.
87 *Biog. Univ.* ix. 281, xi. 172, 173.
88 *Quérard*, ii. 626, 627.
89 *Quérard*, iii. 141.
90 *Ibid.* iv. 342.
91 *Ibid.* v. 83.
92 *Ibid.* vi. 62.
93 *Garrick Correspond.* 4to, 1832, ii. 385, 395, 416.
94 *Biog. Univ.* xxxv. 314.
95 *Quérard*, vii. 399.
96 *Biog. Univ.* xxxix. 93.
97 *Ibid.* xxxix. 530.

miscellaneous writers, as Bassinet,[98] Baudeau,[99] Beaulaton,[100] Benoist,[101] Bergier,[102] Blavet,[103] Bouchaud,[104] Bougainville,[105] Bruté,[106] Castera,[107] Chantreau,[108] Charpentier,[109] Chastellux,[110] Contant d'Orville,[111] De Bissy,[112] Demeunier,[113] Desfontaines,[114] Devienne,[115] Dubocage,[116] Dupré,[117] Duresnel,[118] Eidous,[119] Estienne,[120] Favier,[121] Flavigny,[122] Fontanelle,[123] Fontenay,[124] Framery,[125] Fresnais,[126] Fréville,[127] Frossard,[128] Galtier,[129] Garsault,[130] Goddard,[131] Goudar,[132] Guénée,[133] Guillemard,[134] Guyard,[135] Jault,[136] Imbert,[137] Joncourt,[138] Kéralio,[139] Laboreau,[140] Lacombe,[141] Lafargue,[142] La Montagne,[143] Lanjuinais,[144] Lasalle,[145] Lasteyrie,[146] Le Breton,[147] Lécuy,[148] Léonard des Malpeines,[149] Letourneur,[150] Linguet,[151] Lottin,[152] Luneau,[153] Maillet Duclairon,[154] Mandrillon,[155] Marsy,[156] Moet,[157] Monod,[158] Mosneron,[159] Nagot,[160] Peyron,[161] Prévost,[162] Puisieux,[163] Rivoire,[164] Robinet,[165] Roger,[166] Roubaud,[167] Salaville,[168] Sauseuil,[169] Secondat,[170] Septchênes,[171] Simon,[172] Soulès,[173] Suard,[174] Tannevot,[175] Thurot,[176] Toussaint,[177]

[98] *Quérard*, i. 209.
[99] *Biog. Univ.* iii. 533.
[100] *Biog. Univ.* iii. 631.
[101] *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, iii. 334.
[102] *Quérard*, i. 284, vii. 287.
[103] *Mém. de Morellet*, i. 237.
[104] *Biog. Univ.* v. 264.
[105] *Dutens, Mém.* iii. 32.
[106] *Biog. Univ.* vi. 165.
[107] *Murray's Life of Bruce*, 121 ; *Biog. Univ.* vi. 79.
[108] *Biog. Univ.* viii. 46.
[109] *Ibid.* viii. 246.
[110] *Ibid.* viii. 266.
[111] *Ibid.* ix. 497.
[112] *Ibid.* xlv. 394.
[113] *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, iii. 184.
[114] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, lvi. 527.
[115] *Biog. Univ.* xi. 264.
[116] *Quérard*, ii. 598.
[117] *Biog. Univ.* xii. 313, 314.
[118] *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* ii. 154 ; *Palissot, Mém.* ii. 311.
[119] *Biog. Univ.* iv. 547, xii. 595.
[120] *Ibid.* xiii. 399.
[121] *Quérard*, iii. 79.
[122] *Biog. Univ.* xv. 29.
[123] *Biog. Univ.* xv. 203.
[124] *Ibid.* 218.
[125] *Quérard*, i. 525.
[126] *Biog. Univ.* xvi. 48.
[127] *Ibid.* li. 508.
[128] *Smith's Tour on the Continent in* 1786, i. 143.
[129] *Biog. Univ.* xvi. 388.
[130] *Ibid.* xvi. 502.
[131] *Sinclair's Correspond.* i. 157.
[132] *Quérard*, iii. 418.
[133] *Biog. Univ.* xix. 13.
[134] *Quérard*, i. 10, iii. 536.
[135] *Quérard*, iii. 469.
[136] *Biog. Univ.* xxi. 419.
[137] *Biog. Univ.* xxi. 200.
[138] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, xxxviii. 244.
[139] *Palissot, Mém.* i. 425.
[140] *Biog. Univ.* xxiii. 34.
[141] *Biog. Univ.* xxiii. 56.
[142] *Ibid.* xxiii. 111.
[143] *Quérard*, iv. 503.
[144] *Biog. Univ.* xxiii. 373.
[145] *Quérard*, iv. 579.
[146] *Sinclair's Correspond.* ii. 139.
[147] *Mem. and Correspond. of Sir J. E. Smith*, i. 163.
[148] *Biog. des Hommes Vivants*, iv. 164.
[149] *Quérard*, v. 177.
[150] *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* iv. 583 ; *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mém.* i. 395.
[151] *Quérard*, v. 316.
[152] *Biog. Univ.* xxv. 87.
[153] *Biog. Univ.* xxv. 432.
[154] *Ibid.* xxvi. 244.
[155] *Ibid.* xxvi. 468.
[156] *Ibid.* xxvii. 269.
[157] *Ibid.* xxix. 208.
[158] *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, i. 222.
[159] *Quérard*, vi. 330.
[160] *Biog. Univ.* xxx. 539.
[161] *Ibid.* xxxiii. 553.
[162] *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, i. 22, iii. 307, iv. 207.
[163] *Biog. Univ.* xxxvi. 305, 306.
[164] *Ibid.* xxxviii. 174.
[165] *Peignot, Dict. des Livres*, ii. 233.
[166] *Quérard*, viii. 111.
[167] *Biog. Univ.* xxxix. 84.
[168] *Biog. des Hommes Vivants*, v. 294.
[169] *Quérard*, viii. 474.
[170] *Biog. Univ.* xli. 426.
[171] *Biog. Univ.* xlii. 45, 46.
[172] *Ibid.* xlii. 389.
[173] *Ibid.* xliii. 181.
[174] *Garrick Correspond.* ii. 604 ; *Mém. de Genlis*, vi. 205.
[175] *Biog. Univ.* xliv. 512.
[176] *Life of Roscoe, by his Son*, i. 200.
[177] *Biog. Univ.* xlvi. 398, 399.

Tressan,[178] Trochereau,[179] Turpin,[180] Ussieux,[181] Vaugeois,[182] Verlac,[183] and Virloys.[184] Indeed, Le Blanc, who wrote shortly before the middle of the eighteenth century, says: "We have placed English in the rank of the learned languages; our women study it, and have abandoned Italian in order to study the language of this philosophic people; nor is there to be found among us any one who does not desire to learn it."[185]

Such was the eagerness with which the French imbibed the literature of a people whom but a few years before they had heartily despised. The truth is, that in this new state of things they had no alternative. For where but in England was a literature to be found that could satisfy those bold and inquisitive thinkers who arose in France after the death of Louis XIV.? In their own country there had no doubt been great displays of eloquence, of fine dramas, and of poetry which, though never reaching the highest point of excellence, is of finished and admirable beauty. But it is an unquestionable fact, and one melancholy to contemplate, that during the sixty years which succeeded the death of Descartes, France had not possessed a single man who dared to think for himself.* Metaphysicians, moralists, historians, all had become tainted by the servility of that bad age. During two generations, no Frenchman had been allowed to discuss with freedom any question either of politics or of religion. The consequence was that the largest intellects, excluded from their legitimate field, lost their energy; the national spirit died away; the very materials and nutriment of thought seemed to be wanting. No wonder, then, if the great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century sought that aliment abroad which they were unable to find at home. No wonder if they turned from their own land, and gazed with admiration at the only people who, pushing their inquiries into the highest departments, had shown the same fearlessness in politics as in religion; a people who, having punished their kings and controlled their clergy, were storing the treasures of their experience in that noble literature which never can perish, and of which it may be said in sober truth, that it has stimulated the intellect of the most distant races, and that, planted in America and in India, it has already fertilized the two extremities of the world.

There are, in fact, few things in history so instructive as the extent to which France was influenced by this new pursuit. Even those who took part in actually consummating the Revolution were moved by the prevailing spirit. The English language was familiar to Carra,[186] Dumouriez,[187] Lafayette,[188] and Lanthénas.[189]

[178] *Ibid.* xlvi. 497.

[179] *Quérard*, iv. 45, ix. 558.

[180] *Biog. Univ.* xlvii. 98.

[181] *Biog. Univ.* xlvii. 232.

[182] *Mém. de Brissot*, i. 78.

[183] *Biog. Univ.* xlviii. 217, 218.

[184] *Ibid.* xlix. 223.

[185] "Nous avons mis depuis peu leur langue au rang des langues savantes; les femmes même l'apprennent, et ont renoncé à l'Italien pour étudier celle de ce peuple philosophe. Il n'est point dans la province, d'Armande et de Belise qui ne veuille savoir l'Anglois." *Le Blanc, Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 465. Compare *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. xiv. p. 484; and *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. iii. pp. 460, 461.

[186] *Williams's Letters from France*, vol. iii. p. 68, 2nd edit. 1796; *Biog. Univ.* vol. vii. p. 192.

[187] *Adolphus's Biog. Mem.* 1799, vol. i. p. 352.

[188] *Lady Morgan's France*, vol. ii. p. 304; *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. pp. 41, 49, 70; vol. ii. pp. 26, 74, 83, 89.

[189] *Quérard, France Littéraire*, vol. iv. p. 540.

[* It is hardly reasonable to assert that such men as Malebranche, Fénelon, Huet, Bossuet, Fontenelle, Du Bos, and Simon did not dare to think for themselves. In England in the same period the leading names were Hobbes and Locke; and of these the latter is often accused of intellectual timidity. The innovating courses of Blount and Toland provoked abundant resentment, as did the new departures of the later free-thinkers. "To discuss with freedom," in the sense of being free to publish anything, was only relatively easier in England than in France.—Ed.]

Camille Desmoulins had cultivated his mind from the same source.[190] Marat travelled in Scotland as well as in England, and was so profoundly versed in our language that he wrote two works in it; one of which, called *The Chains of Slavery*, was afterwards translated into French.[191] Mirabeau is declared by a high authority to have owed part of his power to a careful study of the English constitution;[192] he translated not only Watson's *History of Philip II.*, but also some parts of Milton;[193] and it is said that when he was in the National Assembly, he delivered as his own passages from the speeches of Burke.[194] Mounier was well acquainted with our language, and with our political institutions both in theory and in practice;[195] and in a work which exercised considerable influence he proposed for his own country the establishment of two chambers, to form that balance of power of which England supplied the example.[196] The same idea, derived from the same source, was advocated by Le Brun, who was a friend of Mounier's, and who, like him, had paid attention to the literature and government of the English people.[197] Brissot knew English; he had studied in London the working of the English institutions, and he himself mentions that in his treatise on criminal law he was mainly guided by the course of English legislation.[198] Condorcet also proposed as a model our system of criminal jurisprudence,[199] which, bad as it was, certainly surpassed that possessed by France. Madame Roland, whose position as well as ability made her one of the leaders of the democratic party, was an ardent student of the language and literature of the English people.[200] She too, moved by the universal curiosity, came to our country; and, as if to show that persons of every shade and of every rank were actuated by the same spirit, the Duke of Orleans likewise visited England; nor did his visit fail to produce its natural results. "It was," says a celebrated writer, "in the society of London that he acquired a taste for liberty; and it was on his return from there that he brought into France a love of popular agitation, a contempt for his own rank, and a familiarity with those beneath him."[201]

This language, strong as it is, will not appear exaggerated to any one who has

[190] The last authors he read, shortly before his execution, were Young and Hervey. *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. viii. p. 45. In 1769 Madame Riccoboni writes from Paris that Young's *Night Thoughts* had become very popular there; and she justly adds, "c'est une preuve sans réplique du changement de l'esprit français." *Garrick Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 566, 4to, 1832.

[191] *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. iv. p. 119; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. pp. 336, 337, vol. ii. p. 3.

[192] "Une des supériorités secondaires, une des supériorités d'étude qui appartenaient à Mirabeau, c'était la profonde connaissance, la vive intelligence de la constitution anglaise, de ses ressorts publics et de ses ressorts cachés." *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. iv. p. 153.

[193] Particularly the democratic passages, "un corps de doctrine de tous ses écrits républicains." *Dumont, Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, p. 119. As to his translation of Watson, see *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. p. 452. He also intended to translate Sinclair's History of the Revenue. *Correspond. of Sir J. Sinclair*, vol. ii. p. 119.

[194] *Prior's Life of Burke*, p. 546, 3rd edit. 1839.

[195] "Il étudiait leur langue, la théorie et plus encore la pratique de leur institutions." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxx. p. 310.

[196] *Continuation de Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxx. p. 434. Montlosier (*Monarchie Française*, vol. ii. p. 340) says that this idea was borrowed from England; but he does not mention who suggested it.

[197] *Du Mesnil, Mém. sur Le Brun*, pp. 10, 14, 29, 82, 180, 182.

[198] *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. pp. 63, 64, vol. ii. pp. 25, 40, 188, 206, 260, 313.

[199] Dupont de Nemours (*Mém. sur Turgot*, p. 117) says of criminal jurisprudence, "M. de Condorcet proposait en modèle celle des Anglais."

[200] *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. pp. 27, 55, 89, 136, vol. ii. pp. 99, 135, 253.

[201] "Le duc d'Orléans puisa ainsi le goût de la liberté dans la vie de Londres. Il en rapporta en France les habitudes d'insolence contre la cour, l'appétit des agitations populaires, le mépris pour son propre rang, la familiarité avec la foule," &c. *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. ii. p. 102.

carefully studied the history of the eighteenth century. It is no doubt certain that the French Revolution was essentially a reaction against that protective and interfering spirit which reached its zenith under Louis XIV., but which, centuries before his reign, had exercised a most injurious influence over the national prosperity. While, however, this must be fully conceded, it is equally certain that the impetus to which the reaction owed its strength proceeded from England; and that it was English literature which taught the lessons of political liberty, first to France, and through France to the rest of Europe.[202] On this account, and not at all from mere literary curiosity, I have traced with some minuteness that union between the French and English minds which, though often noticed, has never been examined with the care its importance deserves. The circumstances which reinforced this vast movement will be related towards the end of the volume; at present I will confine myself to its first great consequence, namely, the establishment of a complete schism between the literary men of France and the classes who exclusively governed the country.

Those eminent Frenchmen who now turned their attention to England found in its literature, in the structure of its society, and in its government, many peculiarities of which their own country furnished no example. They heard political and religious questions of the greatest moment debated with a boldness unknown in any other part of Europe. They heard Dissenters and Churchmen, Whigs and Tories, handling the most dangerous topics, and treating them with unlimited freedom. They heard public disputes respecting matters which no one in France dared to discuss; mysteries of state and mysteries of creed unfolded and rudely exposed to the popular gaze. And what to Frenchmen of that age must have been equally amazing, they not only found a public press possessing some degree of freedom, but they found that within the very walls of parliament the administration of the crown was assailed with complete impunity, the character of its chosen servants constantly aspersed, and, strange to say, even the management of its revenue effectually controlled.[203]

The successors of the age of Louis XIV., seeing these things, and seeing moreover that the civilization of the country increased as the authority of the upper classes and of the crown diminished, were unable to restrain their wonder at so novel and exciting a spectacle. "The English nation," says Voltaire, "is the only one on the earth which, by resisting its kings, has succeeded in lessening their power."[204] "How I love the boldness of the English! how I love men who say what they think!"[205] The English, says Le Blanc, are willing to have a king, provided they are not obliged to obey him.[206] The immediate object of

[202] M. Lerminier (*Philos. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 19) says of England, "cette île célèbre donne à l'Europe l'enseignement de la liberté politique; elle en fut l'école au dix-huitième siècle pour tout ce que l'Europe eut de penseurs." See also *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. iii. p. 161; *Mém. de Marmontel*, vol. iv. pp. 38, 39; *Stäudlin, Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 291.

[203] Hume, who was acquainted with several eminent Frenchmen who visited England, says (*Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. p. 8), "nothing is more apt to surprise a foreigner than the extreme liberty which we enjoy in this country, of communicating whatever we please to the public, and of openly censuring every measure entered into by the king or his ministers."

[204] "La nation anglaise est la seule de la terre qui soit parvenue à régler le pouvoir des rois en leur résistant." *Lettre VIII sur les Anglais*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxvi. p. 37.

[205] "Que j'aime la hardiesse anglaise! que j'aime les gens qui disent ce qu'ils pensent!" Letter from Voltaire in *Correspond. de Dudeffand*, vol. ii. p. 263. For other instances of his admiration of England, see *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xl. pp. 105–109; vol. li. pp. 137, 390; vol. liv. pp. 298, 392; vol. lvi. pp. 162, 163, 195, 196, 270; vol. lvii. p. 500; vol. lviii. pp. 128, 267; vol. lix. pp. 265, 361; vol. lx. p. 501; vol. lxi. pp. 43, 73, 129, 140, 474, 475; vol. lxii. pp. 343, 379, 392; vol. lxiii. pp. 128, 146, 190, 196, 226, 237, 415; vol. lxiv. pp. 36, 96, 269; vol. lxvi. pp. 93, 159; vol. lxvii. pp. 353, 484.

[206] "Ils veulent un roi, aux conditions, pour ainsi dire, de ne lui point obéir." *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un François*, vol. i. p. 210.

their government, says Montesquieu, is political liberty ;[207] they possess more freedom than any republic ;[208] and their system is in fact a republic disguised as a monarchy.[209] Grosley, struck with amazement, exclaims, " Property is in England a thing sacred, which the laws protect from all encroachment, not only from engineers, inspectors, and other people of that stamp, but even from the king himself."[210] Mably, in the most celebrated of all his works, says, " The Hanoverians are only able to reign in England because the people are free, and believe they have a right to dispose of the crown. But if the kings were to claim the same power as the Stuarts, if they were to believe that the crown belonged to them by divine right, they would be condemning themselves, and confessing that they were occupying a place which is not their own."[211] In England, says Helvétius, the people are respected ; every citizen can take some part in the management of affairs ; and authors are allowed to enlighten the public respecting its own interests.[212] And Brissot, who had made these matters his especial study, cries out, " Admirable constitution ! which can only be disparaged either by men who know it not, or else by those whose tongues are bridled by slavery."[213]

Such were the opinions of some of the most celebrated Frenchmen of that time ; and it would be easy to fill a volume with similar extracts. But what I now rather wish to do is to point out the first great consequence of this new and sudden admiration * for a country which, in the preceding age, had been held in profound contempt. The events which followed are indeed of an importance impossible to exaggerate ; since they brought about that rupture between the intellectual and governing classes of which the Revolution itself was but a temporary episode.

The great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century being stimulated by the example of England into a love of progress, naturally came into collision with the governing classes, among whom the old stationary spirit still prevailed. This opposition was a wholesome reaction against that disgraceful servility for which, in the reign of Louis XIV., literary men had been remarkable ; and if the contest which ensued had been conducted with anything approaching to moderation, the ultimate result would have been highly beneficial ; since it would have secured that divergence between the speculative and practical classes which, as we have already seen, is essential to maintain the balance of civilization, and to prevent either side from acquiring a dangerous predominance. But unfortunately the nobles and clergy had been so long accustomed to power that they could not brook the slightest contradiction from those great writers, whom they ignorantly despised as their inferiors. Hence it was that when the most illustrious Frenchmen of the eighteenth century attempted to infuse into the literature of their country a spirit of inquiry similar to that which existed in

[207] " Il y a aussi une nation dans le monde qui a pour objet direct de sa constitution la liberté politique." *Esprit des Lois*, livre xi. chap. v. in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 264. Conversely De Staël (*Consid. sur la Rév.* vol. iii. p. 261), " la liberté politique est le moyen suprême."

[208] " L'Angleterre est à présent le plus libre pays qui soit au monde, je n'en excepte aucune république." *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 632.

[209] " Une nation où la république se cache sous la forme de la monarchie." *Esprit des Lois*, livre v. chap. xix. in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 225 ; also quoted in *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 36.

[210] *Grosley's Tour to London*, vol. i. pp. 16, 17.

[211] *Mably, Observ. sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. ii. p. 185.

[212] *Helvétius de l'Esprit*, vol. i. pp. 102, 199 : " un pays où le peuple est respecté comme en Angleterre ; . . . un pays où chaque citoyen a part au maniement des affaires généralés, où tout homme d'esprit peut éclairer le public sur ses véritables intérêts."

[213] *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. ii. p. 25.

[* Buckle has unfortunately not traced the process chronologically ; but it is broadly clear that what he calls a " new and sudden admiration " was gradually developed through a period of sixty years. Voltaire was in England from 1726 to 1729 : Montesquieu from 1729 to 1731. It was many years before the influence was general.—Ed.]

England, the ruling classes became roused into a hatred and jealousy which broke all bounds, and gave rise to that crusade against knowledge which forms the second principal precursor of the French Revolution.

The extent of that cruel persecution to which literature was now exposed can only be fully appreciated by those who have minutely studied the history of France in the eighteenth century. For it was not a stray case of oppression, which occurred here and there; but it was a prolonged and systematic attempt to stifle all inquiry and punish all inquirers. If a list were drawn up of all the literary men who wrote during the seventy years succeeding the death of Louis XIV., it would be found that at least nine out of every ten had suffered from the government some grievous injury; and that a majority of them had been actually thrown into prison. Indeed, in saying thus much, I am understating the real facts of the case; for I question if one literary man out of fifty escaped with entire impunity. Certainly my own knowledge of those times, though carefully collected, is not so complete as I could have wished; but among those authors who were punished I find the name of nearly every Frenchman whose writings have survived the age in which they were produced. Among those who suffered either confiscation, or imprisonment, or exile, or fines, or the suppression of their works, or the ignominy of being forced to recant what they had written, I find, besides a host of inferior writers, the names of Beaumarchais, Berruyer, Bougeant, Buffon, D'Alembert, Diderot, Duclos, Fréret, Helvétius, La Harpe, Linguet, Mably, Marmontel, Montesquieu, Mercier, Morellet, Raynal, Rousseau, Suard, Thomas, and Voltaire.

The mere recital of this list is pregnant with instruction. To suppose that all these eminent men deserved the treatment they received would, even in the absence of direct evidence, be a manifest absurdity; since it would involve the supposition that, a schism having taken place between two classes, the weaker class was altogether wrong, and the stronger altogether right. Fortunately, however, there is no necessity for resorting to any merely speculative argument respecting the probable merits of the two parties. The accusations brought against these great men are before the world; the penalties inflicted are equally well known; and by putting these together we may form some idea of the state of society in which such things could be openly practised.

Voltaire, almost immediately after the death of Louis XIV., was falsely charged with having composed a libel on that prince; and for this imaginary offence, he, without the pretence of a trial, and without even the shadow of a proof, was thrown into the Bastille, where he was confined more than twelve months.[214] Shortly after he was released there was put upon him a still more grievous insult; the occurrence, and, above all, the impunity of which, supply striking evidence as to the state of society in which such things were permitted. Voltaire, at the table of the Duke de Sully, was deliberately insulted by the Chevalier de Rohan Chabot, one of those impudent and dissolute nobles who then abounded in Paris. The duke, though the outrage was committed in his own house, in his own presence, and upon his own guest, would not interfere; but seemed to consider that a poor poet was honoured by being in any way noticed by a man of rank. But as Voltaire, in the heat of the moment, let fall one of those stinging retorts which were the terror of his enemies, the chevalier determined to visit him with further punishment. The course he adopted was characteristic of the man, an' of the class to which he belonged. He caused Voltaire to be seized in the streets of Paris, and in his presence ignominiously beaten, he himself regulating the number of blows of which the chastisement was to consist. Voltaire, smarting under the insult, demanded that satisfaction which it was customary to give. This, however, did not enter into the plan of his noble assailer, who not only refused to meet him in the field, but actually obtained an order by which he was confined in the Bastille for six months, and at the end of that time was directed to quit the country.[215]

[214] *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 118, 119; *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 30, 32; *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. i. p. 22.

[215] *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 46–48; *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 125, 126.

Thus it was that Voltaire, having first been imprisoned for a libel which he never wrote, and having then been publicly beaten because he retorted an insult wantonly put upon him, was now sentenced to another imprisonment, through the influence of the very man by whom he had been attacked. The exile which followed the imprisonment seems to have been soon remitted; as, shortly after these events, we find Voltaire again in France, preparing for publication his first historical work, a life of Charles XII. In this there are none of those attacks on Christianity which gave offence in his subsequent writings; nor does it contain the least reflection upon the arbitrary government under which he had suffered. The French authorities at first granted that permission without which no book could then be published; but as soon as it was actually printed, the licence was withdrawn, and the history forbidden to be circulated.[216] The next attempt of Voltaire was one of much greater value; it was therefore repulsed still more sharply. During his residence in England, his inquisitive mind had been deeply interested by a state of things so different from any he had hitherto seen; and he now published an account of that remarkable people, from whose literature he had learned many important truths. His work, which he called *Philosophic Letters*, was received with general applause; but, unfortunately for himself, he adopted in it the arguments of Locke against innate ideas. The rulers of France, though not likely to know much about innate ideas, had a suspicion that the doctrine of Locke was in some way dangerous; and as they were told that it was a novelty they felt themselves bound to prevent its promulgation. Their remedy was very simple. They ordered that Voltaire should be again arrested and that his work should be burned by the common hangman.[217]

These repeated injuries might well have moved a more patient spirit than that of Voltaire.[218] Certainly those who reproach this illustrious man, as if he were the instigator of unprovoked attacks upon the existing state of things, must know very little of the age in which it was his misfortune to live. Even on what has been always considered the neutral ground of physical science, there was displayed the same despotic and persecuting spirit. Voltaire, among other schemes for benefiting France, wished to make known to his countrymen the wonderful discoveries of Newton, of which they were completely ignorant. With this view he drew up an account of the labours of that extraordinary thinker; but here again the authorities interposed, and forbade the work to be printed.[219] Indeed the rulers of France, as if sensible that their only security was the ignorance of the people, obstinately set their face against every description of knowledge. Several eminent authors had undertaken to execute, on a magnificent scale, an Encyclopædia which should contain a summary of all the branches of science and of art. This, undoubtedly the most splendid enterprise ever started by a

Compare vol. lvi. p. 162; *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, 1837, pp. 70, 71; and *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlix. p. 468. Duvernet, who, writing from materials supplied by Voltaire, had the best means of information, gives a specimen of the fine feeling of a French duke in the eighteenth century. He says that, directly after Rohan had inflicted this public chastisement, "Voltaire rentre dans l'hôtel, demande au duc de Sully de regarder cet outrage fait à l'un de ses convives fait à lui-même : il le sollicite de se joindre à lui pour en poursuivre la vengeance, et de venir chez un commissaire en certifier la déposition. *Le duc de Sully se refuse à tout.*"

[216] "L'Histoire de Charles XII, dont on avait arrêté une première édition après l'avoir autorisée." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlix. p. 470. Comp. *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. i. p. 388.

[217] *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 63–65; *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 138–140; *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 93, 381.

[218] The indignation of Voltaire appears in many of his letters; and he often announced to his friends his intention of quitting for ever a country where he was liable to such treatment. See *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. pp. 58, 335, 336, vol. lv. p. 229, vol. lvi. pp. 162, 163, 358, 447, 464, 465, vol. lvii. pp. 144, 145, 155, 156, vol. lviii. pp. 36, 222, 223, 516, 517, 519, 520, 525, 526, 563, vol. lix. pp. 107, 116, 188, 208.

[219] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. i. pp. 147, 315, vol. lvii. pp. 211, 215, 219, 247, 295; *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. i. p. 14; *Brougham's Men of Letters*, vol. i. pp. 53, 60.

body of literary men, was at first discouraged by the government, and afterwards entirely prohibited.[220] On other occasions, the same tendency was shown in matters so trifling that nothing but the gravity of their ultimate results prevents them from being ridiculous. In 1770, Imbert translated Clarke's *Letters on Spain*; one of the best works then existing on that country. This book, however, was suppressed as soon as it appeared; and the only reason assigned for such a stretch of power is that it contained some remarks respecting the passion of Charles III. for hunting, which were considered disrespectful to the French crown, because Louis XV. was himself a great hunter.[221] Several years before this, La Bletterie, who was favourably known in France by his works, was elected a member of the French Academy. But he, it seems, was a Jansenist, and had moreover ventured to assert that the Emperor Julian, notwithstanding his apostasy, was not entirely devoid of good qualities. Such offences could not be overlooked in so pure an age; and the king obliged the academy to exclude La Bletterie from their society.[222] That the punishment extended no further was an instance of remarkable leniency; for Fréret, an eminent critic and scholar,[223] was confined in the Bastille because he stated, in one of his memoirs, that the earliest Frankish chiefs had received their titles from the Romans.[224] The same penalty was inflicted four different times upon Lenglet du Fresnoy.[225] In the case of this amiable and accomplished man, there seems to have been hardly the shadow of a pretext for the cruelty with which he was treated; though on one occasion the alleged offence was that he had published a supplement to the History of De Thou.[226]

Indeed we have only to open the biographies and correspondence of that time to find instances crowding upon us from all quarters. Rousseau was threatened with imprisonment, was driven from France, and his works were publicly burned.[227] The celebrated treatise of Helvétius on the Mind was suppressed

[220] *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. i. pp. 90–95, vol. ii. p. 399; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 316; *Brougham's Men of Letters*, vol. ii. p. 439.

[221] *Boucher de la Richarderie, Bibliothèque des Voyages*, vol. iii. pp. 390–393, Paris, 1808: "La distribution en France de la traduction de ce voyage fut arrêtée pendant quelque temps par des ordres supérieurs du gouvernement. . . . Il y a tout lieu de croire que les ministres de France crurent, ou feignirent de croire, que le passage en question pouvoit donner lieu à des applications sur le goût effréné de Louis XV pour la chasse, et inspirèrent aisément cette prévention à un prince très-sensible, comme on sait, aux censures les plus indirectes de sa passion pour ce genre d'amusement." See also the account of Imbert, the translator, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxi. p. 200.

[222] *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. vi. pp. 161, 162; the crime being, "qu'un janséniste avait osé imprimer que Julien, apostat exécrable aux yeux d'un bon chrétien, n'était pourtant pas un homme sans quelques bonnes qualités à en juger mondainement."

[223] M. Bunsen (*Egypt*, vol. i. p. 14) refers to Fréret's "acute treatise on the Babylonian year;" and Turgot, in his *Etymologie*, says (*Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iii. p. 83), "l'illustre Fréret, un des savans qui ont su le mieux appliquer la philosophie à l'érudition."

[224] This was at the very outset of his career: "En 1715, l'homme qui devait illustrer l'érudition française au xviii^e^ siècle, Fréret, était mis à la Bastille pour avoir avancé, dans un mémoire sur l'origine des Français, que les Francs ne formaient pas une nation à part, et que leurs premiers chefs avaient reçu de l'empire romain le titre de *patrices*." *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII^e^ Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 30: see also *Nichols's Lit. Anec.* vol. ii. p. 510.

[225] He was imprisoned in the Bastille, for the first time, in 1725; then in 1743, in 1750, and finally in 1751. *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxiv. p. 85.

[226] In 1743, Voltaire writes: "On vient de mettre à la Bastille l'abbé Lenglet, pour avoir publié des mémoires déjà très connus, qui servent de supplément à l'histoire de notre célèbre De Thou. L'infatigable et malheureux Lenglet rendait un signalé service aux bons citoyens, et aux amateurs des recherches historiques. Il méritait des récompenses; on l'emprisonne cruellement à l'âge de soixante-huit ans." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. i. pp. 400, 401, vol. lviii. pp. 207. 208.

[227] *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. pp. 68, 99, 296, 377, vol. ii. pp. 111, 385, 390; *Mercier sur Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 14, vol. ii. pp. 179, 314.

by an order from the royal council ; it was burned by the common hangman, and the author was compelled to write two letters retracting his opinions.[228] Some of the geological views of Buffon having offended the clergy, that illustrious naturalist was obliged to publish a formal recantation of doctrines which are now known to be perfectly accurate.[229] The learned Observations on the History of France, by Mably, were suppressed as soon as they appeared ; [230] for what reason it would be hard to say, since M. Guizot, certainly no friend either to anarchy or to irreligion, has thought it worth while to republish them, and thus stamp them with the authority of his own great name. The History of the Indies, by Raynal, was condemned to the flames, and the author ordered to be arrested.[231] Lanjuinais, in his well-known work on Joseph II., advocated not only religious toleration, but even the abolition of slavery ; his book, therefore, was declared to be " seditious ; " it was pronounced " destructive of all subordination," and was sentenced to be burned.[232] The Analysis of Bayle, by Marsy, was suppressed, and the author was imprisoned.[233] The History of the Jesuits, by Linguet, was delivered to the flames ; eight years later, his *Journal* was suppressed ; and three years after that, as he still persisted in writing, his Political Annals were suppressed, and he himself was thrown into the Bastille.[234] Delisle de Sales was sentenced to perpetual exile, and confiscation of all his property, on account of his work on the Philosophy of Nature.[235] The treatise by Mey, on French law, was suppressed ; [236] that by Boncerf, on feudal law, was burned.[237] The Memoirs of Beaumarchais were likewise burned ; [238] the Éloge on Fénelon by La Harpe was merely suppressed.[239] Duvernet having written a History of the Sorbonne, which was still unpublished, was seized and thrown into the Bastille, while the manuscript was yet in his own possession.[240] The celebrated work of De Lolme on the English constitution was suppressed by edict directly it appeared.[241] The fate of being suppressed, or prohibited, also awaited the Letters of Gervaise, in 1724 ; [242] the Dissertations of Courayer, in 1727 ; [243] the Letters of Montgon, in 1732 ; [244] the History of Tamerlane, by Margat, also in 1732 ; [245] the Essay on Taste, by Cartaud, in 1736 ; [246] the Life of Domat, by Prévost de la Jannès, in 1742 ; [247] the History of Louis XI., by Duclos, in 1745 ; [248] the Letters of Bargeton,

[228] *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. ii. p. 349 ; *Walpole's Letters*, 1840, vol. iii. p. 418.

[229] *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, pp. 39, 40 ; *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 125.

[230] *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. ii. p. 214 ; *Williams's Letters from France*, vol. ii. p. 86, 3rd edit. 1796.

[231] *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 253 ; *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. ii. p. 34 note ; *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 365. On Raynal's flight, compare a letter from Marseilles, written in 1786, and printed in *Mem. and Correspond. of Sir J. E. Smith*, vol. i. p. 194.

[232] See the proceedings of the avocat-général, in *Peignot, Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 230, 231 ; and in *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. iii. pp. 93–97.

[233] *Quérard, France Lit.* vol. v. p. 565.

[234] *Peignot, Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 241, 242.

[235] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 561 ; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxix. pp. 374, 375 ; *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 528 ; *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, pp. 202, 203. According to some of these authorities, parliament afterwards revoked this sentence ; but there is no doubt that the sentence was passed, and De Sales imprisoned, if not banished.

[236] *Peignot, Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 314, 315.

[237] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxix. p. 204 ; *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. iii. p. 260.

[238] " Quatre mémoires . . . condamnés à être lacérés et brûlés par la main du bourreau." *Peignot*, vol. i. p. 24.

[239] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiii. p. 187.

[240] *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. i. p. vi.

[241] " Supprimée par arrêt du conseil " in 1771, which was the year of its publication. Compare *Cassagnac's Révolution*, vol. i. p. 33 ; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 634.

[242] *Quérard, France Lit.* vol. iii. p. 337.

[243] *Biog. Univ.* vol. x. p. 97.

[244] *Peignot*, vol. i. p. 328.

[245] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 289.

[246] *Biog. Univ.* vol. vii. p 227.

[247] *Lettres d'Aguesseau*, vol. ii. pp. 320, 321.

[248] *Cassagnac, Causes de la Rév.* vol. i. p. 32.

in 1750 ;[249] the Memoirs on Troyes, by Grosley, in the same year ;[250] the History of Clement XI., by Reboulet, in 1752 ;[251] the School of Man, by Génard, also in 1752 ;[252] the Therapeutics of Garlon, in 1756 ;[253] the celebrated thesis of Louis, on Generation, in 1754 ;[254] the Treatise on Presidial Jurisdiction, by Jousse, in 1755 ;[255] the Ericie of Fontenelle, in 1768 ;[256] the Thoughts of Jamin, in 1769 ;[257] the History of Siam, by Turpin, and the Éloge of Marcus Aurelius, by Thomas, both in 1770 ;[258] the works on finance by Darigrand in 1764, and by Le Trosne in 1779 ;[259] the Essay on Military Tactics, by Guibert, in 1772 ; the Letters of Boucquet, in the same year ;[260] and the Memoirs of Terrai, by Coquereau, in 1776.[261] Such wanton destruction of property was, however, mercy itself compared to the treatment experienced by other literary men in France. Desforges, for example, having written against the arrest of the Pretender to the English throne, was, solely on that account, buried in a dungeon eight feet square and confined there for three years.[262] This happened in 1749 ; and in 1770, Audra, professor at the college of Toulouse, and a man of some reputation, published the first volume of his Abridgment of General History. Beyond this the work never proceeded ; it was at once condemned by the archbishop of the diocese, and the author was deprived of his office. Audra, held up to public opprobrium, the whole of his labours rendered useless, and the prospects of his life suddenly blighted, was unable to survive the shock. He was struck with apoplexy, and within twenty-four hours was lying a corpse in his own house.[263]

It will probably be allowed that I have collected sufficient evidence to substantiate my assertion respecting the persecutions directed against every description of literature ; but the carelessness with which the antecedents of the French Revolution have been studied has given rise to such erroneous opinions on this subject that I am anxious to add a few more instances, so as to put beyond the possibility of doubt the nature of the provocations habitually received by the most eminent Frenchmen of the eighteenth century.

Among the many celebrated authors who, though inferior to Voltaire, Montesquieu, Buffon, and Rousseau, were second only to them, three of the most remarkable were Diderot, Marmontel, and Morellet. The first two are known to every reader ; while Morellet, though comparatively forgotten, had in his own time considerable influence, and had moreover the distinguished merit of being the first who popularised in France those great truths which had been recently discovered, in political economy by Adam Smith, and in jurisprudence by Beccaria.

A certain M. Cury wrote a satire upon the Duke d'Aumont, which he showed to his friend Marmontel, who, struck by its power, repeated it to a small circle of his acquaintance. The duke, hearing of this, was full of indignation, and insisted upon the name of the author being given up. This, of course, was impossible without a gross breach of confidence ; but Marmontel, to do everything in his power, wrote to the duke, stating, what was really the fact, that the lines in question had not been printed, that there was no intention of making them public, and that they had only been communicated to a few of his own particular friends. It might have been supposed that this would have satisfied even a

[249] *Biog. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 375.

[250] *Quérard*, vol. iii. p. 489.

[251] *Ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 483, 484.

[252] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 302.

[253] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 261.

[254] On the importance of this remarkable thesis, and on its prohibition, see *Saint Hilaire, Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. p. 355.

[255] *Quérard*, vol. iv. p. 255.

[256] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xv. p. 203.

[257] *Ibid.* vol. xxi. p. 391.

[258] *Ibid.* vol. xlv. p. 462, vol. xlvii. p. 98.

[259] *Peignot*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91, vol. ii. p. 164.

[260] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 170, vol. ii. p. 57.

[261] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 214.

[262] "Il resta trois ans dans la cage ; c'est un caveau creusé dans le roc, de huit pieds en carré, où le prisonnier ne reçoit le jour que par les crevasses des marches de l'église." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xi. p. 171.

[263] *Peignot, Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 14, 15.

French noble; but Marmontel, still doubting the result, sought an audience of the minister, in the hope of procuring the protection of the crown. All, however, was in vain. It will hardly be believed that Marmontel, who was then at the height of his reputation, was seized in the middle of Paris, and because he refused to betray his friend, was thrown into the Bastille. Nay, so implacable were his persecutors that after his liberation from prison, they, in the hope of reducing him to beggary, deprived him of the right of publishing the *Mercure*, upon which nearly the whole of his income depended.[264]

To the Abbé Morellet a somewhat similar circumstance occurred. A miserable scribbler named Palissot had written a comedy ridiculing some of the ablest Frenchmen then living. To this Morellet replied by a pleasant little satire, in which he made a very harmless allusion to the Princess de Robeck, one of Palissot's patrons. She, amazed at such presumption, complained to the minister, who immediately ordered the abbé to be confined in the Bastille, where he remained for some months, although he had not only been guilty of no scandal, but had not even mentioned the name of the princess.[265]

The treatment of Diderot was still more severe. This remarkable man owed his influence chiefly to his immense correspondence, and to the brilliancy of a conversation for which, even in Paris, he was unrivalled, and which he used to display with considerable effect at those celebrated dinners where, during a quarter of a century, Holbach assembled the most illustrious thinkers in France.[266] Besides this, he is the author of several works of interest, most of which are well known to students of French literature.[267] His independent spirit, and the reputation he obtained, earned for him a share in the general persecution. The first work he wrote was ordered to be publicly burned by the common hangman.[268] This, indeed, was the fate of nearly all the best literary productions of that time; and Diderot might esteem himself fortunate in merely losing his property, provided he saved himself from imprisonment. But a few years later he wrote another work, in which he said that people who are born blind have some ideas different from those who are possessed of their eyesight. This assertion is by no

[264] *Mémoires de Marmontel*, vol. ii. pp. 143–176; and see vol. iii. pp. 30–46, 95, for the treatment he afterwards received from the Sorbonne, because he advocated religious toleration. See also *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. p. 258; and *Letters of Eminent Persons addressed to Hume*, pp. 207, 212, 213.

[265] *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. pp. 86–89; *Mélanges par Morellet*, vol. ii. pp. 3–12; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. pp. 106, 111, 114, 122, 183.

[266] Marmontel (*Mém.* vol. ii. p. 313) says, "qui n'a connu Diderot que dans ses écrits ne l'a point connu:" meaning that his works were inferior to his talk. His conversational powers are noticed by Ségur, who disliked him, and by Georgel, who hated him. *Ségur, Souvenirs*, vol. iii. p. 34; *Georgel, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 246. Compare *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. p. 69; *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 95, vol. ii. p. 227; *Mémoires d'Epinay*, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74, 88; *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. xv. pp. 79–90; *Morellet, Mém.* vol. i. p. 28; *Villemain, Lit. au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. i. p. 82.

As to Holbach's dinners, on which Madame de Genlis wrote a well-known libel, see *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 166; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. p. 462; *Jesse's Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 9; *Walpole's Letters to Mann*, vol. iv. p. 283; *Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works*, p. 73.

[267] It is also stated by the editor of his correspondence, that he wrote a great deal for authors, which they published under their name. *Mém. et Corresp. de Diderot*, vol. iii. p. 102.

[268] This was the *Pensées Philosophiques*, in 1746, his first original work; the previous ones being translations from English. *Biog. Univ.* xi. 314. Duvernet (*Vie de Voltaire*, p. 240) says that he was imprisoned for writing it, but this I believe is a mistake; at least I do not remember to have met with the statement elsewhere, and Duvernet is frequently careless. [From Delort's *Histoire de la Détention des Philosophes et des gens de lettres à la Bastille et à Vincennes*, 1829, ii. 208–216, it appears that the writing of the *Pensées* was part of the case against Diderot when he was imprisoned in 1749.—Ed.]

means improbable,[269] and it contains nothing by which any one need be startled. The men, however, who then governed France discovered in it some hidden danger. Whether they suspected that the mention of blindness was an allusion to themselves, or whether they were merely instigated by the perversity of their temper, is uncertain ; at all events, the unfortunate Diderot, for having hazarded this opinion, was arrested, and without even the form of a trial, was confined in the dungeon of Vincennes.[270] The natural results followed. The works of Diderot rose in popularity ;[271] and he, burning with hatred against his persecutors, redoubled his efforts to overthrow those institutions under shelter of which such monstrous tyranny could be safely practised.

It seems hardly necessary to say more respecting the incredible folly with which the rulers of France, by turning every able man into a personal enemy,[272] at length arrayed against the government all the intellect of the country, and made the Revolution a matter not of choice but of necessity. I will, however, as a fitting sequel to the preceding facts, give one instance of the way in which, to gratify the caprice of the higher classes, even the most private affections of domestic life could be publicly outraged. In the middle of the eighteenth century, there was an actress on the French stage of the name of Chantilly. She, though beloved by Maurice de Saxe, preferred a more honourable attachment, and married Favart, the well-known writer of songs and of comic operas. Maurice, amazed at her boldness, applied for aid to the French crown. That he should have made such an application is sufficiently strange ; but the result of it is hardly to be paralleled except in some Eastern despotism. The government of France, on hearing the circumstance, had the inconceivable baseness to issue an order directing Favart to abandon his wife, and intrust her to the charge of Maurice, to whose embraces she was compelled to submit.[273]

[269] Dugald Stewart, who has collected some important evidence on this subject, has confirmed several of the views put forward by Diderot. *Philos. of the Mind*, vol. iii. pp. 401 seq. ; comp. pp. 57, 407, 435. Since then still greater attention has been paid to the education of the blind, and it has been remarked that "it is an exceedingly difficult task to teach them to think accurately." *M'Alister's Essay on the Blind*, in *Jour. of Stat. Soc.* vol. i. p. 378 : see also Dr. Fowler, in *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1847, *Transac. of Sec.* pp. 92, 93, and for 1848, p. 88. These passages unconsciously testify to the sagacity of Diderot ; and they also testify to the stupid ignorance of a government which sought to put an end to such inquiries by punishing their author. [Diderot's propositions were concerning "*la morale*" of the blind and deaf.—Ed.]

[270] *Mém. et Corresp. de Diderot*, vol. i. pp. 26–29 ; *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. i. p. 47, vol. ii. p. 276 ; *Letter to d'Argental*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lviii. p. 454 ; *Lacretelle, Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 54. [There was an *interrogatoire* after Diderot had been imprisoned. In that, other works of his are specified.—Ed.]

[271] A happy arrangement, by which curiosity baffles despotism. In 1767, an acute observer wrote, "Il n'y a plus de livres qu'on imprime plusieurs fois que les livres condamnés. Il faut aujourd'hui qu'un libraire prie les magistrats de brûler son livre pour le faire vendre." *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. v. p. 498. To the same effect, *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. pp. 15, 16 ; *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. ii. p. 256.

[272] "Quel est aujourd'hui parmi nous l'homme des lettres de quelque mérite qui n'ait éprouvé plus ou moins les fureurs de la calomnie et de la persécution ?" etc. *Grimm, Corresp.* vol. v. p. 451. This was written in 1767, and during more than forty years previously we find similar expressions ; the earliest I have met with being in a letter to Thiriot, in 1723, in which Voltaire says (*Œuvres*, vol. lvi. p. 94), "la sévérité devient plus grande de jour en jour dans l'inquisition de la librairie." For other instances, see his letter to De Formont, pp. 423–425, also vol. lvii. pp. 144, 351, vol. lviii. p. 222 ; his *Lettres inédites*, vol. i. p. 547 ; *Mém. de Diderot*, vol. ii. p. 215 ; *Letters of Eminent Persons to Hume*, pp. 14, 15.

[273] Part of this is related, rather inaccurately, in *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. p. 483. The fullest account is in *Grimm, Corresp. Lit.* vol. viii. pp. 231–233 : "Le grand Maurice, irrité d'une résistance qu'il n'avait jamais éprouvée nulle part, eut la faiblesse de demander une lettre de cachet pour enlever à un mari sa femme, et pour la contraindre d'être sa concubine ; et, chose remarquable, cette lettre de cachet fut accordée et exécutée.

These are among the insufferable provocations by which the blood of men is made to boil in their veins. Who can wonder that the greatest and noblest minds in France were filled with loathing at the government by whom such things were done? If we, notwithstanding the distance of time and country, are moved to indignation by the mere mention of them, what must have been felt by those before whose eyes they actually occurred? And when to the horror they naturally inspired there was added that apprehension of being the next victim which every one might personally feel; when, moreover, we remember that the authors of these persecutions had none of the abilities by which even vice itself is sometimes ennobled;—when we thus contrast the poverty of their understandings with the greatness of their crimes, we, instead of being astonished that there was a revolution, by which all the machinery of the state was swept away, should rather be amazed at that unexampled patience by which alone the Revolution was so long deferred.

To me indeed it has always appeared that the delay of the Revolution is one of the most striking proofs history affords of the force of established habits, and of the tenacity with which the human mind clings to old associations. For if ever there existed a government inherently and radically bad, it was the government of France in the eighteenth century. If ever there existed a state of society likely, by its crying and accumulated evils, to madden men to desperation, France was in that state. The people, despised and enslaved, were sunk in abject poverty, and were curbed by laws of stringent cruelty, enforced with merciless barbarism. A supreme and irresponsible control was exercised over the whole country by the clergy, the nobles, and the crown. The intellect of France was placed under the ban of a ruthless proscription, its literature prohibited and burned, its authors plundered and imprisoned. Nor was there the least symptom that these evils were likely to be remedied. The upper classes, whose arrogance was increased by the long tenure of their power, only thought of present enjoyment: they took no heed of the future; they saw not that day of reckoning, the bitterness of which they were soon to experience. The people remained in slavery until the Revolution actually occurred; while as to the literature, nearly every year witnessed some new effort to deprive it of that share of liberty which it still retained. Having in 1764 issued a decree forbidding any work to be published in which questions of government were discussed;[274] having in 1767 made it a capital offence to write a book likely to excite the public mind;[275] and having moreover denounced the same penalty of death against any one who attacked religion,[276] as also against any one who spoke of matters of finance;[277]

Les deux époux plièrent sous le joug de la nécessité, et la petite Chantilly fut à la fois femme de Favart et maîtresse de Maurice de Saxe."

[274] "L'Averdy was no sooner named controller of finance than he published a decree, in 1764 (*arrêt du conseil*),—which, according to the state of the then existing constitution, had the force of a law,—by which every man was forbidden to print, or cause to be printed, anything whatever upon administrative affairs, or government regulations in general, under the penalty of a breach of the police-laws; by which the man was liable to be punished without defence, and not as was the case before the law-courts, where he might defend himself, and could only be judged according to law." *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 166: see also *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 141, vol. ii. p. 75, "un arrêt du conseil, qui défendait d'imprimer sur les matières d'administration."

[275] "L'ordonnance de 1767, rendue sous le ministère du chancelier Maupeou, portait la peine de mort contre tout auteur d'écrits tendant à émouvoir les esprits." *Cassagnac, Causes de la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 313.

[276] In April, 1757, D'Alembert writes from Paris, "on vient de publier une déclaration qui inflige la peine de mort à tous ceux qui auront publié des écrits tendants à attaquer la religion." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. p. 34. This, I suppose, is the same edict as that mentioned by M. Amédée Renée, in his continuation of *Sismondi, Histoire des Français*, vol. xxx. p. 247.

[277] "Il avait été défendu, sous peine de mort, aux écrivains de parler de finances." *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 490.

—having taken these steps, the rulers of France, very shortly before their final fall, contemplated another measure still more comprehensive. It is, indeed, a singular fact that only nine years before the Revolution, and when no power on earth could have saved the institutions of the country, the government was so ignorant of the real state of affairs, and so confident that it could quell the spirit which its own despotism had raised, that a proposal was made by an officer of the crown to do away with all the publishers, and not allow any books to be printed except those which issued from a press paid, appointed, and controlled by the executive magistrate.[278] This monstrous proposition, if carried into effect, would of course have invested the king with all the influence which literature can command; it would have been as fatal to the national intellect as the other measures were to national liberty; and it would have consummated the ruin of France, either by reducing its greatest men to complete silence, or else by degrading them into mere advocates of those opinions which the government might wish to propagate.

For these are by no means to be considered as trifling matters, merely interesting to men of letters. In France, in the eighteenth century, literature was the last resource of liberty. In England, if our great authors should prostitute their abilities by inculcating servile opinions, the danger would no doubt be considerable, because other parts of society might find it difficult to escape the contagion. Still, before the corruption had spread, there would be time to stop its course, so long as we possessed those free political institutions, by the mere mention of which the generous imagination of a bold people is easily fired. And although such institutions are the consequence, not the cause, of liberty, they do unquestionably react upon it, and from the force of habit they could for a while survive that from which they originally sprung. So long as a country retains its political freedom, there will always remain associations by which, even in the midst of mental degradation, and out of the depths of the lowest superstition, the minds of men may be recalled to better things. But in France such associations had no existence. In France everything was for the governors, and nothing for the governed. There was neither free press, nor free parliament, nor free debates. There were no public meetings; there was no popular suffrage; there was no discussion on the hustings; there was no habeas-corpus act; there was no trial by jury. The voice of liberty, thus silenced in every department of the state, could only be heard in the appeals of those great men who by their writings inspirited the people to resistance. This is the point of view from which we ought to estimate the character of those who are often accused of having wantonly disturbed the ancient fabric.[279] They, as well as the people at large, were cruelly oppressed by the crown, the nobles, and the church; and they used their abilities to retaliate the injury. There can be no doubt that this was the best course open to them. There can be no doubt that rebellion is the last remedy against tyranny, and that a despotic system should be encountered by a revolutionary literature. The upper classes were to blame, because they struck the first blow; but we must by no means censure those great men who, having defended themselves from aggression, eventually succeeded in smiting the government by whom the aggression was originally made.

Without, however, stopping to vindicate their conduct, we have now to consider what is much more important, namely, the origin of that crusade against Christianity in which, unhappily for France, they were compelled to embark, and the occurrence of which forms the third great antecedent of the French

[278] This was the suggestion of the avocat-général in 1780. See the proposal, in his own words, in *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xi. pp. 143, 144. On the important functions of the avocats généraux in the eighteenth century, see a note in *Lettres d'Aguesseau*, vol. i. p. 264.

[279] And we should also remember what the circumstances were under which the accusation was first heard in France: "Les reproches d'avoir tout détruit, adressés aux philosophes du dix-huitième siècle, ont commencé le jour où il s'est trouvé en France un gouvernement qui a voulu rétablir les abus dont les écrivains de cette époque avaient accéléré la destruction." *Comte, Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 72.

Revolution. A knowledge of the causes of this hostility against Christianity is essential to a right understanding of the philosophy of the eighteenth century, and it will throw some light on the general theory of ecclesiastical power.

It is a circumstance well worthy of remark that the revolutionary literature which eventually overturned all the institutions of France was at first directed against those which were religious, rather than against those which were political. The great writers who rose into notice soon after the death of Louis XIV. exerted themselves against spiritual despotism ; while the overthrow of secular despotism was left to their immediate successors.[280] This is not the course which would be pursued in a healthy state of society ; and there is no doubt that to this peculiarity the crimes and the lawless violence of the French Revolution are in no small degree to be ascribed. It is evident that in the legitimate progress of a nation, political innovations should keep pace with religious innovations, so that the people may increase their liberty while they diminish their superstition. In France, on the contrary, during nearly forty years, the church was attacked, and the government was spared. The consequence was that the order and balance of the country were destroyed ; the minds of men became habituated to the most daring speculations, while their acts were controlled by the most oppressive despotism ; and they felt themselves possessed of capacities which their rulers would not allow them to employ. When, therefore, the French Revolution broke out, it was not a mere rising of ignorant slaves against educated masters, but it was a rising of men in whom the despair caused by slavery was quickened by the resources of advancing knowledge ; men who were in that frightful condition when the progress of intellect outstrips the progress of liberty, and when a desire is felt, not only to remove a tyranny, but also to avenge an insult.

There can be no doubt that to this we must ascribe some of the most hideous peculiarities of the French Revolution. It therefore becomes a matter of great interest to inquire how it was, that while in England political freedom and religious scepticism have accompanied and aided each other, there should on the other hand have taken place in France a vast movement in which, during nearly forty years, the ablest men neglected the freedom, while they encouraged the scepticism, and diminished the power of the church, without increasing the liberties of the people.

The first reason of this appears to be the nature of those ideas out of which the French had long constructed the traditions of their glory. A train of circumstances which, when treating of the protective spirit, I attempted to indicate, had secured to the French kings an authority which, by making all classes subordinate to the crown, flattered the popular vanity.[281] Hence it was, that in France the feelings of loyalty worked into the national mind deeper than in

[280] The nature of this change, and the circumstances under which it happened, will be examined in the last chapter of the present volume ; but that the revolutionary movement, while headed by Voltaire and his coadjutors, was directed against the church, and not against the state, is noticed by many writers ; some of whom have also observed, that soon after the middle of the reign of Louis XV. the ground began to be shifted, and a disposition was first shown to attack political abuses. On this remarkable fact, indicated by several authors, but explained by none, compare *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 305 ; *Barruel, Mém. pour l'Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. p. xviii., vol. ii. p. 113 ; *Tocqueville, L'Ancien Régime*, p. 241 ; *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. p. 165, vol. xiv. p. 286 ; *Mém. de Rivarol*, p. 35 ; *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. iv. p. 397 ; *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. i. p. 183 ; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lx. p. 307, vol. lxvi. p. 34.

[281] See some striking remarks in M. Tocqueville's great work, *De la Démocratie*, vol. i. p. 5 ; which should be compared with the observation of Horace Walpole, who was well acquainted with French society, and who says, happily enough, that the French "love themselves in their kings." *Walpole's Mem. of George III.* vol. ii. p. 240. [This is obviously true of all monarchic peoples, and is apparent in Buckle's own praise of Elizabeth.—Ed.]

any other country of Europe, Spain alone excepted.[282] The difference between this spirit and that observable in England has been already noticed, and may be still further illustrated by the different ways in which the two nations have dealt with the posthumous reputation of their sovereigns. With the exception of Alfred, who is sometimes called the Great,[283] we in England have not sufficiently loved any of our princes to bestow upon them titles expressive of personal admiration. But the French have decorated their kings with every variety of panegyric. Thus, to take only a single name, one king is Louis the Mild, another is Louis the Saint, another is Louis the Just, another is Louis the Great, and the most hopelessly vicious of all was called Louis the Beloved.*

These are facts which, insignificant as they seem, form most important materials for real history, since they are unequivocal symptoms of the state of the country in which they exist.[284] Their relation to the subject before us is obvious. For by them, and by the circumstances from which they sprung, an intimate and hereditary association was engendered in the minds of Frenchmen, between the glory of their nation and the personal reputation of their sovereign. The consequence was, that the political conduct of the rulers of France was protected against censure by a fence far more impassable than any that could be erected

[282] Not only the political history of Spain, but also its literature, contains melancholy evidence of the extraordinary loyalty of the Spaniards, and of the injurious results produced by it. See, on this, some useful reflections in *Ticknor's Hist. of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 95, 96, 133, vol. iii. pp. 191–193.

[283] Our admiration of Alfred is greatly increased by the fact that we know very little about him. The principal authority referred to for his reign is Asser, whose work, there is reason to believe, is not genuine. See the arguments in *Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit.* vol. i. pp. 408–412. It moreover appears that some of the institutions popularly ascribed to him, existed before his time. *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 247, 248.

[284] The French writers, under the old régime, constantly boast that loyalty was the characteristic of their nation, and taunt the English with their opposite and insubordinate spirit. "Il n'est pas ici question des Français, qui se sont toujours distingués des autres nations par leur amour pour leurs rois." *Le Blanc, Lettres d'un François*, vol. iii. p. 523. "The English do not love their sovereigns as much as could be desired." *Sorbière's Voyage to England*, p. 58. "Le respect de la majesté royale, caractère distinctif des Français." *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. ii. p. 54. "L'amour et la fidélité que les Français ont naturellement pour leurs princes." *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 3. "Les Français qui aiment leurs princes." *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. iii. p. 381 ; and see vol. xi. p. 729. For further evidence, see *Sully, Œconomies*, vol. iv. p. 346 ; *Monteil, Divers Etats*, vol. vii. p. 105 ; *Ségur, Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 32 ; *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. iv. p. 58.

Now, contrast with all this the sentiments contained in one of the most celebrated histories in the English language : "There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that princes are made for the people, and not the people for them ; and perhaps there is no nation under heaven that is more entirely possessed with this notion of princes than the English nation is in this age ; so that they will soon be uneasy to a prince who does not govern himself by this maxim, and in time grow very unkind to him." *Burnet's History of his Own Time*, vol. vi. p. 223. This manly and wholesome passage was written while the French were licking the dust from the feet of Louis XIV. [And Burke wrote : "We fear God : we look up with awe to kings," while "the French" were pulling down their monarchy.—Ed.]

[* Buckle has forgotten Edward the Confessor, who was also a Saint, and "Richard Lion-Heart" and "Good Queen Bess." In our own day we have "Albert the Good." It is also to be remembered that "Louis the Just" was never a popular sobriquet, but was a title obscurely given to Louis XIII. because he was born under the sign of the Balances. Voltaire mentions this (*Siècle*, ch. ii.) as a little known and absurd fact. Louis XV., in turn, was called *Le Bien-Aimé* on the occasion of his being nationally prayed for in a dangerous illness. He was not generally or popularly so named, and was indeed often spoken of with contempt as early as 1740. Cp. Rocquain, *L'Esprit révolutionnaire avant la Révolution*, 1878, p. 108.—Ed.]

by the most stringent laws.* It was protected by those prejudices which each generation bequeathed to its successor. It was protected by that halo which time had thrown round the oldest monarchy in Europe.[285] And, above all, it was protected by that miserable national vanity which made men submit to taxation and to slavery in order that foreign princes might be dazzled by the splendour of their sovereign, and foreign countries intimidated by the greatness of his victories.

The upshot of all this was that when, early in the eighteenth century, the intellect of France began to be roused into action, the idea of attacking the abuses of the monarchy never occurred even to the boldest thinker. But under the protection of the crown there had grown up another institution, about which less delicacy was felt. The clergy, who for so long a period had been allowed to oppress the consciences of men, were not sheltered by those national associations which surrounded the person of the sovereign; nor had any of them, with the single exception of Bossuet, done much to increase the general reputation of France. Indeed the French church, though during the reign of Louis XIV. it possessed immense authority, had always exercised it in subordination to the crown, at whose bidding it had not feared to oppose even the pope himself.[286] It was therefore natural that in France the ecclesiastical power should be attacked before the temporal power; because, while it was as despotic, it was less influential, and because it was unprotected by those popular traditions which form the principal support of every ancient institution.

These considerations are sufficient to explain why it was that, in this respect, the French and English intellects adopted courses so entirely different. In England, the minds of men, being less hampered with the prejudices of an indiscriminate loyalty, have been able at each successive step in the great progress to direct their doubts and inquiries on politics as well as on religion; and thus establishing their freedom, as they diminished their superstition, they have maintained the balance of the national intellect without allowing to either of its divisions an excessive preponderance. But in France the admiration for royalty had become so great that this balance was disturbed; the inquiries of men, not daring to settle on politics, were fixed on religion, and gave rise to the singular phenomenon of a rich and powerful literature in which unanimous hostility to the church was unaccompanied by a single voice against the enormous abuses of the state. There was likewise another circumstance which increased this peculiar tendency. During the reign of Louis XIV. the personal character of the hierarchy had done much to secure their dominion. All the leaders of the church were men of virtue, and many were men of ability. Their conduct, tyrannical as it was, seems to have been conscientious; and the evils which it produced are merely to be ascribed to the gross impolicy of intrusting ecclesiastics with power. But after the death of Louis XIV. a great change took place. The clergy, from causes which it would be tedious to investigate, became extremely dissolute, and often very ignorant. This made their tyranny more oppressive,

[285] "La race des rois la plus ancienne." *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. ix. p. 281. "Nos rois, issus de la plus grande race du monde, et devant qui les Césars, et la plus grande partie des princes qui jadis ont commandé tant de nations, ne sont que des roturiers." *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. p. 417. And a Venetian ambassador, in the sixteenth century, says, that France "è regno più antico d' ogn' altro che sia in essere al presente." *Relat. des Ambassad.* vol. i. p. 470. Compare *Boullier, Maison Militaire des Rois de France*, p. 360.

[286] *Capefigue's Louis XIV.* vol. i. pp. 204, 301; *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. ii. p. 16. M. Ranke (*Die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 257) ascribes this to the circumstances attending the apostasy of Henry IV.; but the cause lies much deeper, being connected with that triumph of the secular interests over the spiritual, of which the policy of Henry IV. was itself a consequence.

[* In point of fact there appeared in 1717 an audacious libel on the Regent, entitled *Les Philippiques*, and Voltaire, who was falsely suspected of writing it, was imprisoned as above mentioned.—ED.]

because to submit to it was more disgraceful. The great abilities and unblemished morals of men like Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue, Fleéchier, and Mascaron diminished in some degree the ignominy which is always connected with blind obedience. But when they were succeeded by such bishops and cardinals as Dubois, Lafiteau, Tencin, and others who flourished under the regency, it became difficult to respect the heads of the church, tainted as they were with open and notorious depravity.[287] At the same time that there occurred this unfavourable change among the ecclesiastical rulers, there also occurred that immense reaction of which I have endeavoured to trace the early workings. It was therefore at the very moment when the spirit of inquiry became stronger, that the character of the clergy became more contemptible.[288] The great writers who were now rising in France were moved to indignation when they saw that those who usurped unlimited power over consciences had themselves no consciences at all. It is evident that every argument which they borrowed from England against ecclesiastical power would gain additional force when directed against men whose personal unfitness was universally acknowledged.[289]

Such was the position of the rival parties when, almost immediately after the death of Louis XIV., there began that great struggle between authority and reason which is still unfinished, although in the present state of knowledge its result is no longer doubtful. On the one side there was a compact and numerous priesthood, supported by the prescription of centuries and by the authority of the crown. On the other side there was a small body of men, without rank, without wealth, and as yet without reputation, but animated by a love of liberty and by a just confidence in their own abilities. Unfortunately, they at the very outset committed a serious error. In attacking the clergy, they lost their respect for religion. In their determination to weaken ecclesiastical power, they attempted to undermine the foundations of Christianity.* This is deeply to be regretted for their own sake, as well as for its ultimate effects in France ; but it must not be imputed to them as a crime, since it was forced on them by the exigencies of their position. They saw the frightful evils which their country was suffering from the institution of priesthood as it then existed ; and yet they

[287] *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 408 ; *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie*, vol. v, p. 3 ; *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV.*, vol. i. pp. 35, 347 ; *Duclos, Mémoires*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43, 154, 155, 223, 224. What was if possible still more scandalous, was that in 1723 the assembly of the clergy elected as their president, unanimously (" d'une voix unanime "), the infamous Dubois, the most notoriously immoral man of his time. *Duclos, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 262.

[288] On this decline of the French clergy, see *Villemain, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. iii. pp. 178, 179 ; *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. i. p. 301. *Tocqueville* (*Règne de Louis XV.* vol. i. pp. 35–38, 365) says, " le clergé prêchait une morale qu'il compromettait par sa conduite ; " a noticeable remark, when made by an opponent of the sceptical philosophy, like the elder M. Tocqueville. Among this profligate crew, Massillon stood alone ; he being the last French bishop who was remarkable for virtue as well as for ability.

[289] Voltaire says of the English, " quand ils apprennent qu'en France de jeunes gens connus par leurs débauches, et élevés à la prélature par des intrigues de femmes, font publiquement l'amour, s'égaient à composer des chansons tendres, donnent tous les jours des soupers délicats et longs, et de là vont implorer les lumières du Saint-Esprit, et se nomment hardiment les successeurs des apôtres ; ils remercient Dieu d'être protestants." *Lettres sur les Anglais*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xxvi. p. 29.

[* Buckle appears here to have forgotten that in the model society of England a general attack on the foundations of Christianity had been going on almost continuously for a generation—from Collins to Dodwell : 1713 to 1743—before anything similarly outspoken appeared in France. There were very few freethinking publications in France before 1750 ; and French Deism was latterly a development from English, though Voltaire was a deist before he came to England. And although he made a hostile allusion to priests in his *Œdipe* (1718), his first writings on religious subjects (*e.g.* the *Épitre à Uranie*, written in 1722) were directed not against priests but against Christian dogmas.—Ed.]

were told that the preservation of that institution in its actual form was essential to the very being of Christianity. They had always been taught that the interests of the clergy were identical with the interests of religion ; how then could they avoid including both clergy and religion in the same hostility ? The alternative was cruel ; but it was one from which, in common honesty, they had no escape. We, judging these things by another standard, possess a measure which they could not possibly have. We should not now commit such an error, because we know that there is no connexion between any one particular form of priesthood and the interests of Christianity. We know that the clergy are made for the people, and not the people for the clergy. We know that all questions of church-government are matters not of religion but of policy, and should be settled not according to traditional dogmas but according to large views of general expediency. It is because these propositions are now admitted by all enlightened men that in our country the truths of religion are rarely attacked except by superficial thinkers. If, for instance, we were to find that the existence of our bishops, with their privileges and their wealth, is unfavourable to the progress of society, we should not on that account feel enmity against Christianity ; because we should remember that episcopacy is its accident and not its essential, and that we could do away with the institution and yet retain the religion. In the same way, if we should ever find, what was formerly found in France, that the clergy were tyrannical, this would excite in us an opposition, not to Christianity, but merely to the external form which Christianity assumed. So long as our clergy confine themselves to the beneficent duties of their calling, to the alleviation of pain and distress, either bodily or mental, so long will we respect them as the ministers of peace and of charity. But if they should ever again entrench on the rights of the laity,—if they should ever again interfere with an authoritative voice in the government of the State,—it will then be for the people to inquire whether the time has not come to effect a revision of the ecclesiastical constitution of the country. This, therefore, is the manner in which we now view these things. What we think of the clergy will depend upon themselves, but will have no connexion with what we think of Christianity. We look on the clergy as a body of men who, notwithstanding their disposition to intolerance, and notwithstanding a certain narrowness incidental to their profession, do undoubtedly form part of a vast and noble institution, by which the manners of men have been softened, their sufferings assuaged, their distresses relieved. As long as this institution performs its functions, we are well content to let it stand. If however it should be out of repair, or if it should be found inadequate to the shifting circumstances of an advancing society, we retain both the power and the right of remedying its faults ; we may, if need be, remove some of its parts ; but we would not, we dare not, tamper with those great religious truths which are altogether independent of it ; truths which comfort the mind of man, raise him above the instincts of the hour, and infuse into him those lofty aspirations which, revealing to him his own immortality, are the measure and the symptom of a future life.*

Unfortunately, this was not the way in which these matters were considered in France. The government of that country, by investing the clergy with great immunities, by treating them as if there were something sacred about their persons, and by punishing as heresy the attacks which were made on them, had established in the national mind an indissoluble connexion between their interests and the interests of Christianity. The consequence was that when the struggle began, the ministers of religion, and religion itself, were both assailed with equal zeal. The ridicule, and even the abuse, heaped on the clergy, will surprise no one who is acquainted with the provocation that had been received. And although, in the indiscriminate onslaught which soon followed, Christianity was for a time subjected to a fate which ought to have been reserved for those who called themselves her ministers, this, while it moves us to regret, ought by no means to excite our astonishment. The destruction of Christianity in France

[* See note above, p. 200.—Ed.]

was the necessary result of those opinions which bound up the destiny of the national priesthood with the destiny of the national religion. If both were connected by the same origin, both should fall in the same ruin. If that which is the tree of life were in reality so corrupt that it could only bear poisonous fruits, then it availed little to lop off the boughs and cut down the branches ; but it were better, by one mighty effort, to root it up from the ground, and secure the health of society by stopping the very source of the contagion.

These are reflections which must make us pause before we censure the deistical writers of the eighteenth century. So perverted, however, are the reasonings to which some minds are accustomed, that those who judge them most uncharitably are precisely those whose conduct forms their best excuse. Such are the men who, by putting forth the most extravagant claims in favour of the clergy, are seeking to establish the principle by the operation of which the clergy were destroyed. Their scheme for restoring the old system of ecclesiastical authority depends on the supposition of its divine origin ; a supposition which, if inseparable from Christianity, will at once justify the infidelity which they hotly attack. The increase of the power of the clergy is incompatible with the interests of civilization. If, therefore, any religion adopts as its creed the necessity of such an increase, it becomes the bounden duty of every friend to humanity to do his utmost either to destroy the creed or, failing in that, to overturn the religion. If pretensions of this sort are an essential part of Christianity, it behoves us at once to make our choice ; since the only option can be between abjuring our faith and sacrificing our liberty. Fortunately we are not driven to so hard a strait ; and we know that these claims are as false in theory as they would be pernicious in practice. It is indeed certain that if they were put into execution, the clergy, though they might enjoy a momentary triumph, would have consummated their own ruin, by preparing the way among us for scenes as disastrous as those which occurred in France.

The truth is that what is most blamed in the great French writers was the natural consequence of the development of their age. Never was there a more striking illustration of the social law already noticed, that if government will allow religious scepticism to run its course, it will issue in great things, and will hasten the march of civilization ; but that if an attempt is made to put it down with a strong hand it may no doubt be repressed for a time, but eventually will rise with such force as to endanger the foundation of society. In England we adopted the first of these courses ; in France they adopted the second. In England men were allowed to exercise their own judgment on the most sacred subjects ; and, as soon as the diminution of their credulity had made them set bounds to the power of the clergy, toleration immediately followed, and the national prosperity has never been disturbed.* In France, the authority of the clergy was increased by a superstitious king ; faith usurped the place of reason, not a whisper of doubt was allowed to be heard, and the spirit of inquiry was stifled, until the country fell to the brink of ruin. If Louis XIV. had not interfered with the natural progress, France, like England, would have continued to advance. After his death, it was, indeed, too late to save the clergy, against whom all the intellect of the nation was soon arrayed. But the force of the storm might still have been broken, if the government of Louis XV. had conciliated what it was impossible to resist ; and, instead of madly attempting to restrain opinions by laws, had altered the laws to suit the opinions. If the rulers of France, instead of exerting themselves to silence the national literature, had yielded to its suggestions, and had receded before the pressure of advancing knowledge, the fatal collision would have been avoided ; because the passions which caused the collision would have been appeased. In such case, the Church would have fallen somewhat earlier ; but the State itself would have been saved. In such case, France would, in all probability, have secured her liberties, without

[* Buckle appears to have forgotten his own demonstration (above, pp. 251–283) that the "national prosperity" in England was very much disturbed in the period of the reaction against the French Revolution.—Ed.]

increasing her crimes; and that great country, which, from her position and resources, ought to be the pattern of European civilization, might have escaped the ordeal of those terrible atrocities through which she was compelled to pass, and from the effects of which she has not yet recovered.

It must, I think, be admitted that during at all events the first half of the reign of Louis XV., it was possible, by timely concessions, still to preserve the political institutions of France. Reforms there must have been; and reforms too of a large and uncompromising character. So far however as I am able to understand the real history of that period, I make no doubt that if these had been granted in a frank and ungrudging spirit, everything could have been retained necessary for the only two objects at which government ought to aim, namely, the preservation of order and the prevention of crime. But, by the middle of the reign of Louis XV., or, at all events, immediately afterwards, the state of affairs began to alter; and, in the course of a few years, the spirit of France became so democratic, that it was impossible even to delay a revolution, which, in the preceding generation, might have been altogether averted. This remarkable change is connected with that other change already noticed, by virtue of which the French intellect began, about the same period, to direct its hostility against the State, rather than, as heretofore, against the Church.* As soon as this, which may be called the second epoch of the eighteenth century, had been fairly entered, the movement became irresistible. Event after event followed each other in rapid succession; each one linked to its antecedent, and the whole forming a tendency impossible to withstand. It was in vain that the government, yielding some points of real importance, adopted measures by which the Church was controlled, the power of the clergy diminished, and even the order of the Jesuits suppressed. It was in vain that the crown now called to its councils, for the first time, men imbued with the spirit of reform; men like Turgot and Necker, whose wise and liberal proposals would in calmer days have stilled the agitation of the popular mind. It was in vain that promises were made to equalize the taxes, to redress some of the most crying grievances, to repeal some of the most obnoxious laws. It was even in vain that the states-general were summoned, and that thus, after the lapse of a hundred and seventy years, the people were again admitted to take part in the management of their own affairs. All these things were in vain, because the time for treaty had gone by, and the time for battle had come. The most liberal concessions that could possibly have been devised would have failed to avert that deadly struggle which the course of preceding events made inevitable.† For the measure of that age was now full. The upper classes, intoxicated by the long possession of power, had provoked the crisis; and it was needful that they should abide the issue. There was no time for mercy; there was no pause, no compassion, no sympathy. The only question that remained was, to see whether they who had raised the storm could ride the whirlwind; or whether it was not rather likely that they should be the first victims of that frightful hurricane in which, for a moment, laws, religion, morals, all perished, the lowest vestiges of humanity were effaced,

[* There was no such change of direction as is here implied. The polemic against the reigning religion increased in quantity step for step with the development of the political discussion, the bulk of the former being dated after 1750. The error in the text, which is frequently repeated in a later chapter, seems to have been set up by a misreading of some writer's generalization to the effect that whereas the *opposition to the government* in the early years of Louis XV. was religious, it afterwards became political. (See this well brought out by Rocquain, *L'esprit révolutionnaire avant la Révolution*, 1878.) But the opposition in question was quite a different thing from the *opposition to religion* by the freethinkers, which spread side by side with the political development. Not till 1771 did it slacken (Rocquain, p. 297).—Ed.]

[† It is not clear how such a proposition can be proved, if by "crisis" and "hurricane" are meant the Reign of Terror. That was the result not of liberal concessions, but of the attempt to work by violence a counter-revolution. But for such resistance there need have been no panic and no bloodshed.—Ed.]

and the civilization of France not only submerged, but, as it then appeared, irretrievably ruined.

To ascertain the successive changes of this, the second epoch of the eighteenth century, is an undertaking full of difficulty ; not only on account of the rapidity with which the events occurred, but also on account of their extreme complication, and of the way in which they acted and reacted upon each other. The materials, however, for such an inquiry are very numerous ; and, as they consist of evidence supplied by all classes and all interests, it has appeared to me possible to reconstruct the history of that time according to the only manner in which history deserves to be studied ; that is to say, according to the order of its social and intellectual development. In the fourteenth chapter of the present volume, I shall therefore attempt to trace the antecedents of the French Revolution during that remarkable period in which the hostility of men, slackening in regard to the abuses of the Church, was for the first time turned against the abuses of the State. But before entering into this, which may be distinguished as the political epoch of the eighteenth century, it will be necessary, according to the plan which I have sketched, to examine the changes that occurred in the method of writing history, and to indicate the way in which those changes were affected by the tendencies of the earlier, or, as it may be termed, the ecclesiastical epoch. In this manner, we shall the more easily understand the activity of that prodigious movement which led to the French Revolution ; because we shall see that it not only affected the opinions of men in regard to what was passing under their eyes, but that it also biased their speculative views in regard to the events of preceding ages ; and thus gave rise to that new school of historical literature, the formation of which is by no means the least of the many benefits which we owe to the great thinkers of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER XIII

State of Historical Literature in France from the End of the Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century

It may be easily supposed that those vast movements in the intellect of France which I have just traced could not fail to produce a great change in the method of writing history. That bold spirit with which men were beginning to estimate the transactions of their own time was sure to influence their opinions respecting those of a former age. In this as in every branch of knowledge the first innovation consisted in recognizing the necessity of doubting what had hitherto been believed ; and this feeling, when once established, went on increasing, destroying at each step some of those monstrous absurdities by which, as we have seen, even the best histories were disfigured. The germs of the reform may be discerned in the fourteenth century, though the reform itself did not begin until late in the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century it advanced somewhat slowly ; but in the eighteenth century it received a sudden accession of strength, and in France in particular it was hastened by that fearless and inquisitive spirit which characterized the age, and which, purging history of innumerable follies, raised its standard, and conferred on it a dignity hitherto unknown. The rise of historical scepticism, and the extent to which it spread, do indeed form such curious features in the annals of the European intellect as to make it surprising that no one should have attempted to examine a movement to which a great department of modern literature owes its most valuable peculiarities. In the present chapter I hope to supply this deficiency so far as France is concerned ; and I shall endeavour to mark the different steps by which the progress was effected, in order that, by knowing the circumstances most favourable to the study of history, we may with the greater ease inquire into the probability of its future improvement.

There is, in reference to this subject, a preliminary consideration well worthy of notice. This is, that men seem always to have begun to doubt in matters of religion before they ventured to do so in matters of history. It might have been expected that the reproaches, and, in a superstitious age, the dangers, to which heresy is exposed, would have intimidated inquirers, and would have induced them to prefer the safer path of directing their scepticism upon questions of literary speculation. Such, however, is by no means the course which the human mind has adopted. In an early stage of society, when the clergy had universal influence, a belief in the unpardonable criminality of religious error is so deeply rooted, that it engrosses the attention of all ; it forces every one who thinks to concentrate upon theology his reflections and his doubts, and it leaves no leisure for topics which are conceived to be of inferior importance.[1] Hence,

[1] See some very just remarks in *Whewell's Philos. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 143. In *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. iv. pp. 41, 128, there are two curious illustrations of the universal interest which theological discussions once inspired in Europe ; and on the former subservience of philosophy to theology, compare *Hamilton's Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 197. But no one has treated this subject so ably as M. Auguste Comte, in his great work, *Philosophie Positive*. The service which the metaphysicians rendered to the Church by their development of the doctrine of transubstantiation (*Blanco White's Evidence against Catholicism*, pp. 256–258) is a striking instance of this subordination of the intellect to ecclesiastical dogmas.

during many centuries, the subtlest intellects of Europe exhausted their strength on the rites and dogmas of Christianity ; and while upon these matters they often showed the greatest ability, they upon other subjects, and especially upon history, displayed that infantine credulity of which I have already given several examples.

But when, in the progress of society, its theological element begins to decay, the ardour with which religious disputes were once conducted becomes sensibly weakened. The most advanced intellects are the first to feel the growing indifference, and therefore they are also the first to scrutinize real events with that inquisitive eye which their predecessors had reserved for religious speculations. This is a great turning-point in the history of every civilized nation. From this moment theological heresies become less frequent,[2] and literary heresies become more common. From this moment the spirit of inquiry and of doubt fastens itself upon every department of knowledge, and begins that great career of conquest in which by every succeeding discovery the power and dignity of man are increased, while at the same time most of his opinions are disturbed, and many of them are destroyed ; until, in the march of this vast but noiseless revolution, the stream of tradition is as it were interrupted, the influence of ancient authority is subverted, and the human mind, waxing in strength, learns to rely upon its own resources, and to throw off incumbrances by which the freedom of its movements had long been impaired.

The application of these remarks to the history of France will enable us to explain some interesting phenomena in the literature of that country. During the whole of the Middle Ages, and I may say till the end of the sixteenth century, France, though fertile in annalists and chroniclers, had not produced a single historian, because she had not produced a single man who presumed to doubt what was generally believed.* Indeed, until the publication of Du Haillan's history of the kings of France, no one had even attempted a critical digest of the materials which were known to be extant. This work appeared in 1576 ;[3] and the author, at the conclusion of his labours, could not disguise the pride which he felt at having accomplished so great an undertaking. In his dedication to the king he says, " I am, sire, the first of all the French who have written the history of France, and, in a polite language, shown the grandeur and dignity of our kings ; for before there was nothing but the old rubbish of chronicles which spoke of them." He adds in the preface : " Only I will say, without presumption

[2] M. Tocqueville says, what I am inclined to think is true, that an increasing spirit of equality lessens the disposition to form new religious creeds. *Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. iv. pp. 16, 17. At all events, it is certain that increasing knowledge has this effect ; for those great men whose turn of mind would formerly have made them heretics, are now content to confine their innovations to other fields of thought. If St. Augustin had lived in the seventeenth century, he would have reformed or created the physical sciences. If Sir Isaac Newton had lived in the fourth century, he would have organized a new sect, and have troubled the church with his originality. [As a matter of fact, the growth of the spirit of equality *did* evoke a multitude of new sects in Holland and England in the seventeenth century. See above, ch. vii. at note 19, the allusion to " a thousand sects." —Ed.]

[3] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xix. pp. 315, 316 ; where it is said, " l'ouvrage de Du Haillan est remarquable, en ce que c'est le premier corps d'histoire de France qui ait paru dans notre langue." See also *Dacier, Rapport sur les Progrès de l'Histoire*, p. 170 ; and *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. x. p. 185.

[* This too sweeping statement does injustice to the immense labours of Joseph Scaliger on the chronological side of history, and to such historical researches as those of Francis Hotman (*Franco-Gallia*, 1573) and Etienne Pasquier (*Recherches de la France*, 1560 and thereafter), concerning whom see Prof. Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History*, 1893, pp. 187–190. Compare also the closing sentence of par. 2 in ch. ix. above, and note 2 thereafter, where assertions are made that do not quadrate with the present generalization.—Ed.]

and boasting that I have done a thing which had not been done before, or seen by any of our nation, and have given to the history of France a dress it never appeared in before." [4] Nor were these the idle boasts of an obscure man. His work went through numerous editions; was translated into Latin, and was reprinted in foreign countries. He himself was looked upon as one of the glories of the French nation, and was rewarded by the favour of the king, who conferred on him the office of secretary of finance.[5] From his work we may, therefore, gain some notion of what was then the received standard of historical literature; and with this view, it is natural to inquire what the materials were which he chiefly employed. About sixty years earlier, an Italian named Paulus Emilius had published a gossiping compilation on "the Actions of the French." [6] This book, which is full of extravagant fables, was taken by Du Haillan as the basis of his famous history of the kings of France; and from it he unhesitatingly copies those idle stories which Emilius loved to relate. This will give us some idea of the credulity of a writer who was reckoned by his contemporaries to be, beyond all comparison, the greatest historian France had produced. But this is not all. Du Haillan, not content with borrowing from his predecessor everything that was most incredible, gratifies his passion for the marvellous by some circumstances of his own invention. He begins his history with a long account of a council which, he says, was held by the celebrated Pharamond, in order to determine whether the French should be governed by a monarchy or by an aristocracy. It is, indeed, doubtful if any such person as Pharamond ever existed; and it is certain that if he did exist, all the materials had long perished from which an opinion could be formed respecting him.[7] But Du Haillan, regardless of these little difficulties, gives us the fullest information touching the great chieftain; and, as if determined to tax to the utmost the credulity of his readers, mentions, as members of the council of Pharamond, two persons, Charamond and Quadrek, whose very names are invented by the historian.[8]

Such was the state of historical literature in France early in the reign of Henry III. A great change was, however, at hand. The remarkable intellectual progress made by the French towards the close of the sixteenth century was, as I have shown, preceded by that scepticism which appears to be its necessary

[4] *Bayle*, article *Haillan*, note L.

[5] *Mercure François*, in *Bayle*, article *Haillan*, note D.

[6] *De Rebus gestis Francorum*, which appeared about 1516. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xiii. p. 119 Compare, respecting the author, *Mezeray, Hist. de France*, vol. ii. p. 363, with *Audigier, l'Origine des François*, vol. ii. p. 118, who complains of his opinion about Clovis, "quoy qu'il fasse profession de relever la gloire des François." Even the superficial Boulainvilliers (*Hist. de l'Ancien Gouvernement*, vol. ii. p. 166) contemptuously notices "les rétoriciens postérieurs, tels que Paul Emile."

[7] Compare *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. i. pp. 176, 177, with *Montlosier, Monarchie Française*, vol. i. pp. 43, 44. Philippe de Comines, though superior to Sismondi and Montlosier in point of ability, lived in the middle ages, and therefore had no idea of doubting, but simply says, "Pharamond fut esleu roy, l'an 420, et regna dix ans." *Mém. de Comines*, livre viii. chap. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 232. But De Thou, coming a hundred years after Comines, evidently suspected that it was not all quite right, and therefore puts it on the authority of others. "Pharamond, qui *selon nos historiens* a porté le premier la couronne des François." *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. x. p. 530. See a singular passage on Pharamond in *Mém. de Duplessis Mornay*, vol. ii. p. 405.

[8] Sorel (*La Bibliothèque Françoise*, Paris, 1667, p. 373) says of Du Haillan, "On lui peut reprocher d'avoir donné un commencement fabuleux à son histoire, qui est entièrement de son invention, ayant fait tenir un conseil entre Pharamond et ses plus fidelles conseillers, pour sçauoir si ayant la puissance en main il deuoit reduire les François au gouvernement aristocratique ou monarchique, et faisant faire une harangue à chacun d'eux pour soustenir son opinion. On y voit les noms de Charamond et de Quadrek, personnages imaginaires." Sorel, who had a glimmering notion that this was not exactly the way to write history, adds, "C'est une chose fort surprenante. On est fort peu asseuré si Pharamond fut jamais au monde, et quoy qu'on sçache qu'il y ait esté, c'est une terrible hardiesse d'en raconter des choses qui n'ont aucun appuy."

precursor. The spirit of doubt, which had begun with religion, was communicated to literature. The impulse was immediately felt in every department of knowledge; and now it was that history first emerged from a debasement in which it had for centuries been sunk. On this subject, a mere statement of dates may be of service to those persons who, from a dislike to general reasoning, would otherwise deny the connexion which I wish to establish. In 1588 was published the first sceptical book ever written in the French language.[9] In 1598 the French government, for the first time, ventured upon a great public act of religious toleration. In 1604 De Thou published that celebrated work which is allowed by all critics to be the first great history composed by a Frenchman.[10] And at the very moment when these things were passing, another eminent Frenchman, the illustrious Sully,[11] was collecting the materials for his historical work, which, though hardly equal to that of De Thou, comes immediately after it in ability, in importance, and in reputation. Nor can we fail to remark that both these great historians, who left all their predecessors immeasurably behind them, were the confidential ministers and intimate friends of Henry IV., the first king of France whose memory is stained by the imputation of heresy, and the first who dared to change his religion, not in consequence of any theological arguments, but on the broad and notorious ground of political expediency.[12]

But it was not merely over such eminent historians as these that the sceptical spirit displayed its influence. The movement was now becoming sufficiently active to leave its marks in the writings of far inferior men. There were two particulars in which the credulity of the earlier historians was very striking. These consisted in the uncritical manner in which, by blindly copying their predecessors, they confused the dates of different events; and in the readiness with which they believed the most improbable statements, upon imperfect evidence, and often upon no evidence at all. It is surely a singular proof of that intellectual progress which I am endeavouring to trace, that within a very few years both these sources of error were removed. In 1597 Serres was appointed historiographer of France; and in the same year he published his history of that country.[13] In this work he insists upon the necessity of carefully recording the date of each event; and the example, which he first set, has since his time been generally followed.[14] The importance of this change will be willingly

[9] "Die erste Regung des skeptischen Geistes finden wir in den Versuchen des Michael von Montaigne." *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. ix. p. 443. [As has been above noted (pp. 293–4) this generalization overlooks the work of Bonaventure Desperiers. —Ed.]

[10] The first volume appeared in 1604. See *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. p. 375; and preface to *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. i. p. iv.

[11] Sismondi has scarcely done justice to Sully; but the reader will find a fuller account of him in *Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, vol. viii. pp. 101–117; and a still better one in *Blanqui, Histoire de l'Economie Politique*, vol. i. pp. 347–361.

[12] According to D'Aubigné, the king on his conversion said, "Je ferai voir à tout le monde que je n'ai esté persuadé par autre théologie que la nécessité de l'estat." *Smedley's Reformed Religion in France*, vol. ii. p. 362. That Henry felt this is certain; and that he expressed it to his friends is probable; but he had a difficult game to play with the Catholic church; and in one of his edicts we find "une grande joye de son retour à l'église, dont il attribuoit la cause à la grace du Tout-Puissant, et aux prières de ses fidèles sujets." *De Thou, Hist. Univ.* vol. xii. pp. 105, 106. Compare, at pp. 468, 469, the message he sent to the pope.

[13] *Marchand, Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii. pp. 205, 209, La Haye, 1758, folio. This curious and learned work, which is much less read than it deserves, contains the only good account of Serres I have been able to meet with; vol. ii. pp. 197–213.

[14] "On ne prenoit presque aucun soin de marquer les dates des événemens dans les ouvrages historiques. . . . De Serres reconnut ce défaut; et pour y remédier, il rechercha avec beaucoup de soin les dates des événemens qu'il avoit à employer, et les marqua dans son histoire le plus exactement qu'il lui fut possible. Cet exemple a été imité depuis par la plûpart de ceux qui l'ont suivi; et c'est à lui qu'on est redevable de l'avantage

acknowledged by those who are aware of the confusion into which history has been thrown, by the earlier writers having neglected what now seems so obvious a precaution. Scarcely had this innovation been established, when it was followed, in the same country, by another of still greater moment. This was the appearance, in 1621, of a history of France, by Scipio Dupleix, in which for the first time the evidence for historical facts was published with the facts themselves.[15] It is needless to insist upon the utility of a step which, more than any other, has taught historians to be industrious in collecting their authorities, and careful in scrutinizing them.[16] To this may be added, that Dupleix was also the first Frenchman who ventured to publish a system of philosophy in his own language.[17] It is true that the system itself is intrinsically of little value;[18] but at the time it appeared it was an unprecedented and, on that account, a profane attempt to unfold the mysteries of philosophy in the vulgar speech, and in this point of view supplies evidence of the increasing diffusion of a spirit bolder and more inquisitive than any formerly known. It is not therefore surprising that almost at the same moment there should be made, in the same country, the first systematic attempt at historical scepticism. The system of philosophy by Dupleix appeared in 1602; and in 1599, La Popelinière published at Paris what he calls the *History of Histories*, in which he criticizes historians themselves, and examines their works with that sceptical spirit to which his own age was deeply indebted.[19] This able man was also the author of a *Sketch of the New History of the French*; containing a formal refutation of that fable, so dear to the early historians, according to which the monarchy of France was founded by Francus, who arrived in Gaul after the conclusion of the siege of Troy.[20]

qu'on tire d'une pratique si nécessaire et si utile." *Marchand, Dict. Historique*, vol. ii. p. 206.

[15] "Il est le premier historien qui ait cité en marge ses autorités; précaution absolument nécessaire quand on n'écrit pas l'histoire de son temps, à moins qu'on ne s'en tienne aux faits connus." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 95. And the *Biog. Univ.* vol. xii. p. 277, says, "On doit lui faire honneur d'avoir cité en marge les auteurs dont il s'est servi; précaution indispensable, que l'on connaissait peu avant lui, et que les historiens modernes négligent trop aujourd'hui." Bassompierre, who had a quarrel with Dupleix, has given some curious details respecting him and his History; but they are of course not to be relied on. *Mém. de Bassompierre*, vol. iii. pp. 356, 357. Patin speaks favourably of his history of Henry IV. *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 17; but compare *Sully, Œconomies Royales*, vol. ix. pp. 121, 249.

[16] The ancients, as is well known, rarely took this trouble. *Mure's Hist. of Greek Literature*, vol. iv. pp. 197, 306, 307. But what is much more curious is that even in scientific works there was an equal looseness; and Cuvier says that in the sixteenth century "on se bornait à dire, d'une manière générale, Aristote a dit telle chose, sans indiquer ni le passage ni le livre dans lequel la citation se trouvait." *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 63; and at p. 88, "suivant l'usage de son temps, Gessner n'indique pas avec précision les endroits d'où il a tiré ses citations"; see also p. 214.

[17] "Le premier ouvrage de philosophie publié dans cette langue." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xii. p. 277.

[18] So it seemed to me, when I turned over its leaves a few years ago. However, Patin says, "sa philosophie françoise n'est pas mauvaise." *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 357. On the dialectic powers of Dupleix, see a favourable judgment in *Hamilton's Discuss. on Philos.* p. 119.

[19] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxv. p. 402. Sorel (*Bibliothèque Françoise*, p. 165), who is evidently displeased at the unprecedented boldness of La Popelinière, says, "il dit ses sentimens en bref des historiens de toutes les nations, et de plusieurs langues, et particulièrement des historiens françois, dont il parle avec beaucoup d'asseurance."

[20] "Il refute l'opinion, alors fort accréditée, de l'arrivée dans les Gaules de Francus et des Troyens." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxv. p. 402. Compare *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. p. 39. Patin says that De Thou was much indebted to him: "M. de Thou a pris hardiment de la Popelinière." *Lettres de Patin*, vol. i. p. 222. There is a notice of Popelinière, in connexion with Richer, in *Mém. de Richelieu*, vol. v. p. 349.

It would be useless to collect all the instances in which this advancing spirit of scepticism now began to purge history of its falsehoods. I will only mention two or three more of those which have occurred in my reading. In 1614, De Rubis published at Lyons a work on the European monarchies; in which he not only attacks the long-established belief respecting the descent from Francus, but boldly asserts that the Franks owe their name to their ancient liberties.[21] In 1620, Gomberville, in a dissertation on history, refutes many of those idle stories respecting the antiquity of the French which had been universally received until his time.[22] And in 1630 Berthault published at Paris the "French Florus," in which he completely upsets the old method; since he lays it down as a fundamental principle that the origin of the French must only be sought for in those countries where they were found by the Romans.[23]

All these, and similar productions, were however entirely eclipsed by Mezeray's History of France; the first volume of which was published in 1643, and the last in 1651.[24] It is perhaps hardly fair to his predecessors to call him the first general historian of France;[25] but there can be no doubt that his work is greatly superior to any that had yet been seen. The style of Mezeray is admirably clear and vigorous, rising at times to considerable eloquence. Besides this, he has two other merits much more important. These are, an indisposition to believe strange things merely because they have hitherto been believed; and an inclination to take the side of the people rather than that of their rulers.[26] Of these principles, the first was too common among the ablest Frenchmen of that time to excite much attention.[27] But the other principle enabled Mezeray to advance an important step before all his contemporaries. He was the first Frenchman who, in a great historical work, threw off that superstitious reverence for royalty which had long troubled the minds of his countrymen, and which indeed continued to haunt them for another century. As a necessary consequence, he was also the first who saw that a history, to be of real value, must be a history not only of kings but of nations.

[21] "Il refute les fables qu'on avançoit sur l'origine des François, appuyées sur le témoignage du faux Bérose. Il dit que leur nom vient de leur ancienne franchise." *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. ii. p. 750.

[22] Compare *Sorel, Bibliothèque Françoise*, p. 298, with *Du Fresnoy, Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire*, vol. x. p. 4, Paris, 1772. There is an account of Gomberville in *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, vol. viii. pp. 15–19; a singularly curious book, which is for the seventeenth century what Brantome is for the sixteenth. I ought to have mentioned earlier the inimitable ridicule with which Rabelais treats the habit historians had of tracing the genealogies of their heroes back to Noah. *Œuvres de Rabelais*, vol. i. pp. 1–3, and vol. ii. pp. 10–17; see also, at vol. v. pp. 171, 172, his defence of the antiquity of Chinon.

[23] "L'auteur croit qu'il ne faut pas la chercher ailleurs que dans le pays où ils ont été connus des Romains, c'est-à-dire entre l'Elbe et le Rhin." *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. ii. p. 56. This work of Berthault's was for many years a text-book in the French colleges. *Biog. Univ.* vol. iv. p. 347.

[24] The first volume in 1643; the second in 1646; and the last in 1651. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxviii. p. 510.

[25] "The French have now their first general historian, Mezeray." *Hallam's Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 228; and see *Stephen's Lectures on the History of France*, 1851, vol. i. p. 10.

[26] Bayle says that Mezeray is "de tous les historiens celui qui favorise le plus les peuples contre la cour." *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. iii. p. lxxxvi.

[27] Though it did not prevent him from believing that sudden tempests, and unusual appearances in the heavens, were aberrations due to supernatural interference, and, as such, were the prognosticators of political change. *Mezeray, Hist. de France*, vol. i. pp. 202, 228, 238, 241, 317, 792, vol. ii. pp. 485, 573, 1120, vol. iii. pp. 31, 167, 894; instructive passages, as proving that even in powerful minds the scientific and secular method was still feeble.

A steady perception of this principle led him to incorporate into his book matters which, before his time, no one cared to study. He communicates all the information he could collect respecting the taxes which the people had paid; the sufferings they had undergone from the griping hands of their governors; their manners, their comforts, even the state of the towns which they inhabited; in a word, what affected the interests of the French people, as well as what affected the interests of the French monarchy.[28] These were the subjects which Mezeray preferred to insignificant details respecting the pomp of courts and the lives of kings. These were the large and comprehensive matters on which he loved to dwell, and on which he expatiated; not indeed with so much fulness as we could desire, but still with a spirit and an accuracy which entitle him to the honour of being the greatest historian France produced before the eighteenth century.

This was in many respects the most important change which had yet been effected in the manner of writing history. If the plan begun by Mezeray had been completed by his successors, we should possess materials the absence of which no modern researches can possibly compensate. Some things, indeed, we should in that case have lost. We should know less than we now know of courts and of camps. We should have heard less of the peerless beauty of French queens, and of the dignified presence of French kings. We might even have missed some of the links of that evidence by which the genealogies of princes and nobles are ascertained, and the study of which delights the curiosity of antiquarians and heralds. But on the other hand we should have been able to examine the state of the French people during the latter half of the seventeenth century; while, as things now stand, our knowledge of them in that most important period is inferior in accuracy and in extent to the knowledge we possess of some of the most barbarous tribes of the earth.[29] If the example of Mezeray had been followed, with such additional resources as the progress of affairs would have supplied, we should not only have the means of minutely tracing the growth of a great and civilized nation, but we should have materials that would suggest or verify those original principles the discovery of which constitutes the real use of history.

But this was not to be. Unhappily for the interests of knowledge, the march of French civilization was at this period suddenly checked. Soon after the middle of the seventeenth century, that lamentable change took place in France which gave a new turn to the destinies of the nation. The reaction which the spirit of inquiry underwent, and the social and intellectual circumstances which, by bringing the Fronde to a premature close, prepared the way for Louis XIV., have been described in a former part of this volume, where I have attempted to indicate the general effects of the disastrous movement. It now remains for me to point out how this retrogressive tendency opposed obstacles to the improvement of historical literature, and prevented authors, not only from relating with honesty what was passing around them, but also from understanding events which had occurred before their time.

The most superficial students of French literature must be struck by the dearth of historians during that long period in which Louis XIV. held the reins

[28] What he did on these subjects is most remarkable, considering that some of the best materials were unknown, and in manuscript, and that even De Thou gives scarcely any information respecting them; so that Mezeray had no model. See, among other passages which have struck me in the first volume, pp. 145–147, 204, 353, 356, 362–365, 530, 531, 581, 812, 946, 1039. Compare his indignant expressions at vol. ii. p. 721.

[29] Those who have studied the French memoirs of the seventeenth century, know how little can be found in them respecting the condition of the people; while the fullest private correspondence, such as the letters of Sevigné and De Maintenon, is equally unsatisfactory. The greater part of the evidence now extant has been collected by M. Monteil, in his valuable work, *Histoire des divers Etats*; but whoever will put all this together must admit that we are better informed as to the condition of many savage tribes than we are concerning the lower classes of France during the reign of Louis XIV.

of government.[30] To this, the personal peculiarities of the king greatly contributed. His education had been shamefully neglected; and as he never had the energy to repair its deficiencies, he all his life remained ignorant of many things with which even princes are usually familiar.[31] Of the course of past events he knew literally nothing, and he took no interest in any history except the history of his own exploits. Among a free people, this indifference on the part of the sovereign could never have produced injurious results; indeed, as we have already seen, the absence of royal patronage is in a highly civilized country the most favourable condition of literature. But at the accession of Louis XIV. the liberties of the French were still too young, and the habits of independent thought too recent, to enable them to bear up against that combination of the crown and the church which was directed against them.* The French, becoming every day more servile, at length sunk so low that, by the end of the seventeenth century, they seemed to have lost even the wish of resistance. The king, meeting no opposition, endeavoured to exercise over the intellect of the country an authority equal to that with which he conducted its government.[32] In all the great questions of religion and of politics, the spirit of inquiry was stifled, and no man was allowed to express an opinion unfavourable to the existing state of things. As the king was willing to endow literature, he naturally thought that he had a right to its services. Authors who were fed by his hand were not to raise their voices against his policy. They received his wages, and they were bound to do the bidding of him who paid them. When Louis assumed the government, Mezeray was still living; though I need hardly say that his great work was published before this system of protection and patronage came into play. The treatment to which he, the great historian of France, was now subjected, was a specimen of the new arrangement. He received from the crown a pension of four thousand francs; but when he in 1668 published an abridgment of his History,[33] it was intimated to him, that some remarks upon the tendency of taxation were likely to cause offence in high quarters.

[30] This is noticed in *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxvii. pp. 181, 182; also in *Villemain, Littérature Française*, vol. ii. pp. 29, 30. Compare *D'Argenson, Réflexions sur les Historiens François*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxviii. p. 627, with *Boulainvilliers, Ancien Gouvernement de la France*, vol. i. p. 174.

[31] "Le jeune Louis XIV n'avait reçu aucune éducation intellectuelle." *Capefigue's Richelieu, Mazarin et la Fronde*, vol. ii. p. 245. On the education of Louis XIV. which was as shamefully neglected as that of our George III., see *Lettres inédites de Maintenon*, vol. ii. p. 369; *Duclos, Mém. Secrets*, vol. i. pp. 167, 168; *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. i. pp. 391–393.

[32] On his political maxims, see *Lemontey, Etablissement de Louis XIV.*, pp. 325–327, 407, 408. The eloquent remarks made by M. Ranke upon an Italian despotism are admirably applicable to his whole system: "Sonderbare Gestalt menschlichen Dinge! Die Kräfte des Landes bringen den Hof hervor, der Mittelpunkt des Hofes ist der Fürst, das letzte Product des gesammten Lebens ist zuletzt das Selbstgefühl des Fürsten." *Die Päpste*, vol. ii. p. 266.

[33] His *Abrégé Chronologique* was published in 1668, in three volumes quarto. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxviii. p. 510. Le Long (*Bibliothèque Historique*, vol. iii. p. lxxxv.) says, that it was only allowed to be published in consequence of a "privilége" which Mezeray had formerly obtained. But there seems to have been some difficulty, of which these writers are not aware: for Patin, in a letter dated Paris, 23 December, 1664, speaks of it as being then in the press: "on imprime ici en grand-in-quarto un Abrégé de l'Histoire de France, par M. Mezeray." *Lettres de Patin*, vol. iii. p. 503; compare p. 665. It long remained an established school-book: see D'Argenson's Essay, in *Mém. de l'Académie*, vol. xxviii. p. 635; and *Works of Sir William Temple*, vol. iii. p. 70.

[* It will be observed that Buckle here lapses into a denial of his own previous argument, though, half conscious of his inconsistency, he tries to save his case. He distinctly ascribes the backwardness of history in France under Louis XIV. to the neglect of the king, and calls the withdrawal of Mezeray's pension a "punishment."—Ed.]

As, however, it was soon found that Mezeray was too honest and too fearless to retract what he had written, it was determined to have recourse to intimidation, and half of his pension was taken from him.[34] But as this did not produce a proper effect, another order was issued, which deprived him of the remaining half; and thus early, in this bad reign, there was set an example of punishing a man for writing with honesty upon a subject in which, of all others, honesty is the first essential.[35]

Such conduct as this showed what historians were to expect from the government of Louis XIV. Several years later, the king took another opportunity of displaying the same spirit. Fénelon had been appointed preceptor to the grandson of Louis, whose early vices his firmness and judgment did much to repress.[36] But a single circumstance was thought sufficient to outweigh the immense service which Fénelon thus rendered to the royal family, and, if his pupil had come to the throne, would have rendered prospectively to the whole of France. His celebrated romance, *Telemachus*, was published in 1699, as it appears, without his consent.[37] The king suspected that under the guise of a fiction Fénelon intended to reflect on the conduct of government. It was in vain that the author denied so dangerous an imputation. The indignation of the king was not to be appeased. He banished Fénelon from the court; and would never again admit to his presence a man whom he suspected of even insinuating a criticism upon the measures adopted by the administration of the country.[38]

If the king could on mere suspicion thus treat a great writer, who had the rank of an archbishop and the reputation of a saint, it was not likely that he would deal more tenderly with inferior men. In 1681, the Abbé Primi, an Italian, then residing at Paris, was induced to write a history of Louis XIV. The king, delighted with the idea of perpetuating his own fame, conferred several rewards upon the author; and arrangements were made that the work should be composed in Italian, and immediately translated into French. But when the history appeared there were found in it some circumstances which it was thought ought not to have been disclosed. On this account, Louis caused the book to be suppressed, the papers of the author to be seized, and the author himself to be thrown into the Bastille.[39]

Those indeed were dangerous times for independent men; times when no writer on politics or religion was safe, unless he followed the fashion of the

[34] *Barrière, Essai sur les Mœurs du Dix-septième Siècle*, prefixed to *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. i. pp. 129, 130, where reference is made to his original correspondence with Colbert. This treatment of Mezeray is noticed, but imperfectly, in *Boulainvilliers Hist. de l'Ancien Gouvernement*, vol i. p. 196; in *Lemontey, Établissement de Louis*, p. 331; and in *Palissot, Mém. pour l'Hist. de Lit.* vol. ii. p. 161.

[35] In 1685 was published at Paris what was called an improved edition of Mezeray's History; that is, an edition from which the honest remarks were expunged. See *Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique*, vol ii. p. 53, vol. iv. p. 381; and *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire*, vol. iii. p. 383, Paris, 1843. Hampden, who know Mezeray, has recorded an interesting interview he had with him in Paris, when the great historian lamented the loss of the liberties of France. See *Calamy's Life of Himself*, vol. i. pp. 392, 393.

[36] *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, vol. xxvi. pp. 240, 241.

[37] "Par l'infidélité d'un domestique chargé de transcrire le manuscrit." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xiv. p. 289; and see *Peignot, Dict. des Livres condamnés*, vol. i. pp. 134, 135. It was suppressed in France, and appeared in Holland in the same year, 1699. *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. vi. pp. 434, 435 note.

[38] "Louis XIV prit le Télémaque pour une personnalité. . . . Comme il (Fénelon) avait déplu au roi, il mourut dans l'exil." *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220; and see *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. xxxii., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xx. p. 307.

[39] These circumstances are related in a letter from Lord Preston, dated Paris, 22 July, 1682, and printed in *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, pp. 141, 142, appendix to vol. i. The account given by M. Peignot (*Livres condamnés*, vol. ii. pp. 52, 53) is incomplete, he being evidently ignorant of the existence of Lord Preston's letter.

day, and defended the opinions of the court and the church. The king, who had an insatiable thirst for what he called glory,[40] laboured to degrade contemporary historians into mere chroniclers of his own achievements. He ordered Racine and Boileau to write an account of his reign ; he settled a pension upon them, and he promised to supply them with the necessary materials.[41] But even Racine and Boileau, poets though they were, knew that they would fail in satisfying his morbid vanity ; they therefore received the pension, but omitted to compose the work for which the pension was conferred. So notorious was the unwillingness of able men to meddle with history, that it was thought advisable to beat up literary recruits from foreign countries. The case of the Abbé Primi has just been mentioned ; he was an Italian, and only one year later a similar offer was made to an Englishman. In 1683, Burnet visited France, and was given to understand that he might receive a pension, and that he might even enjoy the honour of conversing with Louis himself, provided he would write a history of the royal affairs ; such history, it was carefully added, being on the " side " of the French king.[42]

Under such circumstances as these, it is no wonder that history, so far as its great essentials are concerned, should have rapidly declined during the power of Louis XIV. It became, as some think, more elegant ; but it certainly became more feeble. The language in which it was composed was worked with great care, the periods neatly arranged, the epithets soft and harmonious. For that was a polite and obsequious age, full of reverence, of duty, and of admiration. In history, as it was then written, every king was a hero, and every bishop was a saint. All unpleasant truths were suppressed ; nothing harsh or unkind was to be told. These docile and submissive sentiments being expressed in an easy and flowing style, gave to history that air of refinement, that gentle, unobtrusive gait, which made it popular with the classes that it flattered. But even so, while its form was polished, its life was extinct. All its independence was gone, all its honesty, all its boldness. The noblest and the most difficult department of knowledge, the study of the movements of the human race, was abandoned to every timid and creeping intellect that cared to cultivate it. There were Boulainvilliers, and Daniel, and Maimbourg, and Varillas, and Vertot, and numerous others, who in the reign of Louis XIV. were believed to be historians ; but whose histories have scarcely any merit, except that of enabling us to appreciate the period in which such productions were admired, and the system of which they were the representatives.

To give a complete view of the decline of historical literature in France, from the time of Mezeray until early in the eighteenth century, would require a summary of every history which was written ; for all of them were pervaded by the same spirit. But, as this would occupy much too large a space, it will probably be thought sufficient if I confine myself to such illustrations as will bring the tendency of the age most clearly before the reader ; and for this purpose I will notice the works of two historians I have not yet mentioned ; one of whom was celebrated as an antiquary, the other as a theologian. Both possessed

[40] An able writer has well called him " glorieux plutôt qu'appréciateur de la vraie gloire." *Flassan, Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, vol. iv. p. 399.

[41] In 1677, Madame de Sevigné writes from Paris respecting the king : " Vous savez bien qu'il a donné deux mille écus de pension à Racine et à Despréaux, en leur commandant de travailler à son histoire, dont il aura soin de donner des Mémoires." *Lettres de Sevigné*, vol. iii. p. 362. Compare *Eloge de Valincourt*, in *Œuvres de Fontenelle*, vol. vi. p. 383 ; and *Hughes's Letters*, edit. 1773, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

[42] Burnet relates this with delightful simplicity : " Others more probably thought that the king, hearing I was a writer of history, had a mind to engage me to write on his side. I was told a pension would be offered me. But I made no steps towards it ; for though I was offered an audience of the king, I excused it, since I could not have the honour to be presented to that king by the minister of England." *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 385.

considerable learning, and one was a man of undoubted genius; their works are, therefore, worth attention, as symptoms of the state of the French intellect late in the seventeenth century.* The name of the antiquary was Audigier; the name of the theologian was Bossuet: and from them we may learn something respecting the way in which, during the reign of Louis XIV., it was usual to contemplate the transactions of past ages.

The celebrated work of Audigier, on the Origin of the French, was published at Paris in 1676.[43] It would be unjust to deny that the author was a man of great and careful reading. But his credulity, his prejudices, his reverence for antiquity, and his dutiful admiration for everything established by the church and the court, warped his judgment to an extent which in our time seems incredible; and, as there are probably few persons in England who have read his once famous book, I will give an outline of its leading views.

In this great history we are told that 3,464 years after the creation of the world, and 590 years before the birth of Christ, was the exact period at which Sigovese, nephew to the king of the Celts, was first sent into Germany.[44] Those who accompanied him were necessarily travellers; and as, in the German language, *wandeln* means *to go*, we have here the origin of the Vandals.[45] But the antiquity of the Vandals is far surpassed by that of the French. Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune, who are sometimes supposed to be gods, were in reality kings of Gaul.[46] And, if we look back a little further, it becomes certain that Gallus, the founder of Gaul, was no other than Noah himself; for in those days the same man frequently had two names.[47] As to the subsequent history of the French, it was fully equal to the dignity of their origin. Alexander the Great, even in all the pride of his victories, never dared to attack the Scythians, who were a colony sent from France.[48] It is from these great occupiers of France that there have proceeded all the gods of Europe, all the fine arts, and all the sciences.[49] The English themselves are merely a colony of the French, as must be evident to whoever considers the similarity of the words Angles and Anjou;[50] and to this fortunate descent the natives of the British islands

[43] During many years it enjoyed great reputation; and there is no history written in that period respecting which Le Long gives so many details. See his *Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14. Compare *La Bibliothèque de Leber*, vol. ii. p. 110, Paris, 1839.

[44] *Audigier, L'Origine des François*, Paris, 1676, vol. i. p. 5. See also p. 45, where he congratulates himself on being the first to clear up the history of Sigovese.

[45] *Audigier*, vol. i. p. 7. Other antiquaries have adopted the same preposterous etymology. See a note in *Kemble's Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 41.

[46] "Or le plus ancien Jupiter, le plus ancien Neptune, et le plus ancien Pluton, sont ceux de Gaule; ils la divisèrent les premiers en Celtique, Aquitaine et Belgique, et obtinrent chacun une de ces parties en partage. Jupiter, qu'on fait régner au ciel, eut la Celtique. . . . Neptune, qu'on fait régner sur les eaux, et sur les mers, eut l'Aquitaine, qui n'est appellée de la sorte qu'à cause de l'abondance de ses eaux, et de la situation sur l'océan." *Audigier, L'Origine des François*, vol. i. pp. 223, 224.

[47] See his argument, vol. i. pp. 216, 217, beginning, "le nom de Noé, que portèrent les Galates, est Gallus"; and compare vol. ii. p. 109, where he expresses surprise that so little should have been done by previous writers towards establishing this obvious origin of the French.

[48] *Audigier*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197, 255, 256.

[49] "Voilà donc les anciennes divinitez d'Europe, originaires de Gaule, aussi bien que les beaux arts et les hautes sciences." *Audigier*, vol. i. p. 234.

[50] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 73, 74. He sums up, "c'en est assez pour relever l'Anjou, à qui cette gloire appartient légitimement."

[* It has to be noted that while he justly criticises Bossuet's work on Universal History, Buckle below incidentally admits the power of the *Histoire des Variations*, which belongs to the historical department. He omits, however, to mention *Huet's Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens* (1716) and *De l'Origine des Romans* (1670), both works of sociological value.—Ed.]

are indebted for such bravery and politeness as they still possess.[51] Several other points are cleared up by this great critic with equal facility. The Salian Franks were so called from the rapidity of their flight ;[52] the Bretons were evidently Saxons ;[53] and even the Scotch, about whose independence so much has been said, were vassals to the kings of France.[54] Indeed, it is impossible to exaggerate the dignity of the crown of France ; it is difficult even to conceive its splendour. Some have supposed that the emperors are superior to the kings of France, but this is the mistake of ignorant men ; for an emperor means a mere military ruler, while the title of king includes all the functions of supreme power.[55] To put the question, therefore, on its real footing, the great king Louis XIV. is an emperor, as have been all his predecessors, the illustrious rulers of France, for fifteen centuries.[56] And it is an undoubted fact that Antichrist, about whom so much anxiety is felt, will never be allowed to appear in the world until the French empire has been destroyed. This, says Audigier, it would be idle to deny ; for it is asserted by many of the saints, and it is distinctly foreshadowed by St. Paul, in his second epistle to the Thessalonians.[57]

Strange as all this appears, there was nothing in it to revolt the enlightened age of Louis XIV. Indeed the French, dazzled by the brilliancy of their prince, must have felt great interest in learning how superior he was to all other potentates, and how he had not only been preceded by a long line of emperors, but was in fact an emperor himself. They must have been struck with awe at the information communicated by Audigier respecting the arrival of Antichrist, and the connexion between that important event and the fate of the French monarchy. They must have listened with pious wonder to the illustration of these matters from the writings of the fathers, and from the epistle to the Thessalonians. All this they would easily receive ; because to worship the king, and venerate the church, were the two cardinal maxims of that age. To obey, and to believe, were the fundamental ideas of a period in which the fine arts did for a time flourish,—in which the perception of beauty, though too fastidious, was undoubtedly keen,—in which taste and the imagination, in its lower departments, were zealously cultivated,—but in which, on the other hand, originality and independence of thought were extinguished, the greatest and the largest topics were forbidden to be discussed, the sciences were almost deserted, reforms and innovations were hated, new opinions were despised, and their authors punished, until at length, the exuberance of genius being tamed into sterility, the national intellect was reduced to that dull and monotonous level which characterizes the last twenty years of the reign of Louis XIV.

In no instance can we find a better example of this reactionary movement than in the case of Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. The success, and indeed the mere existence, of his work on Universal History becomes from this point of view highly instructive. Considered by itself, the book is a painful exhibition of a great genius cramped by a superstitious age. But considered in reference to the time in which it appeared, it is invaluable as a symptom of the French intellect ; since it proves that towards the end of the seventeenth century, one of the most eminent men, in one of the first countries of Europe, could willingly submit to a prostration of judgment, and could display a blind credulity, of which in our day even the feeblest minds would be ashamed ; and that this, so far from causing scandal, or bringing a rebuke on the head of the author, was received with universal and unqualified applause. Bossuet was a great orator, a consummate dialectician, and an accomplished master of those vague sublimities by which most

[51] Vol. i. pp. 265, 266.
[52] Vol. i. p. 149.
[53] Vol. ii. pp. 179, 180.
[54] Vol. ii. p. 269.
[55] Vol. ii. p. 124.
[56] Vol. ii. pp. 451–454.
[57] "A quoy nous pourrions joindre un autre monument fort authentique, c'est le résultat de certains pères, et de certains docteurs de l'église, qui tiennent que l'Antechrist ne viendra point au monde qu'après la dissection, c'est-à-dire après la dissipation de nostre empire. Leur fondement est dans la seconde épistre de saint Paul aux Thessaloniciens." *Audigier*, vol. ii. p. 462.

men are easily affected. All these qualities he a few years later employed in the production of what is probably the most formidable work ever directed against Protestantism.[58] But when he, leaving these matters, entered the vast field of history, he could think of no better way of treating his new subject than by following the arbitrary rules peculiar to his own profession.[59] His work is an audacious attempt to degrade history to a mere handmaid of theology.[60] As if, on such matters, doubt were synonymous with crime, he without the slightest hesitation takes everything for granted which the church had been accustomed to believe. This enables him to speak with perfect confidence respecting events which are lost in the remotest antiquity. He knows the exact number of years which have elapsed since the moment when Cain murdered his brother; when the deluge overwhelmed the world; and when Abraham was summoned to his mission.[61] The dates of these and similar occurrences he fixes with a precision which might almost make us believe that they had taken place in his own time, if not under his own eyes.[62] It is true that the Hebrew books on which he willingly relied supply no evidence of the slightest value concerning the chronology even of their own people; while the information they contain respecting other countries is notoriously meagre and unsatisfactory.[63] But so narrow were the views of Bossuet upon history, that with all this he in his own opinion had no concern. The text of the Vulgate declared that these things had happened at a particular time; and a number of holy men, calling themselves the council of the church, had in the middle of the sixteenth century pronounced the Vulgate to be authentic, and had taken upon themselves to place it above all other versions.[64] This theological opinion was accepted by Bossuet as an historical

[58] This is the opinion of Mr. Hallam respecting Bossuet's History of the Variations of Protestant Churches. *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 486; compare *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii p. 86. Attempts have been made by Protestant theologians to retort against the Catholics the arguments of Bossuet, on the ground that religious variations are a necessary consequence of the honest pursuit of religious truth. See *Blanco White's Evidence against Catholicism*, pp. 109–112; and his *Letters from Spain by Doblado*, p. 127. With this I fully agree; but it would be easy to show that the argument is fatal to all ecclesiastical systems with strictly defined creeds, and therefore strikes as heavily against the Protestant churches as against the Catholic. Beausobre, in his acute and learned work on Manichæism, seems to have felt this; and he makes the dangerous admission, "que si l'argument de M. de Meaux vaut quelque chose contre la Réformation, il a la même force contre le Christianisme." *Hist. de Manichée*, vol. i. p. 526. On Bossuet as a controversialist, see *Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. pp. 43–45; and for a contemporary opinion of his great work, see a characteristic passage in *Lettres de Sevigné* vol. v. p. 409.

[59] His method is fairly stated by Sismondi, *Hist. des Francais*, vol. xxv. p. 427.

[60] See on this attempt of Bossuet's, some good remarks in *Stäudlin, Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 198: "Kirche und Christenthum sind für diesen Bischoff der Mittelpunct der ganzen Geschichte. Aus diesem Gesichtspuncte betrachtet er nicht nur die Patriarchen und Propheten, das Judenthum und die alten Weissagungen, sondern auch die Reiche der Welt."

[61] *Bossuet, Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, pp. 10, 11, 16, 17; see also, at p. 90, a curious specimen of his chronological calculations.

[62] He says that if the ordinarily received dates of the Pentateuch and the Prophets are not true, then the miracles must fall, and the writings themselves are not inspired. *Hist. Univ.* p. 360. It would be hard to find, even in the works of Bossuet, a more rash assertion than this.

[63] Indeed the Jews have no consecutive chronology before Solomon. See *Bunsen's Egypt*, vol. i. pp. viii. xxv. 170, 178, 185, vol. ii. p. 399.

[64] Doing this, as they did everything else, on account not of reason but of dogma; for, as a learned writer says, "l'Église a bien distingué certains livres en apocryphes et en orthodoxes; elle s'est prononcée d'une manière formelle sur le choix des ouvrages canoniques; néanmoins sa critique n'a jamais été fondée sur un examen raisonné, mais

law; and thus the decision of a handful of cardinals and bishops, in a superstitious and uncritical age, is the sole authority for that early chronology, the precision of which is, to an uninformed reader, a matter of great admiration.[65]

In the same way, because Bossuet had been taught that the Jews are the chosen people of God, he, under the title of Universal History, almost confines his attention to them, and treats this obstinate and ignorant race as if they formed the pivot upon which the affairs of the universe had been made to turn.[66] His idea of an universal history excludes those nations who were the first to reach civilization, and to some of whom the Hebrews owed the scanty knowledge which they subsequently acquired.[67] He says little of the Persians, and less of the Egyptians; nor does he even mention that far greater people between the Indus and the Ganges, whose philosophy formed one of the elements of the school of Alexandria,* whose subtle speculations anticipated all the efforts of European metaphysics, and whose sublime inquiries, conducted in their own exquisite language, date from a period when the Jews, stained with every variety of crime, were a plundering and vagabond tribe, wandering on the face of the earth, raising their hand against every man, and every man raising his hand against them.

When he enters the more modern period, he allows himself to be governed by the same theological prejudices. So contracted is his view, that he considers the whole history of the church as the history of providential interference; and he takes no notice of the manner in which, contrary to the original scheme, it has been affected by foreign events.[68] Thus, for example, the most important fact relating to the early changes in Christianity is the extent to which its doctrines

seulement sur la question de savoir si tel ou tel écrit était d'accord avec les dogmes qu'elle enseignait." *Maury, Légendes Pieuses*, p. 224.

[65] Theologians have always been remarkable for the exactness of their knowledge on subjects respecting which nothing is known; but none of them has surpassed the learned Dr. Stukeley. In 1730, this eminent divine writes: "But according to the calculations I have made of this matter, I find God Almighty ordered Noah to get the creatures into the ark on Sunday, the 12th of October, the very day of the autumnal equinox that year; and on this present day, on the Sunday se'nnight following (the 19th of October), that terrible catastrophe began, the moon being past her third quarter." *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 792.

[66] "Premièrement, ces empires ont pour la plupart une liaison nécessaire avec l'histoire du peuple de Dieu. Dieu s'est servi des Assyriens et des Babyloniens pour châtier ce peuple; des Perses pour le rétablir; d'Alexandre et de ses premiers successeurs pour le protéger; d'Antiochus l'Illustre et de ses successeurs pour l'exercer; des Romains pour soutenir sa liberté contre les rois de Syrie, qui ne songeaient qu'à le détruire." *Bossuet, Hist. Univ.* p. 382. Well may M. Lerminier say (*Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 87), that Bossuet "a sacrifié toutes les nations au peuple juif."

[67] On the extraordinary and prolonged ignorance of the Jews, even to the time of the Apostles, see *Mackay's Progress of the Intellect*, vol. i. pp. 13 seq.: a work of profound learning.

[68] The original scheme of Christianity, as stated by its Great Author (*Matthew* x. 6, and xv. 24), was merely to convert the Jews; and if the doctrines of Christ had never extended beyond that ignorant people, they could not have received those modifications which philosophy imposed upon them. The whole of this subject is admirably discussed in *Mackay's Progress of the Intellect in Religious Development*, vol. ii. pp. 382 seq.; and on the "universalism" first clearly announced "by the Hellenist Stephen," see p. 484. Neander makes a noticeable attempt to evade the difficulty caused by the changes in Christianity from "various outward causes"; see his *History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 125.

[* For this view there is no good foundation. Any resemblances between Brahmanism and the Alexandrian philosophy are presumably due to common derivations from Mesopotamia.—Ed.]

have been influenced by the African form of the Platonic philosophy.[69] But this Bossuet never mentions ; nor does he even hint that any such thing had occurred. It suited his views to look upon the church as a perpetual miracle, and he, therefore, omits the most important event in its early history.[70] To descend a little later : every one acquainted with the progress of civilization will allow, that no small share of it is due to those gleams of light which, in the midst of surrounding darkness, shot from the great centres of Cordova and Bagdad. These, however, were the work of Mohammedanism ; and as Bossuet had been taught that Mohammedanism is a pestilential heresy, he could not bring himself to believe that Christian nations had derived anything from so corrupt a source. The consequence is, that he says nothing of that great religion the noise of which has filled the world ;[71] and having occasion to mention its founder, he treats him with scorn, as an impudent impostor, whose pretensions it is hardly fitting to notice.[72] The great apostle, who diffused among millions of idolaters the sublime verity of one God, is spoken of by Bossuet with supreme contempt ; because Bossuet, with the true spirit of his profession, could see nothing to admire in those whose opinions differed from his own.[73] But when he has occasion to mention some obscure member of that class to which he himself belonged, then it is that he scatters his praises with boundless profusion. In his scheme of universal history, Mohammed is not worthy to play a part. He is passed by ; but the truly great man, the man to whom the human race is really indebted, is—Martin, Bishop of Tours. He it is, says Bossuet, whose unrivalled actions filled the universe with his fame, both during his lifetime and after his death.[74] It is true that not one

[69] Neander (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 42) even thinks that Cerinthus, whose views are remarkable as being the point where Gnosticism and Judaism touch each other, borrowed his system from Alexandria. But this, though not unlikely, seems only to rest on the authority of Theodoret. On the influence of the Platonism of Alexandria in developing the idea of the Logos, see *Neander*, vol. ii. pp. 304, 306–314. Compare *Sharpe's Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 152 seq.

[70] And having to mention Clemens Alexandrinus, who was more deeply versed in the philosophy of Alexandria than were any of the other fathers, Bossuet merely says, p. 98, " à peu près dans le même temps, le saint prêtre Clément Alexandrin déterra les antiquités du paganisme pour le confondre."

[71] About the time that Bossuet wrote, a very learned writer calculated that the area of the countries which professed Mohammedanism exceeded by one fifth those where Christianity was believed. See *Brerewood's Inquiries touching the Diversity of Languages and Religions*, Lond. 1674, pp. 144, 145. The estimate of Southey (*Vindiciæ Anglicanæ*, London, 1826, p. 48) is very vague ; but it is much easier to judge of the extent of Mohammedan countries than of the extent of their population. On this latter point we have the most conflicting statements. In the nineteenth century there are, according to Sharon Turner (*Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 485, edit. 1839), eighty million Mohammedans ; according to Dr. Elliotson (*Human Physiology*, p. 1055, edit. 1840), more than a hundred and twenty-two million ; while, according to Mr. Wilkin (note in *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, vol. ii. p. 37, edit. 1835), there are a hundred and eighty-eight million.

[72] " Le faux prophète donna ses victoires pour toute marque de sa mission." *Bossuet*, p. 125.

[73] The greatest Mohammedan writers have always expressed ideas regarding the Deity more lofty than those possessed by the majority of Christians. The Koran contains noble passages on the oneness of God ; and for the views of their ordinary theologians I may refer to an interesting Mohammedan sermon, in *Transactions of the Bombay Society*, vol. i. pp. 146–158. See also, in vol. iii. pp. 398–448, an Essay by Vans Kennedy ; and compare a remarkable passage, considering the quarter from which it comes, in *Autobiography of the Emperor Jehangueir*, p. 44. Those who are so thoughtless as to believe that Mohammed was a hypocrite, had better study the admirable remarks of M. Comte (*Philos. Pos.* vol. v. pp. 76, 77), who truly says, " qu'un homme vraiment supérieur n'a jamais pu exercer aucune grande action sur ses semblables sans être d'abord lui-même intimement convaincu."

[74] " Saint Martin fut fait évêque de Tours, et remplit tout l'univers du bruit de sa

educated man in fifty has ever heard the name of Martin, Bishop of Tours. But Martin performed miracles, and the church had made him a saint; his claims, therefore, to the attention of historians must be far superior to the claims of one who, like Mohammed, was without these advantages. Thus it is that, in the opinion of the only eminent writer on history during the power of Louis XIV., the greatest man Asia has ever produced, and one of the greatest the world has ever seen, is considered in every way inferior to a mean and ignorant monk, whose most important achievement was the erection of a monastery, and who spent the best part of his life in useless solitude, trembling before the superstitious fancies of his weak and ignoble nature.[75]

Such was the narrow spirit with which the great facts of history were contemplated by a writer who, when he was confined to his own department, displayed the most towering genius. This contracted view was the inevitable consequence of his attempt to explain the complicated movements of the human race by principles which he had generalized from his own inferior studies.[76] Nor need any one be offended that, from a scientific point of view, I assign to the pursuits of Bossuet a rank lower than that in which they are sometimes placed. It is certain that religious dogmas do in many cases influence the affairs of men. But it is equally certain that as civilization advances such influence decreases, and that even when the power of those dogmas was at its height, there were many other motives by which the actions of mankind were also governed. And since the study of history is the study of the aggregate of these motives, it is evident that history must be superior to theology; just as the whole is superior to a part. A neglect of this simple consideration has, with a few eminent exceptions, led all ecclesiastical authors into serious errors. It has induced in them a disposition to disregard the immense variety of external events, and to suppose that the course of affairs is regulated by some principles which theology alone can detect. This indeed is only the result of a general law of the mind, by which those who have any favourite profession are apt to exaggerate its capacity; to explain events by its maxims, and, as it were, to refract through its medium the occurrences of life.[77] Among theologians, however, such prejudices are more dangerous than in any other profession, because among them alone are they fortified by that bold assumption of supernatural authority on which many of the clergy willingly rely.

These professional prejudices, when supported by theological dogmas, in a reign like that of Louis XIV.,[78] are sufficient to account for the peculiarities

sainteté et de ses miracles, durant sa vie, et après sa mort." *Bossuet, Hist. Univ.* p. 111.

[75] The Benedictines have written the life of Martin in their *Hist. Lit. de la France*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 413–417, Paris, 1733, 4to. They say that he erected the first monastery in Gaul: "Martin, toujours passionné pour la solitude, érigea un monastère qui fut le premier que l'on eût encore vû dans les Gaules," p. 414. At p. 415, they make the unnecessary admission that the saint "n'avoit point étudié les sciences profanes." I may add that the miracles of Martin are related by Fleury, who evidently believes that they were really performed. *Fleury, Hist. Ecclésiastique*, livre xvi. no. 31, vol. iv. pp. 215–217, Paris, 1758, 12mo. Neander, having the advantage of living a hundred years later than Fleury, is content to say, "the veneration of his period denominated him a worker of miracles." *Hist. of the Church*, vol. iv. p. 494. There is a characteristic anecdote of him, from Sulpitius Severus, in *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. p. 123.

[76] At pp. 479, 480, Bossuet gives a sort of summary of his historical principles; and if they are true, history is evidently impossible to be written. On this account, though fully recognizing the genius of Bossuet, I cannot agree with the remarks made upon him by M. Comte, *Philos. Pos.* vol. iv. p. 280, vol. vi. pp. 316, 317.

[77] And then, as M. Charles Comte well says, they call this prejudice their moral sense, or their moral instinct. *Comte, Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 116.

[78] The connexion between the opinions of Bossuet and the despotism of Louis XIV. is touched on by Montlosier, who, however, has probably laid too much stress on the influence which the civil law exercised over both. *Montlosier, Monarchie Française*, vol. ii. p. 90.

which mark the historical work of Bossuet. Besides this, in his case, the general tendency was aggravated by personal characteristics. His mind was remarkable for a haughtiness which we find constantly breaking out into a general contempt for mankind.[79] At the same time his amazing eloquence, and the effects which it never failed to produce, seemed to justify the overweening confidence that he felt in his own powers. There is indeed in some of his greatest efforts so much of the fire and majesty of genius, that we are reminded of those lofty and burning words with which the prophets of antiquity thrilled their hearers. Bossuet, thus standing, as he supposed, on an eminence which raised him above the ordinary weaknesses of men, loved to taunt them with their follies, and to deride every aspiration of their genius. Everything like intellectual boldness seemed to gall his own superiority.[80] It was this boundless arrogance with which he was filled which gives to his works some of their most marked peculiarities. It was this that made him strain every nerve to abase and vilify those prodigious resources of the human understanding which are often despised by men who are ignorant of them ; but which in reality are so great that no one has yet arisen able to scan them in the whole of their gigantic dimensions. It was this same contempt for the human intellect that made him deny its capacity to work out for itself the epochs through which it has passed, and consequently made him recur to the dogma of supernatural interference. It was this, again, that in those magnificent orations which are among the greatest wonders of modern art, caused him to exhaust the language of eulogy, not upon intellectual eminence, but upon mere military achievements, upon great conquerors, those pests and destroyers of men, who pass their lives in discovering new ways of slaying their enemies, and in devising new means of aggravating the miseries of the world. And, to descend still lower, it was this same contempt for the dearest interests of mankind which made him look with reverence upon a king who considered all those interests as nothing ; but who had the merit of enslaving the mind of France, and of increasing the power of that body of men among whom Bossuet himself was the most distinguished.

In the absence of sufficient evidence respecting the general state of the French at the end of the seventeeth century, it is impossible to ascertain to what extent such notions as these had penetrated the popular mind. But, looking at the manner in which government had broken the spirit of the country, I should be inclined to suppose that the opinions of Bossuet were very acceptable to his own generation. This however is a question rather of curiosity than of importance ; for only a few years later there appeared the first symptoms of that unprecedented movement which not merely destroyed the political institutions of France but effected a greater and more permanent revolution in every department of the national intellect. At the death of Louis XIV., in literature as well as in politics, in religion, and in morals, everything was ripe for reaction. The materials still existing are so ample that it would be possible to trace with considerable minuteness the steps of this great process ; but it will I think be more agreeable to the general scheme of this Introduction if I pass over some of the intermediate links, and confine myself to those salient instances in which the spirit of the age is most strikingly portrayed.

There is indeed something extraordinary in the change which, in France, one generation was able to effect in the method of writing history. The best way, perhaps, to form an idea of this, will be to compare the works of Voltaire with those of Bossuet ; because these great authors were probably the most able, and

[79] He belonged to a class of historians described by a celebrated writer in a single sentence : " dans leurs écrits l'auteur paraît souvent grand, mais l'humanité est toujours petite." *Tocqueville, Démocratie*, vol. iv. p. 139.

[80] Hardly any one acquainted with the writings and the history of Bossuet will require evidence of his singular arrogance. But the reader may consult *Sismondi, Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxvi. p. 247 ; and on his treatment of Fénelon, which was the most shameful transaction of his life, compare *Burnet's Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 384, with *Capefigue's Louis XIV*, vol. ii. p. 58 ; where there is printed one of the many epigrams to which the conduct of Bossuet gave rise.

were certainly the most influential, Frenchmen during the period they respectively represented. The first great improvement which we find in Voltaire, as compared with Bossuet, is an increased perception of the dignity of the human intellect. In addition to the circumstances already noticed, we must remember that the reading of Bossuet lay in a direction which prevented him from feeling this. He had not studied those branches of knowledge where great things had been achieved; but he was very conversant with the writings of the saints and fathers, whose speculations are by no means calculated to give us a high opinion of the resources of their own understanding. Thus accustomed to contemplate the workings of the mind in what is on the whole the most puerile literature Europe has ever produced, the contempt which Bossuet felt for mankind went on increasing until it reached that inordinate degree which in his later works is painfully conspicuous. But Voltaire, who paid no attention to such things as these, passed his long life in the constant accumulation of real and available knowledge. His mind was essentially modern. Despising unsupported authority, and heedless of tradition, he devoted himself to subjects in which the triumph of the human reason is too apparent to be mistaken. The more his knowledge advanced, the more he admired those vast powers by which the knowledge had been created. Hence his admiration for the intellect of man, so far from diminishing, grew with his growth; and, just in the same proportion, there was strengthened his love of humanity, and his dislike to the prejudices which had long obscured its history. That this, in the march of his mind, was the course it actually followed, will be evident to any one who considers the different spirit of his works, in reference to the different periods of life in which they were produced.

The first historical work of Voltaire was a life of Charles XII., in 1728.[81] At this time his knowledge was still scanty, and he was still influenced by the servile traditions of the preceding generation. It is not therefore wonderful that he should express the greatest respect for Charles, who, among the admirers of military fame, will always preserve a certain reputation; though his only merits are that he ravaged many countries and killed many men. But we find little sympathy with his unfortunate subjects, the accumulations of whose industry supported the royal armies;[82] nor is there much pity for those nations who were oppressed by this great robber in the immense line of his conquests from Sweden to Turkey. Indeed, the admiration of Voltaire for Charles is unbounded. He calls him the most extraordinary man the world had ever seen;[83] he declares him to be a prince full of honour;[84] and while he scarcely blames his infamous murder of Patkul,[85] he relates with evident emotion how the royal lunatic, at

[81] He says that he wrote it in 1728. *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxii. p. 5; but, according to M. Lepan (*Vie de Voltaire*, p. 382), "il parut en 1731." Both statements may be accurate, as Voltaire frequently kept his works for some time in manuscript.

[82] Sir A. Alison, who certainly cannot be accused of want of respect for military conquerors, says of Sweden, "the attempt which Charles XII. made to engage her in long and arduous wars, so completely drained the resources of the country, that they did not recover the loss for half a century." *Hist. of Europe*, vol. x. p. 504. See also, on the effects produced by the conscriptions of Charles XII., *Laing's Sweden*, p. 59; *Koch. Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. ii. p. 63; and above all, a curious passage in *Duclos, Mém. Secrets*, vol. i. p. 448. Several of the soldiers of Charles XII., who were taken prisoners, were sent into Siberia, where Bell fell in with them early in the eighteenth century. *Bell's Travels in Asia*, edit. Edinb. 1788, vol. i. pp. 223, 224.

[83] "Charles XII, l'homme le plus extraordinaire peut-être qui ait jamais été sur la terre, qui a réuni en lui toutes les grandes qualités de ses aïeux, et qui n'a eu d'autre défaut ni d'autre malheur que de les avoir toutes outrées." *Hist. de Charles XII*, livre i., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxii. p. 30.

[84] "Plein d'honneur." *Ibid.* in *Œuvres*, vol. xxii. p. 63.

[85] Which Burke, not without justice, compares to the murder of Monaldeschi by Christina. *Burke's Works*, vol. i. p. 412. See some remarks on the murder of Patkul in *Vattel, Droit des Gens*, vol. i. p. 230; and an account of it from Swedish authorities, in

the head of forty servants, resisted an entire army.[86] In the same way he says that after the battle of Narva all the attempts of Charles were unable to prevent medals from being struck at Stockholm in celebration of that event ;[87] although Voltaire well knew that a man of such extravagant vanity must have been pleased by so durable a homage, and although it is quite certain that if he had not been pleased the medals would never have been struck : for who would venture, without an object, to offend in his own capital one of the most arbitrary and revengeful of princes ?

So far, it might appear that little had been gained in the method of writing history.[88] But, even thus early, we find one vast improvement. In Voltaire's life of Charles XII., faulty as it is, there are none of those assumptions of supernatural interference in which Bossuet delighted, and which were natural to the reign of Louis XIV. The absence of this marks the first great stage in the French school of history in the eighteenth century ; and we find the same peculiarity in all the subsequent historians, none of whom recurred to a method which, though suitable for the purposes of theologians, is fatal to all independent inquiries, since it not only prescribes the course the inquirer is bound to take, but actually sets up a limit beyond which he is forbidden to proceed.

That Voltaire should have infringed upon this ancient method only thirteen years after the death of Louis XIV., and that he should have done this in a popular work, abounding with such dangerous adventures as are always found to tempt the mind to an opposite course, is a step of no common merit, and becomes still more worthy of remark if taken in connexion with another fact of considerable interest. This is, that the life of Charles XII. represents the first epoch not only in the eighteenth century, but also in the intellect of Voltaire himself.[89] After it

Somers Tracts, vol. xiii. pp. 879–881. For Voltaire's version, see his *Œuvres*, vol. xxii. pp. 136, 137 ; which may be contrasted with *Crichton and Wheaton's History of Scandinavia*, Edinb. 1838, vol. ii. p. 127.

[86] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxii. pp. 250–260. It may interest some persons to hear that the litter in which this madman "was borne from the battle of Pultava" is still preserved at Moscow. *Kohl's Russia*, p. 220. It was also seen by M. Custine. *Custine's Russie*, vol. iii. p. 263.

[87] "Sa modestie ne put empêcher qu'on ne frappât à Stockholm plusieurs médailles pour perpétuer la mémoire de ces événements." *Charles XII*, livre ii. in *Œuvres*, vol. xxii. p. 70.

[88] Even some of its geographical details are said to be inaccurate. Compare *Villemain, Littérature au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 33, with *Kohl's Russia*, p. 505. However, as M. Villemain says, this must always be the case when writers who only know a country from maps, attempt to enter into details respecting military geography. In regard to style, it cannot be too highly praised ; and a well-known critic, Lacretelle, calls it "le modèle le plus accompli de narration qui existe dans notre langue." *Lacretelle, Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 42. In 1843 it was still used as a text-book in the French royal colleges. See *Report on Education in France*, in *Journal of Stat. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 308. Further information respecting this work may be found in *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 494 ; and in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. viii. p. 224, vol. x. p. 304.

[89] It is evident from Voltaire's correspondence that he afterwards became somewhat ashamed of the praises he had bestowed on Charles XII. In 1735 he writes to De Formont, "si Charles XII n'avait pas été excessivement grand, malheureux, et fou, je me serais bien donné de garde de parler de lui." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lvi. p. 462. In 1758, advancing still further, he says of Charles, "voilà, monsieur, ce que les hommes de tous les temps et de tous les pays appellent un héros ; mais c'est le vulgaire de tous les temps et de tous les pays qui donne ce nom à la soif du carnage." *Ibid.* vol. lx. p. 411. In 1759 he writes that he was then engaged on the history of Peter the Great : "mais je doute que cela soit aussi amusant que la vie de Charles XII ; car ce Pierre n'était qu'un sage extraordinaire, et Charles un fou extraordinaire, qui se battait, comme Don Quichotte, contre des moulins à vent ;" vol. lxi. p. 23 ; see also p. 350. These passages prove the constant progress Voltaire was making in his conception of what history ought to be, and what its uses were.

was published, this great man turned a while from history, and directed his attention to some of the noblest subjects: to mathematics, to physics, to jurisprudence, to the discoveries of Newton, and to the speculations of Locke. In these things he perceived those capabilities of the human mind which his own country had formerly witnessed, but of which, during the authority of Louis XIV., the memory had been almost lost. Then it was that, with extended knowledge and sharpened intellect, he returned to the great field of history.[90] The manner in which he now treated his old subject showed the change that had come over him. In 1752, appeared his celebrated work on Louis XIV.,[91] the very title of which is suggestive of the process through which his mind had passed. His former history was an account of a king; this is an account of an age. To the production of his youth he gave the title of a *History of Charles XII.*; this he called the *Age of Louis XIV.* Before, he had detailed the peculiarities of a prince; now, he considered the movements of a people. Indeed, in the introduction to the work he announces his intention to describe, "not the actions of a single man, but the character of men."[92] Nor, in this point of view, is the execution inferior to the design. While he is contented with giving a summary of military achievements, on which Bossuet hung with delight, he enters at great length into those really important matters which, before his time, found no place in the history of France. He has one chapter on commerce and internal government;[93] another chapter on finances;[94] another on the history of science;[95] and three chapters on the progress of the fine arts.[96] And though Voltaire did not attach much value to theological disputes, still he knew that they have often played a great part in the affairs of men; he therefore gives several distinct chapters to a relation of ecclesiastical matters during the rei n of Louis.[97] It is hardly necessary to observe the immense superiority which a scheme like this possessed, not only over the narrow views of Bossuet but even over his own earlier history. Still it cannot be denied that we find in it prejudices from which it was difficult for a Frenchman educa ted in the reign of Louis XIV. to be entirely free. Not only does Voltaire dwell at needless length upon those amusements and debaucheries of Louis, with which history can have little concern, but he displays an evident disposition to favour the king himself, and to protect his name from the infamy with which it ought to be covered.[98]

[90] In 1741, he mentions his increasing love of history. *Corresp.* in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. li. p. 96.

[91] Lord Brougham, in his life of Voltaire, says that it appeared in 1751. *Lives of Men of Letters*, vol. i. p. 106. But 1752 is the date given in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlix. p. 478; in *Quérard, France Lit.* vol. x. p. 355; and in *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 382.

[92] "On veut essayer de peindre à la postérité, non les actions d'un seul homme, mais l'esprit des hommes dans le siècle le plus éclairé qui fut jamais." *Siècle de Louis XIV*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xix. p. 213. And in his correspondence respecting his work on Louis XIV., he carefully makes the same distinction. See vol. lvi. pp. 453, 488, 489, 500, vol. lvii. pp. 337, 342–344, vol. lix. p. 103.

[93] Chap. xxix., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xx. pp. 234–267.

[94] Chap. xxx., in *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 267–291. This chapter is praised in *Sinclair's Hist. of the Public Revenue*, vol. iii. appendix, p. 77; an indifferent work, but the best we have on the important subject to which it refers.

[95] Chap. xxxi., in *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 291–299; necessarily a very short chapter, because of the paucity of materials.

[96] Chapters xxxii. to xxxiv., in *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 299–338.

[97] *Œuvres*, vol. xx. pp. 338–464.

[98] This disposition to favour Louis XIV. is noticed by Condorcet, who says it was the only early prejudice which Voltaire was unable to shake off: "c'est le seul préjugé de sa jeunesse qu'il ait conservé." *Condorcet, Vie de Voltaire*, in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. i. p. 286. See also, on this defect, *Grimm et Diderot, Corresp. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 182; *Lemontey, Etablissement Monarchique*, pp. 451, 452; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. ii. pp. 88, 89. It is interesting to observe that Voltaire's earlier opinions were still more favourable to Louis XIV. than those which he afterwards expressed in his history. See a letter which he wrote in 1740 to Lord Harvey, printed in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lviii. pp. 57–63.

But the next work of Voltaire showed that this was a mere personal feeling, and did not affect his general views as to the part which the acts of princes ought to occupy in history. Four years after the appearance of the Age of Louis XIV., he published his important treatise on the *Morals, Manners, and Character of Nations*.[99] This is not only one of the greatest books which appeared during the eighteenth century, but it still remains the best on the subject to which it refers. The mere reading it displays is immense ;[100] what, however, is far more admirable is the skill with which the author connects the various facts, and makes them illustrate each other, sometimes by a single remark, sometimes only by the order and position in which they are placed. Indeed, considered solely as a work of art, it would be difficult to praise it too highly ; while, as a symptom of the times, it is important to observe that it contains no traces of that adulation of royalty which characterized Voltaire in the period of his youth, and which is found in all the best writers during the power of Louis XIV. In the whole of this long and important work, the great historian takes little notice of the intrigues of courts, or of the changes of ministers, or of the fate of kings ; but he endeavours to discover and develop the different epochs through which Man has successively passed. " I wish," he says, " to write a history, not of wars, but of society ; and to ascertain how men lived in the interior of their families, and what were the arts which they commonly cultivated."[101] For, he adds, " my object is the history of the human mind, and not a mere detail of petty facts ; nor am I concerned with the history of great lords who made war upon French kings ; but I want to know what were the steps by which men passed from barbarism to civilization."[102]

It was in this way that Voltaire taught historians to concentrate their attention on matters of real importance, and to neglect those idle details with which history had formerly been filled. But what proves this to be a movement arising as much from the spirit of the age as from the individual author, is that we find precisely the same tendency in the works of Montesquieu and Turgot, who were certainly the two most eminent of the contemporaries of Voltaire ; and both of whom followed a method similar to his, in so far as, omitting descriptions of

[99] Mr. Burton, in his interesting work, *Life and Correspondence of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 129, says it was " first published in 1756 ; " and the same date is given by Quérard (*France Littéraire*, vol. x. p. 359), who is a very accurate bibliographer ; so that Condorcet (*Vie de Voltaire*, p. 199) and Lord Brougham (*Men of Letters*, vo.. i. p. 98) are probably in error in assigning it to 1757. In regard to its title, I translate " Mœurs " as " morals and manners ; " for M. Tocqueville uses " mœurs " as equivalent to the Latin word " mores." *Tocqueville, Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. iii. pp. 50, 84.

[100] Superficial writers are so much in the habit of calling Voltaire superficial, that it may be well to observe that his accuracy has been praised, not only by his own countrymen, but by several English authors of admitted learning. For three remarkable instances of this, from men whom no one will accuse of leaning towards his other opinions, see *notes to Charles V.*, in *Robertson's Works*, pp. 431, 432 ; *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, p. 293 ; and *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i. p. xvi. Even Sir W. Jones, in his preface to the *Life of Nader Shah*, says, that Voltaire is " the best historian " the French have produced. *Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. v. p. 542 ; and compare the preface to his *Persian Grammar*, in *Works*, vol. ii. p. 123.

[101] " Je voudrais découvrir quelle était alors la société des hommes, comment on vivait dans l'intérieur des familles, quels arts étaient cultivés, plutôt que de répéter tant de malheurs et tant de combats, funestes objets de l'histoire et lieux communs de la méchanceté humaine." *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. lxxxi., in *Œuvres*, vol. xvi. p. 381.

[102] " L'objet était l'histoire de l'esprit humain, et non pas le détail des faits presque toujours défigurés ; il ne s'agissait pas de rechercher, par exemple, de quelle famille était le seigneur de Puiset, ou le seigneur de Montlhéri, qui firent la guerre à des rois de France ; mais de voir par quels degrés on est parvenu de la rusticité barbare de ces temps à la politesse du nôtre." Supplement to *Essai sur les Mœurs*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xviii. p. 435. Compare *Fragments sur l'Histoire*, vol. xxvii. p. 214, with two letters in vol. lx. pp 153, 154, vol. lxv. p. 370.

kings, courts, and battles, they confined themselves to points which illustrate the character of mankind and the general march of civilization. And such was the popularity of this change in the old routine, that its influence was felt by other historians of inferior, but still of considerable, ability. In 1755, Mallet,[103] published his interesting, and, at the time it was written, most valuable work, on the history of Denmark;[104] in which he professes himself a pupil of the new school. "For why," he says, "should history be only a recital of battles, sieges, intrigues, and negotiations? And why should it contain merely a heap of petty facts and dates, rather than a great picture of the opinions, customs, and even inclinations of a people?"[105] Thus too, in 1765, Mably published the first part of his celebrated work on the history of France;[106] in the preface to which he complains that historians "have neglected the origin of laws and customs in favour of sieges and battles."[107] In the same spirit, Velly and Villaret, in their voluminous history of France, express regret that historians should usually relate what happens to the sovereign in preference to what happens to the people, and should omit the manners and characteristics of a nation, in order to study the acts of a single man.[108] Duclos, again, announces that his history is not of war, nor of politics, but of men and manners;[109] while, strange to say, even the courtly Hénault declares that his object was to describe laws and manners, which he calls the soul of history, or rather history itself.[110]

Thus it was that historians began to shift, as it were, the scene of their labours, and to study subjects connected with those popular interests on which the great writers under Louis XIV. disdained to waste a thought.* I need hardly observe how agreeable such views were to the general spirit of the eighteenth century, and how well they harmonized with the temper of men who were striving to lay aside their former prejudices, and despise what had once been universally admired.

[103] Mallet, though born in Geneva, was a Frenchman in the habits of his mind: he wrote in French, and is classed among French historians in the report presented to Napoleon by the Institut. *Dacier, Rapport sur les Progrès de l'Histoire*, p. 173.

[104] Göthe, in his Autobiography, mentions his obligations to this work, which, I suspect, exercised considerable influence over the early associations of his mind: "Ich hatte die Fabeln der Edda schon längst aus der Vorrede zu Mallet's Dänischer Geschichte kennen gelernt, und mich derselben sogleich bemächtigt; sie gehörten unter diejenigen Mährchen, die ich, von einer Gesellschaft aufgefordert, am liebsten erzählte." *Wahrheit u. Dichtung*, in *Goethe's Werke*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 169. Percy, a very fair judge, thought highly of Mallet's history, part of which indeed he translated. See a letter from him, in *Nichols's Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. vii. p. 719.

[105] *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, edit. Blackell, 1847, p. 78.

[106] The first two volumes were published in 1765; the other two in 1790. *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. pp. 9, 12.

[107] *Mably, Observ. sur l'Hist. de France*, vol. i. p. ii.; and compare vol. iii. p. 289: but this latter passage was written several years later.

[108] "Bornés à nous apprendre les victoires ou les défaites du souverain, ils ne nous disent rien ou presque rien des peuples qu'il a rendus heureux ou malheureux. On ne trouve dans leurs écrits que longues descriptions de sièges et de batailles; nulle mention des mœurs et de l'esprit de la nation. Elle y est presque toujours sacrifiée à un seul homme." *Histoire de France par Velly*, Paris, 1770, 4to, vol. i. p. 6; and see, to the same effect, the *Continuation by Villaret*, vol. v. p. vi.

[109] "Si l'histoire que j'écris n'est ni militaire, ni politique, ni économique, du moins dans le sens que je conçois pour ces différentes parties, on me demandera quelle est donc celle que je me propose d'écrire. C'est l'histoire des hommes et des mœurs." *Duclos, Louis XIV et Louis XV*, vol. i. p. xxv.

[110] "Je voulois connoître nos loix, nos mœurs, et tout ce qui est l'âme de l'histoire, ou plutôt l'histoire même." *Hénault, Nouvel Abrégé chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, edit. Paris, 1775, vol. i. p. i.

[* Above, Buckle has shown that Mezeray gave much thought to the popular interest.—Ed.]

All this was but part of that vast movement which prepared the way for the Revolution, by unsettling ancient opinions, by encouraging a certain mobility and restlessness of mind, and above all by the disrespect it showed for those powerful individuals, hitherto regarded as gods rather than as men, but who now, for the first time, were neglected by the greatest and most popular historians, who passed over even their prominent actions, in order to dwell upon the welfare of nations, and the interests of the people at large.

To return, however, to what was actually effected by Voltaire, there is no doubt that in his case this tendency of the time was strengthened by a natural comprehensiveness of mind, which predisposed him to large views, and made him dissatisfied with that narrow range to which history had been hitherto confined.[111] Whatever may be thought of the other qualities of Voltaire, it must be allowed that in his intellect everything was on a great scale.[112] Always prepared for thought, and always ready to generalize, he was averse to the study of individual actions, unless they could be made available for the establishment of some broad and permanent principle. Hence his habit of looking at history with a view to the stages through which the country had passed, rather than with a view to the character of the men by whom the country had been governed. The same tendency appears in his lighter works; and it has been well observed[113] that even in his dramas he endeavours to portray not so much the passions of individuals as the spirit of epochs. In *Mahomet*, his subject is a great religion; in *Alzire*, the conquest of America; in *Brutus*, the formation of the Roman power; in the *Death of Cæsar*, the rise of the empire upon the ruins of that power.[114]

By this determination to look upon the course of events as a great and connected whole, Voltaire was led to several results which have been complacently adopted by many authors who, even while using them, revile him from whom they were taken. He was the first historian who, rejecting the ordinary method of investigation, endeavoured by large general views to explain the origin of feudality; and by indicating some of the causes of its decline in the fourteenth century[115] he laid the foundation for a philosophic estimate of that important institution.[116]

[111] In 1763, he writes to D'Argental: "il y a environ douze batailles dont je n'ai point parlé, Dieu merci, parceque j'écris l'histoire de l'esprit humain, et non une gazette." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxiii. p. 51. See also his letter to Tabareau (*Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 585): "Personne ne lit les détails des combats et des sièges; rien n'est plus ennuyeux que la droite et la gauche, les bastions et la contrescarpe."

[112] M. Lamartine characterizes him as "ce génie non pas le plus haut, mais le plus vaste de la France." *Hist. des Girondins*, vol. i. p. 180.

[113] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xlix. p. 493. His *Orphelin de la Chine* is taken from Chinese sources: see *Davis's China*, vol. ii. p. 258.

[114] The surprising versatility of Voltaire's mind is shown by the fact, unparalleled in literature, that he was equally great as a dramatic writer and as an historian. Mr. Forster, in his admirable *Life of Goldsmith*, 1854, says (vol. i. p. 119), "Gray's high opinion of Voltaire's tragedies is shared by one of our greatest authorities on such a matter now living, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, whom I have often heard maintain the marked superiority of Voltaire over all his countrymen in the knowledge of dramatic art, and the power of producing theatrical effects." Compare *Correspondence of Gray and Mason*, edit. Mitford, 1855, p. 44.

[115] *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. lxxxv., in *Œuvres*, vol. xvi. p. 412, and elsewhere.

[116] During the eighteenth century, and, I may say, until the publication in 1818 of Hallam's Middle Ages, there was in the English language no comprehensive account of the feudal system; unless perhaps we except that given by Robertson, who in this as in many other matters of history was a pupil of Voltaire. Not only Dalrymple, and writers of his kind, but even Blackstone, took so narrow a view of this great institution that they were unable to connect it with the general state of society to which it belonged. Some of our historians gravely traced it back to Moses, in whose laws they found the origin of allodial lands. See a charming passage in *Barry's History of the Orkney Islands*, p. 219. On the spirit of feudality, there are some remarks well worth reading in *Comte's Philos. Posit.* vol. v. pp. 393–413.

He was the author of a profound remark, afterwards adopted by Constant, to the effect that licentious religious ceremonies have no connexion with licentious national morals.[117] Another observation of his, which has been only partly used by writers on ecclesiastical history, is pregnant with instruction. He says that one of the reasons why the bishops of Rome acquired an authority so superior to that of the Eastern patriarchs was the greater sublety of the Greek mind. Nearly all the heresies proceeded from the East; and, with the exception of Honorius I., not a single pope adopted a system condemned by the church. This gave to the papal power an unity and consolidation which the patriarchal power was unable to reach; and thus the Holy See owes part of its authority to the early dulness of the European fancy.[118]

It would be impossible to relate all the original remarks of Voltaire which, when he made them, were attacked as dangerous paradoxes, and are now valued as sober truths. He was the first historian who recommended universal freedom of trade; and, although he expresses himself with great caution,[119] still the mere announcement of the idea in a popular history forms an epoch in the progress of the French mind. He is the originator of that important distinction between the increase of population and the increase of food, to which political economy has been greatly indebted;[120] a principle adopted several years later by Town-

[117] Constant, in his work on Roman polytheism, says, "des rites indécens peuvent être pratiqués par un peuple religieux avec une grande pureté de cœur. Mais quand l'incrédulité atteint ces peuples, ces rites sont pour lui la cause et le prétexte de la plus révoltante corruption." This passage is quoted by Mr. Milman, who calls it "extremely profound and just." *Milman's History of Christianity*, 1840, vol. i. p. 28. And so it is—extremely profound and just. But it happens that precisely the same remark was made by Voltaire, just about the time that Constant was born. Speaking of the worship of Priapus, he says (*Essai sur les Mœurs*, chap. cxliii., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xvii. p. 341), "nos idées de bienséance nous portent à croire qu'une cérémonie qui nous paraît si infâme n'a été inventée que par la débauche; mais il n'est guère croyable que la dépravation des mœurs ait jamais chez aucun peuple établi des cérémonies religieuses. Il est probable, au contraire, que cette coutume fut d'abord introduite dans les temps de simplicité, et qu'on ne pensa d'abord qu'à honorer la Divinité dans le symbole de la vie qu'elle nous a donnée. Une telle cérémonie a dû inspirer la licence à la jeunesse, et paraître ridicule aux esprits sages, dans les temps plus raffinés, plus corrompus, et plus éclairés." Compare the remarks on the indecency of the Spartan customs, in *Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 326, 327.

[118] *Essai sur les Mœurs*, chaps. xiv. and xxxi., in *Œuvres*, vol. xv. pp. 391, 514. Neander observes that in the Greek church there were more heresies than in the Latin church because the Greeks thought more; but he has failed to perceive how this favoured the authority of the popes. *Neander's History of the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 198, 199, vol. iii. pp. 191, 492, vol. iv. p. 90, vol. vi. p. 293, vol. viii. p. 257. [The main cause of the authority of the Popes was that no emperor reigned at Rome.—Ed.]

[119] In his account of the trade of Archangel, he says, "les Anglais obtinrent le privilége d'y commercer sans payer aucun droit; et c'est ainsi que toutes les nations devraient peut-être négocier ensemble." *Hist. de Russie*, part i. chap. i., in *Œuvres*, vol. xxiii. p. 35. Remarkable words to have been written by a Frenchman, born at the end of the seventeenth century; and yet they have, so far as I am aware, escaped the attention of all the historians of political economy. Indeed, on this as on most matters sufficient justice has not been done to Voltaire, whose opinions were more accurate than those of Quesnay and his followers. However, Mr. M'Culloch, in noticing one of the economical errors of Voltaire, honestly admits that his "opinions on such subjects are, for the most part, very correct." *M'Culloch's Principles of Political Economy*, p. 530. For proof of his sympathy with Turgot's efforts to establish free trade, compare *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii. pp. 367, 403, 423, with *Longchamp, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. i. pp. 376, 378.

[120] "The idea of the different ratios by which population and food increase was originally thrown out by Voltaire; and was picked up and expanded into many a goodly volume by our English political economists in the present century." *Laing's Notes* second series, p. 42.

send, and then used by Malthus as the basis of his celebrated work.[121] He has, moreover, the merit of being the first who dispelled the childish admiration with which the Middle Ages had been hitherto regarded, and which they owed to those dull and learned writers who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the principal investigators of the early history of Europe. These industrious compilers had collected extensive materials, which Voltaire turned to good account, and by their aid overthrew the conclusions at which the authors had themselves arrived. In his works, the Middle Ages are for the first time represented as what they really were,—a period of ignorance, ferocity, and licentiousness; a period when injuries were unredressed, crime unpunished, and superstition unrebuked. It may be said with some show of justice that Voltaire, in the picture he drew, fell into the opposite extreme, and did not sufficiently recognize the merit of those truly great men who, at long intervals, stood here and there, like solitary beacons, whose light only made the surrounding darkness more visible. Still, after every allowance for that exaggeration which a reaction of opinions always causes, it is certain that his view of the Middle Ages is not only far more accurate than that of any preceding writer, but conveys a much juster idea of the time than can be found in those subsequent compilations which we owe to the industry of modern antiquaries; a simple and plodding race, who admire the past because they are ignorant of the present, and who, spending their lives amid the dust of forgotten manuscripts, think themselves able, with the resources of their little learning, to speculate on the affairs of men, to trace the history of different periods, and even to assign to each the praise it ought to receive.

With such writers as these Voltaire was always at war; and no one has done so much to lessen the influence they once exercised over even the highest branches of knowledge. There was also another class of dictators whose authority this great man was equally successful in reducing, namely, the old class of classical scholars and commentators, who, from the middle of the fourteenth till early in the eighteenth century, were the chief dispensers of fame, and were respected as being by far the most distinguished men Europe had ever produced. The first great assaults made upon them were late in the seventeenth century, when two controversies sprung up, of which I shall hereafter give an account,—one in France, and one in England,—by both of which their power was considerably damaged. But their two most formidable opponents were undoubtedly Locke and Voltaire. The immense services rendered by Locke in lessening the reputation of the old classical school will be examined in another part of this work; at present we are only concerned with the steps taken by Voltaire.

The authority wielded by the great classical scholars rested not only on their abilities, which are undeniable, but also on the supposed dignity of their pursuits. It was generally believed that ancient history possessed some inherent superiority over modern history; and this being taken for granted, the inference naturally followed that the cultivators of the one were more praiseworthy than the cultivators of the other; and that a Frenchman, for instance, who should write the

[121] It is often said that Malthus was indebted to Townsend's writings for his views on population; but this obligation has been too strongly stated, as indeed is always the case when charges of plagiarism are brought against great works. Still, Townsend is to be considered as the precursor of Malthus; and if the reader is interested in tracing the paternity of ideas, he will find some interesting economical remarks in *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, vol. i. pp. 379, 383, vol. ii. pp. 85, 337, 387–393; which must be compared with *M'Culloch's Literature of Political Economy*, pp. 259, 281–3. Voltaire, having preceded these authors, has of course fallen into errors which they avoided; but nothing can be better than the way in which he opposes the ignorant belief of his own time, that everything should be done to increase population. "Le point principal n'est pas d'avoir du superflu en hommes, mais de rendre ce que nous en avons le moins malheureux qu'il est possible," is the summing-up of his able remarks, in *Dict. Philos.*, article *Population*, sect. 2, in *Œuvres*, vol. xli. p. 466. Godwin, in his notice of the history of these opinions, is evidently ignorant of what was done by Voltaire. *Sinclair's Corresp.* vol. i. p. 396.

history of some Greek republic, displayed a nobler turn of mind than if he had written the history of his own country. This singular prejudice had for centuries been a traditional notion which men accepted because they had received it from their fathers, and which it would have been almost an impiety to dispute. The result was that the few really able writers on history devoted themselves chiefly to that of the ancients ; or, if they published an account of modern times, they handled their theme not according to modern ideas but according to ideas gathered from their more favourite pursuit. This confusion of the standard of one age with the standard of another caused a double evil. Historians, by adopting this plan, injured the originality of their own minds ; and, what was far worse, they set a bad example to the literature of their country. For every great nation has a mode of expression and of thought peculiar to itself, and with which its sympathies are intimately connected. To introduce any foreign model, however admirable it may be, is to violate this connexion, and to impair the value of literature by limiting the scope of its action. By such a course the taste may possibly be refined, but the vigour will certainly be weakened. Indeed the refinement of the taste may well be doubted when we see what has taken place in our country, where our great scholars have corrupted the English language by a jargon so uncouth that a plain man can hardly discern the real lack of ideas which their barbarous and mottled dialect strives to hide.[122] At all events, it is certain that every people worthy of being called a nation possess in their own language ample resources for expressing the highest ideas they are able to form ; and although in matters of science it may be convenient to coin such words as are more easily understood in foreign countries, it is a grave offence to depart on other subjects from the vernacular speech ; and it is a still graver one to introduce notions and standards for action, suited perhaps to former times, but which the march of society has left far behind, and with which we have no real sympathy, though they may excite that sickly and artificial interest which the classical prejudices of early education still contrive to create.

It was against these evils that Voltaire entered the field. The wit and the ridicule with which he attacked the dreaming scholars of his own time can only be appreciated by those who have studied his works. Not, as some have supposed, that he used these weapons as a substitute for argument, still less that he fell into the error of making ridicule a test for truth. No one could reason more closely than Voltaire, when reasoning suited his purpose. But he had to deal with men impervious to argument ; men whose inordinate reverence for antiquity had only left them two ideas, namely, that everything old is right, and that everything new is wrong. To argue against these opinions would be idle indeed ; the only other resource was to make them ridiculous and weaken their influence by holding up their authors to contempt. This was one of the tasks Voltaire set himself to perform ; and he did it well.[123] He therefore used ridi-

[122] With the single exception of Porson, not one of the great English scholars has shown an appreciation of the beauties of his native language ; and many of them, such as Parr (in all his works) and Bentley (in his mad edition of Milton), have done everything in their power to corrupt it. And there can be little doubt that the principal reason why well-educated women write and converse in a purer style than well-educated men, is because they have not formed their taste according to those ancient classical standards which, admirable as they are in themselves, should never be introduced into a state of society unfitted for them. To this may be added, that Cobbett, the most racy and idiomatic of all our writers, and Erskine, by far the greatest of our forensic orators, knew little or nothing of any ancient language ; and the same observation applies to Shakespeare. On the supposed connexion between the improvement of taste and the study of classical models, there are some remarks worth attending to in *Rey's Théorie et Pratique de la Science Sociale*, vol. i. pp. 98–101.

[123] "We can best judge from the Jesuitical rage with which he was persecuted, how admirably he had delineated the weaknesses and presumption of the interpreters of the ancients, who shone in the schools and academies, and had acquired great reputation by their various and copiously exhibited learning." *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*,

cule, not as the test of truth, but as the scourge of folly. And with such effect was the punishment administered that not only did the pedants and theologians of his own time wince under the lash, but even their successors feel their ears tingle when they read his biting words ; and they revenged themselves by reviling the memory of that great writer, whose works are as a thorn in their side, and whose very name they hold in undisguised abhorrence.

These two classes have indeed reasons enough for the hatred with which they still regard the greatest Frenchman of the eighteenth century. For Voltaire did more than any other man to sap the foundation of ecclesiastical power, and to destroy the supremacy of classical studies. This is not the place for discussing the theological opinions which he attacked ; but of the state of classical opinions an idea may be formed, by considering some of those circumstances which were recorded by the ancients respecting their history, and which, until the appearance of Voltaire, were implicitly believed by modern scholars,* and through them by the people at large.

It was believed that, in ancient times, Mars ravished a virgin, and that the offspring of the intrigue were no other than Romulus and Remus, both of whom it was intended to put to death ; but they were fortunately saved by the attentions of a she-wolf and a woodpecker ; the wolf giving them suck, and the woodpecker protecting them from insects. It was moreover believed that Romulus and Remus, when grown up to man's estate, determined to build a city, and that, being joined by the descendants of the Trojan warriors, they succeeded in erecting Rome. It was believed that both brothers came to an untimely end ; Remus being murdered, and Romulus being taken up to heaven by his father, who descended for that purpose in the midst of a tempest. The great scholars then proceeded to relate the succession of several other kings ; the most remarkable of whom was Numa, whose only communications with his wife were carried on in a sacred grove. Another of the sovereigns of Rome was Tullus Hostilius, who, having offended the clergy, perished from the effects of their anger ; his death being caused by lightning, and preceded by pestilence. Then again there was one Servius Tullius, who was also a king, and whose greatness was prognosticated by the appearance of flames round his head as he was sleeping in his cradle. After this it was but a slight matter that the ordinary laws of mortality should be suspended ; we were therefore assured that those ignorant barbarians, the early Romans, passed two hundred and forty-five years under the government of only seven kings, all of whom were elected in the prime of life, one of whom was expelled the city, and three of whom were put to death.

These are a few of the idle stories in which the great scholars took intense delight, and which, during many centuries, were supposed to form a necessary part of the annals of the Latin Empire. Indeed, so universal was the credulity that, until they were destroyed by Voltaire, there were only four writers who had ventured openly to attack them. Cluverius, Perizonius, Pouilly, and Beaufort were the names of these bold innovators ; but by none of them was any impression made on the public mind. The works of Cluverius and Perizonius, being composed in Latin, were addressed entirely to a class of readers who, infatuated with a love of antiquity, would listen to nothing that diminished the reputation of its history. Pouilly and Beaufort wrote in French ; both of them, and especially Beaufort, were men of considerable ability ; but their powers were not versatile enough to enable them to extirpate prejudices which were so strongly protected, and which had been fostered by the education of many successive generations.†

vol. i. p. 120. At p. 270 M. Schlosser says, "And it was only a man of Voltaire's wit and talents who could throw the light of an entirely new criticism upon the darkness of those grubbing and collecting pedants."

[* An over-statement. See the next note.—Ed.]

[† This summary is somewhat hasty. "Only four writers," in the circumstances, is an odd phrase ; but as it is, it overlooks Bochart, Gronovius, and above all Vico,

The service, therefore, rendered by Voltaire in purging history of these foolish conceits is, not that he was the first by whom they were attacked, but that he was the first to attack them with success; and this because he was also the first who mingled ridicule with argument, thus not only assailing the system, but also weakening the authority of those by whom the system was supported. His irony, his wit, his pungent and telling sarcasms, produced more effect than the gravest arguments could have done; and there can be no doubt that he was fully justified in using those great resources with which nature had endowed him, since by their aid he advanced the interests of truth and relieved men from some of their most inveterate prejudices.

It is not, however, to be supposed that ridicule was the only means employed by Voltaire in effecting this important object. So far from that, I can say with confidence, after a careful comparison of both writers, that the most decisive arguments advanced by Niebuhr against the early history of Rome had all been anticipated by Voltaire, in whose works they may be found by whoever will take the trouble of reading what this great man has written, instead of ignorantly railing against him. Without entering into needless detail, it is enough to mention that amidst a great variety of very ingenious and very learned discussion, Niebuhr has put forward several views with which later critics have been dissatisfied; but that there are three, and only three, principles which are fundamental to his history, and which it is impossible to refute. These are:—I. That on account of the inevitable intermixture of fable essential to a rude people, no nation can possess trustworthy details respecting its own origin. II. That even such early documents as the Romans might have possessed had been destroyed before they were incorporated into a regular history. III. That ceremonies established in honour of certain events alleged to have taken place in former times were a proof, not that the events had happened, but that they were believed to have happened. The whole fabric of the early history of Rome at once fell to pieces as soon as these three principles were applied to it. What, however, is most remarkable, is that not only are all three laid down by Voltaire, but their bearing upon Roman history is distinctly shown. He says that no nation is acquainted with its own origin; so that all primitive history is necessarily an invention.[124] He remarks that since even such historical works as the Romans once possessed were all destroyed when their city was burned, no confidence can be placed in the accounts which, at a much later period, are given by Livy and other compilers.[125] And as

[124] "C'est l'imagination seule qui a écrit les premières histoires. Non seulement chaque peuple inventa son origine, mais il inventa aussi l'origine du monde entier." *Dict. Philos.*, article *Histoire*, sec. 2, in *Œuvres*, vol. xl. p. 195. See also his article on Chronology, vol. xxxviii. p. 77, for the application of this to the history of Rome, where he says, "Tite Live n'a garde de dire en quelle année Romulus commença son prétendu règne." And at vol. xxxvi. p. 86, "tous les peuples se sont attribués des origines imaginaires; et aucun n'a touché à la véritable."

[125] "Qu'on fasse attention que la république romaine a été cinq cents ans sans historiens; que Tite Live lui-même déplore la perte des autres monuments qui périrent presque tous dans l'incendie de Rome," &c. *Dict. Philos.* in *Œuvres*, vol. xl. p. 202. At p. 188, "ce peuple, si récent en comparaison des nations asiatiques, a été cinq cents

who had brought rational criticism to bear on the subject before Voltaire. It is clear, too, that some of the fables mentioned by Buckle were recognised as such by many scholars long before. For instance, the founding of the city by Romulus is tacitly rejected in a *Discours sur les Tribus Romains* by Boindin, read to the Academy before 1710 (*Mém. de Litt.* éd. La Haye, 1719, i. 97). It is therefore unwarrantable to say that no scholars heeded Cluverius and Perizonius. As to "extirpating prejudice," it is clear that Voltaire in his turn failed, since the whole matter had to be freshly handled in the nineteenth century by Niebuhr. On the merits of Beaufort, to whom Niebuhr was less than just, and on the other pioneers, see *Prof. Flint's Hist. of the Philos. of Hist.* 1893, pp. 255–261.—Ed.]

innumerable scholars busied themselves in collecting evidence respecting ceremonies instituted in celebration of certain events, and then appealed to the evidence in order to prove the events, Voltaire makes a reflection which now seems very obvious, but which these learned men had entirely overlooked. He notices that their labour is bootless, because the date of the evidence is, with extremely few exceptions, much later than the date of the event to which it refers. In such cases, the existence of a festival or of a monument proves indeed the belief which men entertain, but by no means proves the reality of the occurrence concerning which the belief is held.[126] This simple but important maxim is, even in our own days, constantly lost sight of, while before the eighteenth century it was universally neglected. Hence it was that historians were able to accumulate fables which were believed without examination;[127] it being altogether forgotten that fables, as Voltaire says, begin to be current in one generation, are established in the second, become respectable in the third, while in the fourth generation temples are raised in honour of them.[128]

I have been the more particular in stating the immense obligations history is under to Voltaire, because in England there exists against him a prejudice which nothing but ignorance, or something worse than ignorance, can excuse;* [129]

années sans historiens. Ainsi, il n'est pas surprenant que Romulus ait été le fils de Mars, qu'une louve ait été sa nourrice, qu'il ait marché avec mille hommes de son village de Rome contre vingt-cinq mille combattants du village des Sabins."

[126] "Par quel excès de démence, par quel opiniâtreté absurde, tant de compilateurs ont-ils voulu prouver dans tant de volumes énormes, qu'une fête publique établie en mémoire d'un événement était une démonstration de la vérité de cet événement?" *Essai sur les Mœurs, in Œuvres*, vol. xv. p. 109. See also the same remark applied to monuments in chap. cxcvii., *Œuvres*, vol. xviii. pp. 412–414; and again, in vol. xl. pp. 203, 204.

[127] "La plupart des histoires ont été crues sans examen, et cette créance est un préjugé. Fabius Pictor raconte que, plusieurs siècles avant lui, une vestale de la ville d'Albe, allant puiser de l'eau dans sa cruche, fut violée, qu'elle accoucha de Romulus et de Rémus, qu'ils furent nourris par une louve, etc. Le peuple romain crut cette fable; il n'examina point si dans ce temps-là il y avait des vestales dans le Latium, s'il était vraisemblable que la fille d'un roi sortît de son couvent avec sa cruche, s'il était probable qu'une louve allaitât deux enfants au lieu de les manger; le préjugé s'établit." *Dict. Philos.* article *Préjugés*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xli. pp. 488, 489.

[128] "Les amateurs du merveilleux disaient: Il faut bien que ces faits soient vrais, puisque tants de monuments en sont la preuve. Et nous disions: Il faut bien qu'ils soient faux, puisque le vulgaire les a crus. Une fable a quelque cours dans une génération; elle s'établit dans la seconde; elle devient respectable dans la troisième; la quatrième lui élève des temples." *Fragments sur l'Histoire*, article i., in *Œuvres*, vol. xxvii. pp. 158, 159.

[129] In this case, as in many others, ignorance has been fortified by bigotry; for, as Lord Campbell truly says of Voltaire, "since the French Revolution, an indiscriminate abuse of this author has been in England the test of orthodoxy and loyalty." *Campbell's Chief-Justices*, vol. ii. p. 335. Indeed, so extensively has the public mind been prejudiced against this great man, that, until a very few years ago, when Lord Brougham published a life of him, there was no book in the English language containing even a tolerable account of one of the most influential writers France has produced. This work of Lord Brougham's, though a middling performance, is at least an honest one, and, as it harmonizes with the general spirit of our time, it has probably had considerable weight. In it he says of Voltaire, "nor can any one since the days of Luther be named, to whom the spirit of free inquiry, nay, the emancipation of the human mind from spiritual tyranny, owes a more lasting debt of gratitude." *Brougham's Life of Voltaire*, p. 132. It is certain that the better the history of the eighteenth century is understood, the more the reputation of Voltaire will increase; as was clearly foreseen by a celebrated writer nearly a generation ago. In 1831, Lerminier wrote these re-

[* Read "explain."—Ed.]

and because, taking him on the whole, he is probably the greatest historian Europe has yet produced. In reference, however, to the mental habits of the eighteenth century, it is important to show that in the same period similar comprehensiveness was being displayed by other French historians; so that in this case as in all others we shall find that a large share of what is affected, even by the most eminent men, is due to the character of the age in which they live.

The vast labours of Voltaire towards reforming the old method of writing history were greatly aided by those important works which Montesquieu put forward during the same period. In 1734,[130] this remarkable man published what may be truly called the first book in which there can be found any information concerning the real history of Rome; because it is also the first in which the affairs of the ancient world are treated in a large and comprehensive spirit.[131] Fourteen years later there appeared, by the same author, the *Spirit of Laws*; a more famous production, but, as it seems to me, not a greater one. The immense merit of the *Spirit of Laws* is indeed incontestable, and cannot be affected by the captious attempts made to diminish it by those minute critics, who seem to think that when they detect the occasional errors of a great man, they in some degree reduce him to their own level. It is not such petty cavilling which can destroy an European reputation; and the noble work of Montesquieu will long survive all attacks of this kind, because its large and suggestive generalizations would retain their value even if the particular facts of which the illustrations consist were all unfounded.[132] Still, I am inclined to believe, that in point of original thought it is barely equal to his earlier work, though it is unquestionably the fruit of much greater reading. Without, however, instituting a comparison between them, our present object is merely to consider the contributions they jointly contain towards a right understanding of history, and the way in which those contributions are connected with the general spirit of the eighteenth century.

In this point of view, there are in the works of Montesquieu two leading peculiarities. The first is, the complete rejection of those personal anecdotes, and those trivial details respecting individuals, which belong to biography, but with which, as Montesquieu clearly saw, history has no concern. The other peculiarity is the very remarkable attempt which he first made to effect

markable, and, as the result has proved, prophetic words: "Il est temps de revenir à des sentimens plus respectueux pour la mémoire de Voltaire. . . . Voltaire a fait pour la France ce que Leibnitz a fait pour l'Allemagne; pendant trois-quarts de siècle il a représenté son pays, puissant à la manière de Luther et de Napoléon; il est destiné à survivre à bien des gloires, et je plains ceux qui se sont oubliés jusqu'à laisser tomber des paroles dédaigneuses sur le génie de cet homme." *Lerminier, Philosophie du Droit*, vol. i. p. 199. Compare the glowing eulogy in *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mémoires sur Voltaire*, vol. ii. pp. 388, 389, with the remarks of Saint-Lambert, in *Mém. d'Epinay*, vol. i. p. 263.

130 *Vie de Montesquieu*, p. xiv., prefixed to his works.

131 Before Montesquieu, the only two great thinkers who had really studied Roman history were Machiavelli and Vico; but Machiavelli did not attempt anything approaching the generalizations of Montesquieu, and he suffered, moreover, from the serious deficiency of being too much occupied with the practical utility of his subject. Vico, whose genius was perhaps even more vast than that of Montesquieu, can hardly be considered his rival; for, though his *Scienza Nuova* contains the most profound views on ancient history, they are rather glimpses of truth than a systematic investigation of any one period.

132 Which M. Guizot (*Civilisation en France*, vol. iv. p. 36), in his remarks on the *Esprit des Lois*, does not take sufficiently into consideration. A juster appreciation of Montesquieu will be found in *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, part ii. vol. i. p. 182; and in *Comte, Philosophie Positive*, vol. iv. pp. 243–252, 261. Compare *Charles Comte, Traité de Législation*, vol. i. p. 125, with *Meyer, Esprit des Institutions Judiciaires*, vol. i. p. lxi. respecting the vast innovations he introduced.

an union between the history of man and those sciences which deal with the external world. As these are the two great characteristics of the method adopted by Montesquieu, it will be necessary to give some account of them, before we can understand the place he really occupies as one of the founders of the philosophy of history.

We have already seen that Voltaire had strongly insisted on the necessity of reforming history, by paying more attention to the history of the people, and less attention to that of their political and military rulers. We have also seen that this great improvement was so agreeable to the spirit of the time that it was generally and quickly adopted, and thus became an indication of those democratic tendencies of which it was in reality a result. It is not, therefore, surprising that Montesquieu should have taken the same course, even before the movement had been clearly declared; since he, like most great thinkers, was a representative of the intellectual condition, and a satisfier of the intellectual wants, of the age in which he lived.

But what constitutes the peculiarity of Montesquieu in this matter is that with him a contempt for those details respecting courts, ministers, and princes, in which ordinary compilers take great delight, was accompanied by an equal contempt for other details which are really interesting, because they concern the mental habits of the few truly eminent men who from time to time have appeared on the stage of public life. This was because Montesquieu perceived that, though these things are very interesting, they are also very unimportant. He knew, what no historian before him had even suspected, that in the great march of human affairs individual peculiarities count for nothing; and that therefore the historian has no business with them, but should leave them to the biographer, to whose province they properly belong. The consequence is that not only does he treat the most powerful princes with such disregard as to relate the reigns of six emperors in two lines,[133] but he constantly enforces the necessity, even in the case of eminent men, of subordinating their special influence to the more general influence of the surrounding society. Thus, many writers had ascribed the ruin of the Roman Republic to the ambition of Cæsar and Pompey, and particularly to the deep schemes of Cæsar. This, Montesquieu totally denies. According to his view of history, no great alteration can be effected except by virtue of a long train of antecedents, where alone we are to seek the cause of what to a superficial eye is the work of individuals. The republic, therefore, was overthrown, not by Cæsar and Pompey, but by that state of things which made the success of Cæsar and Pompey possible.[134] It is thus that the events which ordinary historians relate are utterly valueless. Such events, instead of being causes, are merely the occasions on which the real causes act.[135] They may be called the accidents of history; and they must be treated as subservient to those vast and comprehensive conditions, by which alone the rise and fall of nations are ultimately governed.[136]

This, then, was the first great merit of Montesquieu, that he effected a complete separation between biography and history, and taught historians to study,

[133] He says of the Emperor Maximin, "il fut tué avec son fils par ses soldats. Les deux premiers Gordiens périrent en Afrique. Maxime, Balbin, et le troisième Gordien furent massacrés." *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, chap. xvi., in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, p. 167.

[134] *Ibid.* chap. xi., in *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, pp. 149–153. Compare a similar remark, respecting Charles XII., in *Esprit des Lois*, livre x. chap. xiii. *Œuvres*, p. 260.

[135] On the difference between cause and occasion, see *Grandeur et Décad.* chap. i. p. 126.

[136] "Il y a des causes générales, soit morales, soit physiques, qui agissent dans chaque monarchie, l'élèvent, la maintiennent, ou la précipitent; tous les accidents sont soumis à ces causes; et si le hasard d'une bataille, c'est-à-dire une cause particulière, a ruiné un état, il y avoit une cause générale qui faisoit que cet état devoit périr par une seule bataille. En un mot, l'allure principale entraîne avec elle tous les accidents particuliers." *Grand. et Décad. des Romains*, chap. xviii. p. 172.

not the peculiarities of individual character, but the general aspect of the society in which the peculiarities appeared. If this remarkable man had accomplished nothing further, he would have rendered an incalculable service to history, by pointing out how one of its most fertile sources of error might be safely removed. And although, unhappily, we have not yet reaped the full benefit of his example, this is because his successors have rarely had the capacity of rising to so high a generalization: it is however certain that since his time an approximation towards such elevated views may be noticed even among those inferior writers who, for want of sufficient grasp, are unable to adopt them to their full extent.

In addition to this, Montesquieu made another great advance in the method of treating history. He was the first who, in an inquiry into the relations between the social conditions of a country and its jurisprudence, called in the aid of physical knowledge in order to ascertain how the character of any given civilization is modified by the action of the external world. In his work on the *Spirit of Laws* he studies the way in which both the civil and political legislation of a people are naturally connected with their climate, soil, and food.[137] It is true that in this vast enterprise he almost entirely failed; but this was because meteorology, chemistry, and physiology were still too backward to admit of such an undertaking. This, however, affects the value only of his conclusions, not of his method; and here as elsewhere we see the great thinker tracing the outline of a plan which, in the then state of knowledge, it was impossible to fill up, and the completion of which he was obliged to leave to the riper experience and more powerful resources of a later age.* Thus to anticipate the march of the human intellect, and, as it were, forestall its subsequent acquisitions, is the peculiar prerogative of minds of the highest order; and it is this which gives to the writings of Montesquieu a certain fragmentary and provisional appearance, which was the necessary consequence of a profoundly speculative genius dealing with materials that were intractable, simply because science had not yet reduced them to order by generalizing the laws of their phenomena. Hence it is that many of the inferences drawn by Montesquieu are untenable; such, for instance, as those regarding the effect of diet in stimulating population by increasing the fecundity of women,[138] and the effect of climate in altering the proportion between the births of the sexes.[139] In other cases, an increased acquaintance with barbarous nations has sufficed to correct his conclusions, particularly those concerning the effect which he supposed climate to produce on individual character; for we have now the most decisive evidence, that he was wrong in asserting[140] that hot climates make people unchaste and cowardly, while cold climates make them virtuous and brave.

These, indeed, are comparatively trifling objections, because in all the highest branches of knowledge the main difficulty is not to discover facts but to discover the true method according to which the laws of the facts may be ascertained.[141] In this, Montesquieu performed a double service, since he not only enriched history but also strengthened its foundation. He enriched history by incorporating with it physical inquiries; and he strengthened history by separating it from biography, and thus freeing it from details which are always unimportant, and often unauthentic. And although he committed the error of studying the influence of nature over men considered

[137] *De l'Esprit des Lois*, books xiv. to xviii. inclusive; in *Œuvres*, pp. 302–336.

[138] *Ibid.* livre xxiii. chap. xiii. p. 395. Compare *Burdach, Traité de Physiologie*, vol. ii. p. 116.

[139] *Ibid.* livre xvi. chap. iv., and livre xxiii. chap. xii. pp. 317, 395.

[140] *Ibid.* livre xiv. chap. ii., livre xvii. chap. ii., and elsewhere.

[141] On the supreme importance of method, see my defence of Bichat in the next chapter.

[* In point of fact, Montesquieu's errors as to climate were exposed by Voltaire and by another editor in the eighteenth century. See Garnier's variorum edition.—Ed.]

as individuals,[142] rather than over men considered as an aggregate society, this arose principally from the fact that, in his time, the resources necessary for the more complicated study had not yet been created. Those resources, as I have shown, are political economy and statistics : political economy supplying the means of connecting the laws of physical agents with the laws of the inequality of wealth, and therefore with a great variety of social disturbances ; while statistics enable us to verify those laws in their widest extent, and to prove how completely the volition of individual men is controlled by their antecedents, and by the circumstances in which they are placed. It was therefore not only natural but inevitable that Montesquieu should fail in his magnificent attempt to unite the laws of the human mind with the laws of external nature. He failed, partly because the sciences of external nature were too backward, and partly because those other branches of knowledge which connect nature with man were still unformed. For, as to political economy, it had no existence as a science until the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, twenty-one years after the death of Montesquieu. As to statistics, their philosophy is a still more recent creation, since it is only during the last thirty years that they have been systematically applied to social phenomena ; the earlier statisticians being merely a body of industrious collectors, groping in the dark, bringing together facts of every kind without selection or method, and whose labours were consequently unavailable for those important purposes to which they have been successfully applied during the present generations.

Only two years after the publication of the *Spirit of Laws*, Turgot delivered those celebrated lectures of which it has been said that in them he created the philosophy of history.[143] This praise is somewhat exaggerated ; for in the most important matters relating to the philosophy of his subject, he takes the same view as Montesquieu ; and Montesquieu, besides preceding him in point of time, was his superior certainly in learning, perhaps in genius. Still the merit of Turgot is immense ; and he belongs to that extremely small class of men who have looked at history comprehensively, and have recognised the almost boundless knowledge needed for its investigation. In this respect his method is identical with that of Montesquieu, since both of these great men excluded from their scheme the personal details which ordinary historians accumulate, and concentrated their attention upon those large general causes, by the operation of which the destinies of nations are permanently affected. Turgot clearly perceived that, notwithstanding the variety of events produced by the play of human passions, there is amid this apparent confusion a principle of order, and a regularity of march, not to be mistaken by those whose grasp is firm enough to seize the history of man as a complete and single whole.[144]

[142] How completely futile this was, as regards results, is evident from the fact that a hundred years after he wrote, we, with all our increased knowledge, can affirm nothing positively respecting the direct action of climate, food, and soil, in modifying individual character ; though it has, I trust, appeared in the second chapter of this Introduction that something can be ascertained respecting their indirect action, that is, their action on individual minds through the medium of social and economical organization.

[143] " Il a créé en 1750 la philosophie de l'histoire dans ses deux discours prononcés en Sorbonne." *Cousin, Hist. de la Philosophie*, I. série, vol. i. p. 147. There is a short notice of these striking productions in *Condorcet, Vie de Turgot*, pp. 11–16.

[144] Nothing can be better than his summary of this vast conception : " Tous les âges sont enchaînés par une suite de causes et d'effets qui lient l'état du monde à tous ceux qui l'ont précédé." *Second Discours en Sorbonne*, in *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. p. 52. Everything Turgot wrote on history is a development of this pregnant sentence. That he understood the necessity of an historian being acquainted with physical science, and with the laws of the configuration of the earth, climate, soil, and the like, is evident in his fragment, *La Géographie Politique*, in *Œuvres*, vol. ii. pp. 166–208. It is no slight proof of his political sagacity, that in 1750 he distinctly foretold the freedom of the American colonies. Compare *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ii. p. 66, with *Mém. sur Turgot*,

It is true that Turgot, subsequently engaged in political life, never possessed sufficient leisure to fill up the splendid outline of what he so successfully sketched: but though in the execution of his plan he fell short of Montesquieu, still the analogy between the two men is obvious, as also is their relation to the age in which they lived. They, as well as Voltaire, were the unconscious advocates of the democratic movement, inasmuch as they discountenanced the homage which historians had formerly paid to individuals, and rescued history from being a mere recital of the deeds of political and ecclesiastical rulers. At the same time, Turgot, by the captivating prospects which he held out of future progress,[145] and by the picture which he drew of the capacity of society to improve itself, increased the impatience which his countrymen were beginning to feel against that despotic government, in whose presence amelioration seemed to be hopeless. These and similar speculations, which now for the first time appeared in French literature, stimulated the activity of the intellectual classes, cheered them under the persecutions to which they were exposed, and emboldened them to the arduous enterprise of leading on the people to attack the institutions of their native land. Thus it was, that in France everything tended to the same result. Everything indicated the approach of some sharp and terrible struggle, in which the spirit of the present should war with the spirit of the past; and in which it should be finally settled whether the people of France could free themselves from the chains in which they had long been held, or whether, missing their aim, they were doomed to sink still lower in that ignominious vassalage which makes even the most splendid periods of their political history a warning and a lesson to the civilized world.

vol. i. p. 139. [The freedom of the American colonies was predicted also by Dubos in 1703, in *Les Intérêts de l'Angleterre mal entendus dans la guerre présente* (Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV* : *Catalogue des Ecrivains*); by Genovesi in 1764 (Pecchio, *Storia della economia pubblica in Italia*, 1829, p. 129); and at different dates by Argenson, Choiseul and Vergennes (Lecky, *Hist. of England in Eighteenth Century*, small ed. iv. 2; Bancroft, *Hist. of U.S.*, Centennial ed. iii. 305). Montesquieu also predicted it in one of his *Pensées Diverses* (*Notes sur l'Angleterre*).—Ed.]

[145] A confidence which is apparent in his economical as well as in his historical works. In 1811, Sir James Mackintosh writes that Turgot "had more comprehensive views of the progress of society than any man since Bacon:" *Mem. of Mackintosh*, vol. ii. p. 133; and see a similar remark by Dugald Stewart, in his *Philos. of the Mind*, vol. i. p. 246.

CHAPTER XIV

Proximate Causes of the French Revolution after the Middle of the Eighteenth Century

In the last chapter but one I have attempted to ascertain what those circumstances were which, almost immediately after the death of Louis XIV., prepared the way for the French Revolution. The result of the inquiry has been that the French intellect was stimulated into activity by the examples and teachings of England ; and that this stimulus caused, or at all events encouraged, a great breach between the government of France and its literature ; —a breach the more remarkable, because during the reign of Louis XIV. the literature, notwithstanding its temporary brilliancy, had been invariably submissive, and had intimately allied itself with the government, which was always ready to reward its services.* We have also seen that, this rupture having arisen between the governing classes and the intellectual classes, it followed that the former, true to their ancient instincts, began to chastize that spirit of inquiry to which they were unaccustomed : hence those persecutions which, with hardly a single exception, were directed against every man of letters, and hence too those systematic attempts to reduce literature to a subserviency similar to that in which it had been held under Louis XIV. It has moreover appeared that the great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, though smarting from the injuries constantly inflicted on them by the government and the church, abstained from attacking the government, but directed all their hostility against the church. This apparent anomaly, of the religious institutions being assailed, and the political institutions being spared, has been shown to be a perfectly natural circumstance, arising out of the antecedents of the French nation ; and an attempt has been made to explain what those antecedents were, and how they acted. In the present chapter I purpose to complete this inquiry by examining the next great stage in the history of the French mind. It was needful that, before both church and state could fall, men should change the ground of their hostility, and should attack political abuses with the zeal they had hitherto reserved for religious ones. The question, therefore, now arises as to the circumstances under which this change took place, and the period when it actually occurred.

The circumstances which accompanied this great change are, as we shall presently see, very complicated ; and, as they have never yet been studied in connexion with each other, I shall in the remaining part of this volume examine them at considerable length. On this point it will, I think, be practicable to arrive at some precise and well-defined results respecting the history of the French Revolution. But the other point, namely, the time at which the change took place, is not only much more obscure, but by its nature will never admit of complete precision. This, however, is a deficiency it possesses in common

[* This has not been shown above, and is not matter of fact. Much of the literature in no way connected itself with the government ; and we have the saying of Louis : "Toutes les fois que je donne une place vacante, je fais cent mécontents et un ingrat."—Ed.]

with every other change in the history of man. The circumstances of each change may always be known, provided the evidence is ample and authentic. But no amount of evidence can enable us to fix the date of the change itself. That to which attention is usually drawn by the compilers of history is not the change, but is merely the external result which follows the change. The real history of the human race is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind, and not of events which are discerned by the senses. It is on this account that no historical epoch will ever admit of that chronological precision familiar to antiquaries and genealogists. The death of a prince, the loss of a battle, and the change of a dynasty, are matters which fall entirely within the province of the senses; and the moment in which they happen can be recorded by the most ordinary observers. But those great intellectual revolutions upon which all other revolutions are based, cannot be measured by so simple a standard. To trace the movements of the human mind, it is necessary to contemplate it under several aspects, and then co-ordinate the results of what we have separately studied. By this means we arrive at certain general conclusions, which, like the ordinary estimate of averages, increase in value in proportion as we increase the number of instances from which they are collected. That this is a safe and available method, appears not only from the history of physical knowledge,[1] but also from the fact that it is the basis of the empirical maxims by which all men of sound understanding are guided in those ordinary transactions of life to which the generalizations of science have not yet been applied. Indeed such maxims, which are highly valuable, and which in their aggregate form what is called common sense, are never collected with anything like the precautions that the philosophic historian ought to feel himself bound to employ.

The real objection, therefore, to generalizations respecting the development of the intellect of a nation is, not that they want certainty, but that they lack precision. This is just the point at which the historian diverges from the annalist. That the English intellect, for example, is gradually becoming more democratic, or, as it is termed, more liberal, is as certain as that the crown of this country is worn by Queen Victoria. But though both these statements are equally certain, the latter statement is more precise. We can tell the very day on which the Queen ascended the throne; the moment of her death will be known with equal precision; and there can be no doubt that many other particulars respecting her will be minutely and accurately preserved. In tracing, however, the growth of English liberalism, all such exactness deserts us. We can point out the year in which the Reform Bill was passed; but who can point out the year in which the Reform Bill first became necessary? In the same way, that the Jews will be admitted into parliament, is as certain as that the Catholics have been admitted. Both these measures are the inevitable result of that increasing indifference to theological disputes, which must now be obvious to every man who does not wilfully shut his eyes. But while we know the hour in which the bill for Catholic emancipation received the assent of the crown, there is no one now living who can tell even the year in which similar justice will be granted to the Jews. The two events are equally certain, but they are not equally precise.

This distinction between certainty and precision I have stated at some length because it seems to be little understood,[2] and because it is intimately connected

[1] For a popular but able view of the value of averages in scientific inquiries, see *Herschel's Disc. on Nat. Philos.* pp. 215–219.

[2] As we see in the pretensions set forth by mathematicians, who often suppose that an amount of certainty can be attained in their own pursuits not to be found in any other. This error has probably arisen, as Locke suggests, from confusing clearness with certainty. *Essay on Human Understanding*, book iv. chap. ii. secs. 9 and 10, in *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 73, 74. See also *Comte, Philos. Pos.* vol. i. p. 103, where it is justly observed, that all branches of knowledge capable of being generalized into sciences admit of equal certainty, but not of equal precision: "si, d'après l'explication précédente, les diverses sciences doivent nécessairement présenter une précision très-inégale, il n'en est nullement ainsi de leur certitude." This is handled unsatisfactorily by Montucla (*Hist. des Mathémat.*

with the subject now before us. The fact of the French intellect having, during the eighteenth century, passed through two totally distinct epochs can be proved by every description of evidence ;* but it is impossible to ascertain the precise time when one epoch succeeded the other. All that we can do is, to compare the different indications which the history of that age presents, and arrive at an approximation which may guide future inquirers. It would perhaps be more prudent to avoid making any particular statement ; but as the employment of dates seems necessary to bring such matters clearly before the mind, I will, by way of provisional hypothesis, fix on the year 1750 as the period when those agitations of society which caused the French Revolution entered into their second and political stage.

That this was about the period when the great movement, hitherto directed against the church, began to be turned against the state,† is an inference which many circumstances seem to warrant. We know on the best authority that, towards the year 1750, the French began their celebrated inquiries respecting political economy,[3] and that in their attempt to raise it to a science they were led to perceive the immense injury which the interference of government had produced on the material interests of the country.[4] Hence a conviction arose that, even in regard to the accumulation of wealth, the authority possessed by the rulers of France was mischievous, since it enabled them, under the notion of protecting commerce, to trouble the freedom of individual action, and to prevent trade from running into those profitable channels which traders are best able to select for themselves. Scarcely had a knowledge of this important truth been diffused, when its consequences were quickly seen in the national literature and in the habits of national thought. The sudden increase in France of works

vol. i. p. 33), who says, that the principal cause of the peculiar certainty reached by the mathematician is that " d'une idée claire it ne déduit que des conséquences claires et incontestables." Similarly, Cudworth (*Intellect. System*, vol. iii. p. 377): "nay the very essence of truth here is this clear perceptibility, or intelligibility." On the other hand, Kant, a far deeper thinker, avoided this confusion, by making mathematical clearness the mark of a *kind* of certainty rather than of a *degree* of it : " Die mathematische Gewissheit heisst auch Evidenz,weil ein intuitives Erkenntniss klärer ist,als ein discursives. Obgleich also beides, das mathematische und das philosophische Vernunfterkenntniss, an sich gleich gewiss ist, so ist doch die Art der Gewissheit in beiden verschieden." *Logik, Einleitung*, sec. 9, in *Kant's Werke*, vol. i. p. 399. On the opinions of the ancients respecting certainty, compare *Matter, Hist. de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie*, vol. i. p. 195, with *Ritter's Hist. of Ancient Philos.* vol. ii. p. 46, vol. iii. pp. 74, 426, 427, 484, 614.

[3] " Vers 1750, deux hommes de génie, observateurs judicieux et profonds, conduits par une force d'attention très-soutenue à une logique rigoureuse, animés d'un noble amour pour la patrie et pour l'humanité, M. Quesnay et M. de Gournay, s'occupèrent avec suite de savoir si la nature des choses n'indiquerait pas une science de l'économie politique, et quels seraient les principes de cette science." *Additions aux Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iii. p. 310. M. Blanqui (*Hist. de l'Économie Politique*, vol. ii. p. 78) also says, " vers l'année 1750 ; " and Voltaire (*Dict. Philos.*, article *Blé*, in *Œuvres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 384) says, " vers l'an 1750, la nation, rassasiée de vers, de tragédies, de comédies, d'opéra, de romans, d'histoires romanesques, de réflexions morales plus romanesques encore, et de disputes théologiques sur la grace et sur les convulsions, se mit enfin à raisonner sur les blés."

[4] The revolutionary tendency of this economical movement is noticed in *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. pp. 184, 185 ; where, however, its commencement is erroneously assigned to " about the year 1761." See also, on the hostility this caused against government, *Mém. de Campan*, vol. i. pp. 7–8 ; *Mém. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 32 ; and *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. p. 193, vol. ii. p. 152.

[* Unfortunately for the argument, the allegation of " two totally distinct epochs," as we have seen, is a concrete error, refutable by precise evidence.—Ed.]

[† As has been noted above, p. 435, there were not two distinct stages. The great majority of the books attacking religion were produced after 1750, alongside of the political movement ; and the largest rate of output was between 1764 and 1770.—Ed.]

relating to finance and to other questions of government is indeed one of the most remarkable features of that age. With such rapidity did the movement spread, that we are told that soon after 1755 the economists effected a schism between the nation and the government;[5] and Voltaire, writing in 1759, complains that the charms of lighter literature were entirely neglected amidst the general zeal for these new studies.[6] It is not necessary to follow the subsequent history of this great change; nor need I trace the influence exercised shortly before the Revolution by the later economists, and particularly by Turgot, the most eminent of their leaders.[7] It is enough to say that within about twenty years after the movement was first clearly seen, the taste for economical and financial inquiries became so common that it penetrated those parts of society where habits of thought are not very frequent; since we find that, even in fashionable life, the conversation no longer turned upon new poems and new plays, but upon political questions and subjects immediately connected with them.[8] Indeed, when Necker in 1781 published his celebrated Report on the Finances of France, the eagerness to obtain it was beyond all bounds; six thousand copies were sold the first day; and the demand still increasing, two presses were kept constantly at work in order to satisfy the universal curiosity.[9] And what makes the democratic tendency of all this the more obvious is, that

[5] "D'ailleurs la nation s'étoit accoutumée à se séparer toujours de plus en plus de son gouvernement, en raison même de ce que ses écrivains avoient commencé à aborder les études politiques. C'étoit l'époque où la secte des économistes se donnoit le plus de mouvement, depuis que le marquis de Mirabeau avoit publié, en 1755, son *Ami des Hommes*." *Sismondi, Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxix. p. 269. Compare *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. ii. p. 58. In this same year, 1755, Goldsmith was in Paris, and was so struck by the progress of insubordination that he foretold the freedom of the people; though I need hardly say that he was not a man to understand the movement of the economists. *Prior's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. pp. 198, 199; *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i p. 66.

[6] In February, 1759, he writes to Madame du Boccage: "Il me paraît que les graces et le bon goût sont bannis de France, et ont cédé la place à la métaphysique embrouillée, à la politique des cerveaux creux, à des discussions énormes sur les finances, sur le commerce, sur la population, qui ne mettront jamais dans l'état ni un écu, ni un homme de plus." *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lx. p. 485. In 1763 (vol. lxiii. p. 204): "Adieu nos beaux arts, si les choses continuent comme elles sont. La rage des remontrances et des projets sur les finances a saisi la nation." Many of the ablest men being thus drawn off from mere literary pursuits, there began, about twenty years before the Revolution, a marked deterioration in style, particularly among prose writers. Compare *Lettres de Dudeffand à Walpole*, vol. ii. p. 358, vol. iii. pp. 163, 299; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. ii. p. 374, vol. v. p. 123, vol. viii. pp. 180, 275; *Mercier sur Rousseau*, vol. ii. p. 151.

[7] Georgel, who hated Turgot, says of him: "son cabinet et ses bureaux se transformèrent en ateliers où les économistes forgeoient leur système et leurs spéculations." *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. i. p. 406; see also *Blanqui, Hist. de l'Econ. Politique*, vol. ii. pp. 96–112; *Condorcet, Vie de Turgot*, pp. 32–35; *Twiss, Progress of Political Econ.* pp. 142 seq.

[8] Sismondi, under the year 1774, notices "les écrits innombrables que chaque jour voyoit éclore sur la politique, et qui avoient désormais remplacé dans l'intérêt des salons ces nouveautés littéraires, ces vers, ces anecdotes galantes, dont peu d'années auparavant le public étoit uniquement occupé." *Hist. des Français*, vol. xxix. p. 495; and a similar remark in *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 126.

[9] See the account, written in Feb., 1781, in *Grimm, Corr. Lit.* vol. xi., p. 260, where it is said of Necker's *Compte Rendu*, "La sensation qu'a faite cet ouvrage est, je crois, sans exemple; il s'en est débité plus de six mille exemplaires le jour même qu'il a paru, et depuis, le travail continuel de deux imprimeries n'a pu suffire encore aux demandes multipliées de la capitale, des provinces, et des pays étrangers." Ségur (*Souvenirs*, vol. i. p. 138) mentions, that Necker's work was "dans la poche de tous les abbés, et sur la toilette de toutes les dames." The daughter of Necker, Madame de Staël, says of her father's work, *Administration des Finances*, "on en vendit quatre vingt mille exemplaires," *De Staël sur la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 111.

Necker was at that time one of the servants of the crown ; so that his work, looking at its general spirit, has been truly called an appeal to the people against the king by one of the ministers of the king himself.[10]

This evidence of the remarkable change which, in or about 1750, the French mind underwent, and which formed what I term the second epoch of the eighteenth century, might be easily strengthened by a wider survey of the literature of that time. Immediately after the middle of the century, Rousseau published those eloquent works which exercised immense influence, and in which the rise of the new epoch is very observable ; for this most powerful writer abstained from those attacks on Christianity [11] which unhappily had been too frequent, and exerted himself almost exclusively against the civil and political abuses of the existing society.[12] To trace the effects which this wonderful, but in some instances misguided man produced on the mind of his own and of the succeeding generation, would occupy too large a share of this Introduction ; though the inquiry is full of interest, and is one which it were to be wished some competent historian would undertake.[13] Inasmuch, however, as the philosophy of Rousseau was itself only a single phase of a far larger movement, I shall at present pass over the individual, in order to consider the general spirit of an age in which he played a vast, but still a subsidiary part.

The formation of a new epoch in France, about the year 1750, may be further illustrated by three circumstances of considerable interest, all pointing in the same direction. The first circumstance is, that not a single great French writer attacked

[10] The expression of the Baron de Montyon : see *Adolphus's History of George III.*, vol. iv. p. 290 ; and on the revolutionary tendency of Necker's financial works, *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. ii. pp. xxxvii. xxxviii., vol. iv. pp. 18, 143. Necker published a justification of his book, "malgré la défense du roi." *Du Mesnil, Mém. sur Lebrun*, p. 108.

[11] So far as I remember, there is not a single instance in any of his works ; and those who assail him on this ground should adduce the passages on which they rely, instead of bringing vague general charges. Compare *Life of Rousseau*, in *Brougham's Men of Letters*, vol. i. p. 189 ; *Stäudlin, Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 442 ; *Mercier sur Rousseau*, 1791, vol. i. pp. 27–32, vol. ii. pp. 279, 280. [In the *Contrat Social* (l. iv. ch. 8.), Rousseau writes that "the Christian law is at bottom more injurious than useful to the sound constitution of the State" ; and the *Confession of Faith of a Savoyard Vicar* in the *Emile* was regarded by the clergy as an attack on revelation, and denounced accordingly.—Ed.]

[12] "Rousseau, qui déjà en 1753 avoit touché aux bases mêmes de la société humaine, dans son *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*." *Sismondi*, vol. xxix. p. 270. Schlosser (*Hist. of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 138) notices "the entirely new system of absolute democracy which was brought forward by J. J. Rousseau" ; see also p. 289, and *Soulavie, Régne de Louis XVI*, vol. v. p. 208.

[13] Napoleon said to Stanislas Girardin respecting Rousseau, "sans lui la France n'auroit pas eu de révolution." *Holland's Foreign Reminiscences*, Lond. 1850, p. 261. This is certainly an exaggeration ; but the influence of Rousseau was, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, most extraordinary. In 1765, Hume writes from Paris : "It is impossible to express or imagine the enthusiasm of this nation in his favour ; . . . no person ever so much engaged their attention as Rousseau. Voltaire and everybody else are quite eclipsed by him." *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. ii p. 299. A letter written in 1754 (in *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. i. p. 122) says that his Dijon Discourse "fit une espèce de révolution à Paris." The circulation of his works was unprecedented ; and when *La Nouvelle Héloïse* appeared, "les libraires ne pouvaient suffire aux demandes de toutes les classes. On louait l'ouvrage à tant par jour, ou par heure. Quand il parut, on exigeait douze sous par volume, en n'accordant que soixante minutes pour le lire." *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. ii. p. 361. For further evidence of the effect produced by his works, see *Lerminier, Philos. du Droit*, vol. ii. p. 251 ; *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. p. 196, vol. ii. pp. 337, 359 ; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. v. p. 193, vol. vi. p. 14 ; *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. p. 170, vol. iii. p. 369, vol. iv. p. 376 : *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 116 ; *Longchamp, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. ii. p. 50 ; *Life of Romilly*, vol. i. p. 267 ; *Mem. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 127 ;

the political institutions of the country before the middle of the century ;* while after that period, the attacks of the ablest men were incessant. The second circumstance is, that the only eminent Frenchmen who continued to assail the clergy, and yet refused to interfere in politics, were those who, like Voltaire, had already reached an advanced age, and had, therefore, drawn their ideas from the preceding generation, in which the church had been the sole object of hostility. The third circumstance, which is even more striking than the other two, is that almost at the same moment there was seen a change in the policy of the government ; since, singularly enough, the ministers of the crown displayed for the first time an open enmity against the church, just as the intellect of the country was preparing for its decisive onslaught on the government itself. Of these three propositions, the first two will probably be admitted by every student of French literature : at all events, if they are false, they are so exact and peremptory that it will be easy to refute them by giving examples to the contrary. But the third proposition, being more general, is less susceptible of a negative, and will therefore require the support of that special evidence which I will now adduce.

The great French writers having by the middle of the eighteenth century succeeded in sapping the foundations of the church,† it was natural that the government should step in and plunder an establishment which the course of events had weakened. This, which took place in France under Louis XV., was similar to what occurred in England under Henry VIII. ; for in both cases a remarkable intellectual movement, directed against the clergy, preceded and facilitated the attacks made on them by the crown. It was in 1749 that the French government took the first decisive step against the church. And what proves the hitherto backward state of the country in such matters is that this consisted of an edict against mortmain, a simple contrivance for weakening the ecclesiastical power, which we in England had adopted long before. Machault, who had recently been raised to the office of controller-general, has the glory of being the originator of this new policy. In August, 1749, [14] he issued that celebrated edict which forbade the formation of any religious establishment without the consent of the crown, duly expressed in letters-patent, and registered in parliament ; effective precautions, which, says the great historian of France, show that Machault "considered not only the increase but even the existence of these ecclesiastical properties, as a mischief to the kingdom."[15]

This was an extraordinary step on the part of the French government ; but

Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 482 ; *Cassagnac, Causes de la Rév.* vol. iii. p. 549 ; *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins.* vol. ii. p. 38, vol. iv. p. 93, vol. viii. p. 125 ; *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, in *Göthe's Werke*, Stuttgart, 1837, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 83, 104 ; *Grimm, Correspond. Lit.* vol. xii. p. 222 ; *De Staël, Consid. sur la Rév.* vol. ii. p. 371.

[14] Sismondi (xxix. p. 20), Lacretelle (*XVIIIe Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 110), and Tocqueville (*Règne de Louis XV*, vol. ii. p. 103), give the date 1749 ; so that 1747, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. v. 46, is apparently a misprint.

[15] "Laissant voir dans toute cette loi, qui est assez longue, qu'il regardoit non-seulement l'accroissement, mais l'existence de ces propriétés ecclésiastiques, comme un mal pour le royaume." *Sismondi, Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxix. p. 21. This, I suppose, is the edict mentioned by Turgot, who wished to push the principle still further. *Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. iii. pp. 254, 255 ; a bold and striking passage.

[* It is obvious that no book attacking the political institutions of the country *could be published* at that period ; but the Marquis d'Argenson had *written* before 1739 his *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de France*, in which he argued for decentralisation, municipal and cantonal councils, free trade, and a more careful choice of officials. Before him, Vauban and Bois-Guillebert had striven for economic reforms, and Fénelon for political. Cp. Duruy, *Hist. de France*, ii. 418. The statement in the next clause, that "the attacks of the ablest men were incessant," is an extreme exaggeration.—Ed.]

[† See notes on pp. 435, 473, 487.—Ed.]

what followed showed that it was only the beginning of a much larger design.[16] Machault, so far from being discountenanced, was, the year after he had issued this edict, intrusted with the seals in addition to the controllership ;[17] for, as Lacretelle observes, the court " thought the time had now come to tax the property of the clergy."[18] During the forty years which elapsed between this period and the beginning of the Revolution, the same anti-ecclesiastical policy prevailed. Among the successors of Machault, the only three of much ability were Choiseul, Necker, and Turgot, all of whom were strenuous opponents of that spiritual body which no minister would have assailed in the preceding generation. Not only these eminent statesmen, but even such inferior men as Calonne, Malesherbes, and Terray, looked on it as a stroke of policy to attack privileges which superstition had consecrated, and which the clergy had hitherto reserved, partly to extend their own influence, and partly to minister to those luxurious and profligate habits which in the eighteenth century were a scandal to the ecclesiastical order.*

While these measures were being adopted against the clergy, another important step was taken in precisely the same direction. Now it was that the government began to favour that great doctrine of religious liberty, the mere defence of which it had hitherto punished as a dangerous speculation. The connexion between the attacks on the clergy and the subsequent progress of toleration may be illustrated not only by the rapidity with which one event succeeded the other, but also by the fact that both of them emanated from the same quarter. Machault, who was the author of the edict of mortmain, was also the first minister who showed a wish to protect the Protestants against the persecutions of the Catholic priesthood.[19] In this he only partly succeeded ; but the impetus thus given soon became irresistible. In 1760, that is only nine years later, there was seen a marked change in the administration of the laws ; and the edicts against heresy, though not yet repealed, were enforced with unprecedented mildness.[20] The movement

[16] Mably mentions the excitement caused by this proceeding of Machault, *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, vol. ii. p. 415 : " On attaqua alors, dans plusieurs écrits, les immunités du clergé." On the dislike felt by the clergy against the minister, see *Ségur, Souvenirs*, vol. i. p. 35 ; *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. i. pp. 283, 310, vol. ii. p. 146.

[17] In 1750, " Machault obtint les sceaux en conservant le contrôle-général." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 46.

[18] " Croyait surtout que le temps était venu d'imposer les biens du clergé." *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 107. Nearly the same words are used in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 46.

[19] On which account, he still further provoked the indignation of the Catholic clergy. See *Felice, Hist. of the Protest. of France*, pp. 401, 402 ; a letter written in 1751.

[20] " The approach of the year 1760 witnessed a sensible relaxation of persecution. . . . The clergy perceived this with dismay ; and, in their general assembly of 1760, they addressed urgent remonstrances to the king against this remission of the laws." *Felice, Protest. of France*, p. 422. Comp. an interesting letter from Nismes in 1776, in *Thicknesse's Journey through France*, London, 1777, vol. i. p. 66. [Felice, however, goes on to tell how in 1762 the pastor Rochette was hanged and the three Greniers beheaded at Toulouse on charges of contravention of laws as to religious assemblies, and of constructive sedition ; and how in the same year and at the same place, the aged Jean Calas was broken on the wheel on an improbable charge, proved later to be false. In the same year, Sirven escaped the same fate at the same place on a similar charge only by flight ; and in 1766, La Barre, a lad of eighteen, was executed at Amiens on a trumped-up charge of blasphemy. It was from this period that there began the fiercest polemic against religion, Voltaire taking for its motto *Ecrasez l'infâme*.—Ed.]

[* The anti-clerical policy of Machault was so on purely fiscal grounds, there being no other practicable way of helping the revenues. It was the financial straits of the State that forced an ever-increasing discussion and resentment, the burden of taxation having more than doubled since the previous reign, while the resources of the taxpayers had not. Cp. Duruy, ii. 395, 402, 407, 411, 415, 419.—Ed.]

quickly spread from the capital to the remoter parts of the kingdom ; and we are assured that after the year 1762 the reaction was felt even in those provinces, which, from their backward condition, had always been most remarkable for religious bigotry.[21] At the same time, as we shall presently see, a great schism arose in the church itself, which lessened the power of the clergy, by dividing them into two hostile parties. Of these factions, one made common cause with the state, still further aiding the overthrow of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Indeed, the dissensions became so violent that the last great blow dealt to spiritual ascendency by the government of Louis XVI. proceeded not from the hands of a layman, but from one of the leaders of the church ; a man who, from his standing, would under ordinary circumstances have protected the interests which he now eagerly attacked. In 1787, only two years before the Revolution, Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse,[22] who was then minister, laid before the parliament of Paris a royal edict by which the discouragement hitherto thrown upon heresy was suddenly removed. By this law the Protestants were invested with all those civil rights which the Catholic clergy had long held out as the reward of adherence to their own opinions.[23] It was therefore natural that the more orthodox party should condemn, as an impious innovation,[24] a measure which, by placing the two sects in some degree on the same footing, seemed to sanction the progress of error ; and which certainly deprived the French church of one of the chief attractions by which men had hitherto been induced to join her communion. Now, however, all these considerations were set at naught. Such was the prevailing temper, that the parliament, though then in a mood very refractory to the royal authority, did not hesitate to register the edict of the king ; and this great measure became law ; the dominant party being astonished, we are told, that any doubt could be entertained as to the wisdom of the principles on which it was based.[25]

These were omens of the coming storm ; signs of the time, which those who run may read. Nor are there wanting other marks by which the true complexion of that age may be clearly seen. In addition to what has been just related, the government, soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, inflicted a direct and fatal injury upon the spiritual authority. This consisted in the expulsion of the Jesuits ; which is an event important not only for its ultimate effects but also as an evidence of the feelings of men, and of what could be peaceably accomplished by the government of him who was called " the most Christian king."[26]

[21] Sismondi says of 1762, " Dès lors, la réaction de l'opinion publique contre l'intolérance pénétra jusque dans les provinces les plus fanatiques." *Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxix. p. 296. See also a letter to Damilaville, dated 6th of May, 1765, in *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. i. p. 412 ; and two other letters in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. lxiv. p. 225, vol. lxvi. p. 417.

[22] Of whom Hume, several years before, had formed a very high opinion. See *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 497 ; a too favourable judgment, which should be contrasted with the opposite exaggerations, in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. ix. pp. 360–363, and *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. pp. 87, 199.

[23] *Lavallée, Hist. des Franç.* iii. p. 516 ; *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxiv. p. 656.

[24] *Georgel, Mémoires*, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294 ; a violent outbreak against " l'irréligieux édit . . . . qui autorise tous les cultes."

[25] " Le parlement de Paris discutait l'édit sur les protestans. Vingt ans plus tôt, combien une telle résolution n'eût-elle pas agité et divisé les esprits ? En 1787, on ne s'étonnait que d'une chose : c'était qu'il put y avoir une discussion sur des principes évidens." *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. iii. pp. 342, 343. In 1776, Malesherbes, who was then minister, wished to secure nearly the same privileges for the Protestants, but was prevented from doing so. *Dutens, Mémoires*, vol. ii. pp. 56–58. Dutens was himself concerned in the negotiation.

[26] Henry II. used to refer to this title, by way of justifying his persecution of the Protestants (*Ranke's Civil Wars in France*, vol. i. p. 241) ; and great account was made of it by that exemplary prince, Louis XV. *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. i. p. 155. The French antiquaries trace it back to Pepin, the father of Charlemagne. *Barrington's Observations on the Statutes*, p. 168.

The Jesuits, for at least fifty years after their institution, rendered immense services to civilization, partly by tempering with a secular element the more superstitious views of their great predecessors, the Dominicans and Franciscans, and partly by organizing a system of education far superior to any yet seen in Europe. In no university could there be found a scheme of instruction so comprehensive as theirs; and certainly nowhere was displayed such skill in the management of youth, or such insight into the general operations of the human mind. It must in justice be added that this illustrious society, notwithstanding its eager and often unprincipled ambition, was during a considerable period the steady friend of science * as well as of literature; and that it allowed to its members a freedom and a boldness of speculation which had never been permitted by any other monastic order.

As, however, civilization advanced, the Jesuits, like every spiritual hierarchy the world has yet seen, began to lose ground; and this not so much from their own decay as from a change in the spirit of those who surrounded them. An institution admirably adapted to an early form of society was ill suited to the same society in its maturer state. In the sixteenth century the Jesuits were before their age; in the eighteenth century they were behind it. In the sixteenth century they were the great missionaries of knowledge; because they believed that by its aid they could subjugate the consciences of men. But in the eighteenth century their materials were more refractory; they had to deal with a perverse and stiff-necked generation; they saw in every country the ecclesiastical authority rapidly declining; and they clearly perceived that their only chance of retaining their old dominion was by checking that knowledge the progress of which they had formerly done much to accelerate.[27]

Under these circumstances, the statesmen of France, almost immediately after the middle of the eighteenth century, determined to ruin an order which had long ruled the world, and which was still the greatest bulwark of the church. In this design they were aided by a curious movement which had taken place in the church itself, and which, being connected with views of much wider import, deserves the attention even of those for whom theological controversies have no interest.

Among the many points on which metaphysicians have wasted their strength, that of free-will has provoked the hottest disputes. And what has increased the acerbity of their language is that this, which is eminently a metaphysical question, has been taken up by theologians, who have treated it with that warmth for which they are remarkable.[28] From the time of Pelagius, if not earlier,[29]

[27] The Prince de Montbarey, who was educated by the Jesuits about 1740, says that, in their schools, the greatest attention was paid to pupils intended for the church; while the abilities of those destined for secular professions were neglected. See this statement, which, coming from such a quarter, is very remarkable, in *Mémoires de Montbarey*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13. Montbarey, so far from being prejudiced against the Jesuits, ascribes the Revolution to their overthrow. *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 94. For other evidence of the exclusive and unsecular character of their education in the eighteenth century, see *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv. pp. 29, 30, 245.

[28] See some singular observations in Parr's first sermon on faith and morals (*Parr's Works*, vol. vi. p. 598), where we are told that, in the management of the feud between Calvinists and Arminians, "the steadiness of defence should be proportionate to the impetuosity of assault;" unnecessary advice, so far as his own profession is concerned. However, the Mohammedan theologians are said to have been even keener than the Christians on this subject. See *Troyer's Discourse on the Dabistan*, vol. i. p. cxxxv.; an important work on the Asiatic religions.

[29] Neander (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. iv. p. 105) finds the germ of the Pelagian controversy in the dispute between Athanasius and Apollinaris. Compare, respecting its origin, a note in *Milman's Hist. of Christianity*, 1840, vol. iii. pp. 270, 271.

[* It would be more accurate to say that many Jesuits cultivated the sciences. They were none the less the persecutors of Galileo, and they sought to have the *Discours* of Descartes condemned.—Ed.]

Christianity has been divided into two great sects, which, though in some respects uniting by insensible shades, have always preserved the broad features of their original difference. By one sect, the freedom of the will is virtually and often expressly denied; for it is asserted, not only that we cannot of our own will effect anything meritorious, but that whatever good we may do will be useless, since the Deity has predestined some men to perdition, others to salvation. By the other sect, the freedom of the will is as strongly upheld; good works are declared essential to salvation; and the opposite party is accused of exaggerating that state of grace of which faith is a necessary accompaniment.[30]

These opposite principles, when pushed to their logical consequences, must lead the first sect into antinomianism,[31] and the second sect into the doctrine of supererogatory works.[32] But since, on such subjects, men feel far more than they reason, it usually happens that they prefer following some common and accredited standard, or appealing to some ancient name:[33] and they therefore generally class themselves on the one side under Augustin, Calvin, and Jansenius; on the other side under Pelagius, Arminius, and Molina.

Now it is an interesting fact that the doctrines which in England are called Calvinistic have been always connected with a democratic spirit; while those of Arminianism have found most favour among the aristocratic or protective party. In the republics of Switzerland, of North America, and of Holland, Calvinism was always the popular creed.[34] On the other hand, in those evil days immediately after the death of Elizabeth, when our liberties were in imminent peril; when the Church of England, aided by the crown, attempted to subjugate the consciences of men; and when the monstrous claim of the divine right of episcopacy was first put forward;[35]—then it was that Arminianism became the cherished doctrine of the ablest and most ambitious of the ecclesiastical party[36]

[30] No writer I have met with has stated so fairly and clearly the theological boundaries of these doctrines as Göthe. *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, in *Werke*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 200, Stuttgart, 1837.

[31] Compare *Butler's Mem. of the Catholics*, vol. iii. p. 224; *Copleston on Necessity and Predestination*, pp. 25, 26; *Mosheim's Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 254.

[32] Hence the theory of indulgences, constructed by the Church of Rome with perfect consistency, and against which most of the Protestant arguments are illogical.

[33] This seems to be the natural tendency, and has been observed by Neander in his instructive account of the Gnostics, *History of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 121: "The custom with such sects to attach themselves to some celebrated name or other of antiquity."

[34] The Dutch church was the first which adopted as an article of faith the doctrine of election held at Geneva. *Mosheim's Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 112. See also, on this doctrine in the Netherlands, *Sinclair's Corresp.* vol. ii. p. 199; *Coventry's Speech in* 1672, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 537; and *Stäudlin, Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*. vol. i. p. 262: "In den Niederlanden wurde der Calvinische Lehrbegriff zuerst in eine scholastische Form gebracht."

As to the Calvinism of North America, compare *Bancroft's American Revolution*, vol. i. pp. 165, 173, 174, vol. ii. pp. 329, 363, vol. iii. p. 213; *Lyell's Second Visit to the United States*, 1849, vol. i. p. 51; and *Combe's Notes on the United States*, vol. i. pp. 35, 99, 223, vol. iii. pp. 88, 118, 219, 226.

[35] It is sometimes said that this was advocated by Bancroft as early as 1588; but this assertion appears to be erroneous, and Mr. Hallam can find no instance before the reign of James I. *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 390. The dogma, though new in the Church of England, was of great antiquity. See, on its origin among the early Christians, *Klimrath, Hist. du Droit*, vol. i. p. 253.

[36] The spread of Arminianism was frequently noticed in parliament during the reign of Charles I. *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. pp. 444, 452, 455, 470, 484, 487, 491, 660, 947, 1368. On the decline of Calvinism at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge early in the seventeenth century, see a curious letter from Beale in *Boyle's Works*, vol. v. p. 483; and on this movement in the church after Elizabeth, compare *Yonge's Diary*, p. 93. edit. Camden Soc. 1848; *Orme's Life of Owen*, p. 32; *Harris's Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. i. pp. 154–156, vol. ii. pp. 208, 213, 214; *Hutchinson's Mem.* pp. 66, 77; *Hallam's Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 466; *Des Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth*, p. 112.

And in that sharp retribution which followed, the Puritans and Independents, by whom the punishment was inflicted, were with scarcely an exception Calvinists: [37] nor should we forget that the first open movement against Charles proceeded from Scotland, where the principles of Calvin had long been in the ascendant.

This different tendency of these two creeds is so clearly marked, that an inquiry into its causes becomes a necessary part of general history, and, as we shall presently see, is intimately connected with the history of the French Revolution.

The first circumstance by which we must be struck is, that Calvinism is a doctrine for the poor, and Arminianism for the rich. A creed which insists upon the necessity of faith must be less costly than one which insists upon the necessity of works. In the former case, the sinner seeks salvation by the strength of his belief; in the latter case, he seeks it by the fulness of his contributions.* And as those contributions, wherever the clergy have much power, always flow in the same direction, we find that in countries which favour the Arminian doctrine of works the priests are better paid, and the churches more richly ornamented, than they are where Calvinism has the upper hand. Indeed it is evident to the most vulgar calculation that a religion which concentrates our charity upon ourselves is less expensive than one which directs our charity to others.

This is the first great practical divergence of the two creeds: a divergence which may be verified by any one who is acquainted with the histories of different Christian nations, or who has even travelled in countries where the different tenets are professed. It is also observable that the Church of Rome, whose worship is addressed mainly to the senses, and who delights in splendid cathedrals and pompous ceremonies, has always displayed against the Calvinists an animosity far greater than she has done against any other Protestant sect.[38]

Out of these circumstances inevitably arose the aristocratic tendency of Arminianism, and the democratic tendency of Calvinism. The people love pomp and pageantry as much as the nobles do, but they do not love to pay for them. Their untutored minds are easily captivated by the array of a numerous priesthood, and by the gorgeousness of a well-appointed temple. Still, they know full well that these things absorb a large part of that wealth which would otherwise flow into their own cottages. On the other hand, the aristocracy, by their standing, their habits, and the traditions of their education, naturally contract a taste for expense, which makes them unite splendour with religion, and connect pomp with piety. Besides this, they have an intuitive and well-founded belief that their own interests are associated with the interests of the priesthood, and that whatever weakens the one will hasten the downfall of the other. Hence it is that every Christian democracy has simplified its external worship; every Christian aristocracy has embellished it. By a parity of reasoning, the more any society tends to equality, the more likely it is that its theological opinions will be Calvinistic; while the more a society tends towards inequality, the greater the probability of those opinions being Arminian.

[37] Respecting the Calvinism of the opponents of the king, see *Clarendon's Rebellion*, pp. 36, 37; *Bulstrode's Memoirs*, pp. 8, 9; *Burton's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 206; *Carlyle's Cromwell*, vol. i. p. 68; and on its influence in the House of Commons, in 1628, *Carwithen's Hist. of the Church of England*, vol. ii. p. 64.

[38] Heber (*Life of Jeremy Taylor*, p. cxx.) says that Calvinism is "a system of all others the least attractive to the feelings of a Roman Catholic." Philip II., the great Catholic champion, especially hated the Calvinists, and in one of his edicts calls their sect "detestable." *De Thou, Hist.* vol. x. p. 705: compare vol. xi. p. 458. To give an earlier instance: when the Roman inquisition was revived in 1542, it was ordered that heretics, and in particular Calvinists, should not be tolerated: "besonders Calvinisten." *Ranke, Die Päpste*, vol. i. p. 211.

[* This is hardly a fair account of Arminianism. It was a natural reaction against the antinomian tendencies of popular Calvinism; and its adherents certainly did not in general hope to secure salvation by large "contributions."—Ed.]

It would be easy to push this contrast still further, and to show that Calvinism is more favourable to the sciences, Arminianism to the arts ;[39] and that, on the same principle, the first is better suited to thinkers, the other to scholars.[40] But without pretending to trace the whole of this divergence, it is very important to observe that the professors of the former religion are more likely to acquire habits of independent thinking that those of the latter. And this on two distinct grounds. In the first place, even the most ordinary of the Calvinistic party are, by the very terms of their creed, led in religious matters to fix their attention on their own minds rather than on the minds of others. They therefore, as a body, are intellectually more narrow than their opponents, but less servile ; their views, though generalized from a smaller field, are more independent ; they are less attached to antiquity, and more heedless of those traditions to which the Arminian scholars attach great importance. In the second place, those who associate metaphysics with their religion are led by Calvinism into the doctrine of necessity ;[41] a theory which, though often misunderstood, is pregnant with great truths, and is better calculated than any other system to develop the intellect, because it involves that clear conception of law, the attainment of which is the highest point the human understanding can reach.

These considerations will enable the reader to see the immense importance of that revival of Jansenism which took place in the French church during the eighteenth century. For, Jansenism being essentially Calvinistic,[42] those tendencies appeared in France by which Calvinism is marked. There appeared the inquisitive, democratic, and insubordinate spirit, which has always accompanied

[39] By way of illustrating this, I may mention that an intelligent observer, who travelled all through Germany, remarked in 1780 that the Calvinists, though richer than their opponents, had less taste for the arts. *Riesbeck's Travels through Germany*, London, 1787, vol. ii. p. 240. An interesting passage ; in which, however, the author has shown himself unable to generalize the facts which he indicates. [It has been stated above that the Arminians are usually the rich and Calvinists usually the poor. If Germany be an exception, an explanation is needed. There, Calvinism had from the first been a choice of princes and not of people (Gardiner, *Thirty Years' War*, p. 17), apparently because the popular mind was given to Lutheranism beforehand.—ED.]

[40] The Arminians have had among them many men of great learning, particularly of patristic learning ; but the most profound thinkers have been on the other side, as in the instances of Augustin, Pascal, and Jonathan Edwards. To these Calvinistic metaphysicians the Arminian party can oppose no one of equal ability ; and it is remarkable that the Jesuits, by far the most zealous Arminians in the Romish Church, have always been celebrated for their erudition, but have paid so little attention to the study of the mind that, as Sir James Mackintosh says (*Dissert. on Ethical Philos.* p. 185), Buffier is " the only Jesuit whose name has a place in the history of abstract philosophy." And it is interesting to observe that this superiority of thought on the part of the Calvinists, accompanied by an inferiority of learning, existed from the beginning ; for Neander (*History of the Church*, vol. iv. p. 299) remarks, that Pelagius " was not possessed of the profound speculative spirit which we find in Augustin," but that " in learning he was Augustin's superior."

[41] " A philosophical necessity, grounded on the idea of God's foreknowledge, has been supported by theologians of the Calvinistic school, more or less rigidly, throughout the whole of the present century." *Morell's Speculative Philosophy of Europe*, 1846, vol. i. p. 366. Indeed this tendency is so natural that we find the doctrine of necessity, or something extremely like it, laid down by Augustin. See the interesting extracts in *Neander's Hist. of the Church*, vol. vi. pp. 424, 425 ; where, however, a loophole is left to let in the idea of interference, or at all events of superintendence.

[42] " The five principal tenets of Jansenism, which amount in fact to the doctrine of Calvin." *Palmer on the Church*, vol. i. p. 320 ; and see the remarks of Mackintosh in his *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 411. According to the Jesuits, " Paulus genuit Augustinum, Augustinus Calvinum, Calvinus Jansenium, Jansenius Sancryanum, Sancryanus Arnaldum et fratres ejus." *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. iv. pp. 71, 72. Compare *Huetius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, p. 64 : " Jansenium dogmata sua ex Calvinianis fontibus derivasse."

that creed. A further confirmation of the truth of the principles just laid down is that Jansenism originated with a native of the Dutch Republic ; [43] that it was introduced into France during the glimpse of freedom which preceded the power of Louis XIV. ; [44] that it was forcibly repressed in his arbitrary reign ; [45] and that before the middle of the eighteenth century it again arose, as the natural product of a state of society by which the French Revolution was brought about.

The connexion between the revival of Jansenism and the destruction of the Jesuits, is obvious. After the death of Louis XIV., the Jansenists rapidly gained ground, even in the Sorbonne ; [46] and by the middle of the eighteenth century they had organized a powerful party in the French parliament.[47] About the same period, their influence began to show itself in the executive government and among the officers of the crown. Machault, who held the important post of controller-general, was known to favour their opinions ; [48] and a few years after his retirement Choiseul was called to the head of affairs ; a man of considerable ability, by whom they were openly protected.[49] Their views were likewise supported by Laverdy, controller-general in 1764, and by Terray, controller of finances in 1769.[50] The procureur-general, Gilbert des Voisins, was a Jansenist ; [51] so also was one of his successors, Chauvelin ; [52] and so was the advocate-general, Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau ;[53] and so too was Camus, the well-known advocate of the clergy.[54] Turgot, the greatest statesman of the age, is said to have embraced the same opinions ; [55] while Necker, who on two different occasions possessed almost supreme power, was notoriously a rigid Calvinist. To this may be added, that not only Necker, but also Rousseau, to whom a large share in causing the Revolution is justly ascribed, were born in Geneva, and drew their earliest ideas from that great nursery of the Calvinistic theology.

In such a state of things as this, it was impossible that a body like the Jesuits should hold their ground. They were the last defenders of authority and

[43] Jansenius was born in a village near Leerdam, and was educated, if I mistake not, in Utrecht.

[44] The introduction of Jansenism into France is superficially related by Duvernet (*Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. ii. pp. 170–175) ; but the reader will find a contemporary and highly characteristic account in *Mém. de Motteville*, vol. ii. pp. 224–227. The connexion between it and the spirit of insubordination was remarked at the time ; and Des Réaux, who wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century, mentions an opinion that the Fronde "étoit venue du Jansénisme." *Historiettes*, vol. iv. p. 72 Omer Talon too says that, in 1648, "il se trouvoit que tous ceux qui étoient de cette opinion n'aimoient pas le gouvernement présent de l'état." *Mém. d'Omer Talon*, vol. ii. pp. 280, 281.

[45] Brienne, who knew Louis XIV. personally, says, "Jansénisme, l'horreur du roi." *Mém. de Brienne*, vol. ii. p. 240. Compare *Duclos, Mém. Secrets*, vol. i. p. 112. At the end of his reign he promoted a bishop on the avowed ground of his opposition to the Jansenists ; this was in 1713. *Lettres inédites de Maintenon*, vol. ii. pp. 396, 406 ; and see further vol. i. pp. 220, 222.

[46] "La Sorbonne, moliniste sous Louis XIV, fut janséniste sous le régent, et toujours divisée." *Duvernet, Hist. de la Sorbonne*, vol. ii. p. 225.

[47] On the strength of the Jansenists in the parliament of Paris, see *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. i. p. 352, vol. ii. p. 176 ; *Flassan, Diplomatie*, vol. vi. p. 486 ; *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. ii. p. 262 ; *Mém. de Bouillé*, vol. i. p. 67 ; *Palmer's Treatise on the Church*, vol. i. pp. 327, 328.

[48] *Lavallée, Hist. des Français*, vol. iii. p. 439.

[49] *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. i. pp. 31, 145.

[50] *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. ii. p. 385 ; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. liv. p. 275 ; *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. i. pp. 49–51.

[51] *Duvernet, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 90.

[52] *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. ii. p. 119 ; *Lavallée*, vol. iii. p. 477.

[53] *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. i. p. 57.

[54] *La Fayette, Mém.* vol. ii. p. 53 ; *Dumont, Souvenirs*, p. 154 ; *Georgel*, vol. ii. p. 353, vol. iii. p. 10.

[55] *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. iii. p. 137.

tradition,* and it was natural that they should fall in an age when statesmen were sceptics, and theologians were Calvinists. Even the people had already marked them for destruction; and when Damiens, in 1757, attempted to assassinate the king, it was generally believed that they were the instigators of the act.[56] this we now know to be false; but the existence of such a rumour is evidence of the state of the popular mind. At all events, the doom of the Jesuits was fixed. In April, 1761, parliament ordered their constitutions to be laid before them.[57] In August, they were forbidden to receive novices, their colleges were closed, and a number of their most celebrated works were publicly burned by the common hangman.[58] Finally, in 1762, another edict appeared, by which the Jesuits were condemned without even being heard in their own defence; [59] their property was directed to be sold, and their order secularized; they were declared "unfit to be admitted into a well-governed country," and their institute and society were formally abolished.[60]

Such was the way in which this great society, long the terror of the world, fell before the pressure of public opinion. What makes its fall the more remarkable is that the pretext which was alleged to justify the examination of its constitutions, was one so slight, that no former government would have listened to it for a single moment. This immense spiritual corporation was actually tried by a temporal court for ill faith in a mercantile transaction, and for refusing to pay a sum of money said to be due! [61] The most important body in the Catholic church, the spiritual leaders of France, the educators of her youth, and the confessors of her kings, were brought to the bar, and sued in their collective capacity, for the fraudulent repudiation of a common debt! [62] So marked was the predisposition of affairs that it was not found necessary to employ for the destruction of the Jesuits any of those arts by which the popular mind is commonly inflamed. The charge upon which they were sentenced was not that they had plotted against the state; nor that they had corrupted the public morals; nor that they wished to subvert religion. These were the accusations which were brought in the seventeenth century, and which suited the genius of that age. But, in the eighteenth century, all that was required was some trifling accident that might serve as a pretence to justify what the nation had already determined. To ascribe, therefore, this great event to the

[56] "The Jesuits are charged by the vulgar as promoters of that attempt." Letter from Stanley, written in 1761, in *Chatham Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 127. Compare *Campan, Mém. de Marie Antoinette,* vol. iii. pp. 19, 21; *Sismondi, Hist. des Franç.* vol. xxix, pp. 111, 227. [The damaging circumstance was that the Jesuit Busenbaum had justified regicide in a work of which an edition appeared in 1757. D'Alembert, *Des Jésuites,* ed. 1821, p. 226. See Nicolini, *History of the Jesuits,* 1853, p. 346, as to the beliefs of Louis XV. on the subject.—Ed.]

[57] *Lavallée, Hist. des Français,* vol. iii. p. 476.

[58] *Flassan, Diplomatie Franç.* vol. vi. p. 491.

[59] "Sans que les accusés eussent été entendus." *Lavallée,* vol. iii. p. 477. "Pas un seul n'a été entendu dans leur cause." *Barruel sur l'Hist. du Jacobinisme,* vol. ii. p. 264.

[60] *Lavallée,* vol. iii. p. 477; *Flassan,* vol. vi. pp. 504, 505; *Sismondi,* xxix. p. 234; and the letters written by Diderot, who, though he was in Paris at the time, gives rather an incomplete account. *Mém. de Diderot,* vol. ii. pp. 127, 130–132.

[61] *Flassan, Hist. de la Diplomatie,* vol. vi. pp. 486–488.

[62] "Enfin ils furent mis en cause, et le parlement de Paris eut l'étonnement et la joie de voir les jésuites amenés devant lui comme de vils banqueroutiers." *Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle,* vol. ii. p. 252. "Condemned in France as fraudulent traders." *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century,* vol. iv. p. 451.

[* This statement requires to be modified. The Jansenists were just as anxious as the Jesuits to defend religious authority and tradition; and an authoritarian party was never absent from either the church or the laity.—Ed.]

bankruptcy of a trader, or the intrigues of a mistress,[63] is to confuse the cause of an act with the pretext under which the act is committed. In the eyes of the men of the eighteenth century, the real crime of the Jesuits was that they belonged to the past rather than to the present, and that by defending the abuses of ancient establishments they obstructed the progress of mankind. They stood in the way of the age, and the age swept them from its path.* This was the real cause of their abolition : a cause not likely to be perceived by those writers who, under the guise of historians, are only collectors of the prattle and gossip of courts ; and who believe that the destinies of great nations can be settled in the ante-chambers of ministers, and in the councils of kings.

After the fall of the Jesuits, there seemed to be nothing remaining which could save the French church from immediate destruction.[64] The old theological spirit had been for some time declining, and the clergy were suffering from their own decay even more than from the attacks made upon them. The advance of knowledge was producing in France the same results as those which I have pointed out in England ; and the increasing attractions of science drew off many illustrious men, who in a preceding age would have been active members of the spiritual profession. That splendid eloquence for which the French clergy had been remarkable was now dying away, and there were no longer heard the voices of those great orators, at whose bidding the temples had formerly been filled.[65] Massillon was the last of that celebrated race who had so enthralled the mind, and the magic of whose fascination it is even now hard to withstand. He died in 1742 ; and after him the French clergy possessed no eminent men of any kind, neither thinkers, nor orators, nor writers.[66] Nor did there seem the least possibility of their recovering their lost position. While society was advancing, they were receding. All the sources of their power

[63] Several writers attribute the destruction of the Jesuits to the exertions of Madame de Pompadour !

[64] Choiseul is reported to have said of the Jesuits : " leur éducation détruite, tous les autres corps religieux tomberont d'eux-mêmes." *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. i. p. 63.

[65] In 1771, Horace Walpole writes from Paris that the churches and convents were become so empty, as to " appear like abandoned theatres destined to destruction ; " and this he contrasts with his former experience of a different state of things. *Walpole's Letters*, vol. v. p. 310, edit. 1840.

[66] " So low had the talents of the once illustrious church of France fallen, that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Christianity itself was assailed, not one champion of note appeared in its ranks ; and when the convocation of the clergy, in 1770, published their famous anathema against the dangers of unbelief, and offered rewards for the best essays in defence of the Christian faith, the productions called forth were so despicable that they sensibly injured the cause of religion." *Alison's Hist. of Europe*, vol. i. pp. 180, 181. [Buckle here quotes Alison as to a great attack on religion in the latter part of the century, after repeatedly stating that the attack was then mainly upon the abuses of the state. Yet the error is immediately repeated, though in the next paragraph there is made the new statement that from 1751 there began a new propaganda of atheism.—Ed.]

[* Here again " the age " is somewhat indiscriminately handled. It was not merely the progressive minds who opposed the Jesuits. Their habits of intrigue excited the dislike of many conservative churchmen—for instance, of Cardinal Fleury (D'Alembert, *Des Jésuites*, éd. 1821, p. 183) ; and their enemies, the Jansenists, were hardly more enlightened than they. It was the meddling of the Jesuits, and not their backwardness, that won them the detestation of Pombal in Portugal (*Id.* p. 229. Cp. Comte Saint-Priest, *Hist. of the Fall of the Jesuits*, Eng. tr. 1845, p. 14). They had further been repeatedly censured by the Papacy, and in particular denounced by Benedict XIV. in 1741 as *inobedientes, contumaces, captiosi, et perditi homines*. Nicolini, *History of the Jesuits*, 1853, pp. 127–8.—Ed.]

were dried up. They had no active leaders; they had lost the confidence of government; they had forfeited the respect of the people; they had become a mark for the gibes of the age.[67]

It does at first sight seem strange that, under these circumstances, the French clergy should have been able, for nearly thirty years after the abolition of the Jesuits, to maintain their standing, so as to interfere with impunity in public affairs.[68] The truth, however, is that this temporary reprieve of the ecclesiastical order was owing to that movement which I have already noticed, and by virtue of which the French intellect, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, changed the ground of its attack, and, directing its energies against political abuses, neglected in some degree those spiritual abuses to which its attention had been hitherto confined. The result was that in France the government enforced a policy which the great thinkers had indeed originated, but respecting which they were becoming less eager. The most eminent Frenchmen were beginning their attacks upon the state, and in the heat of their new warfare they slackened their opposition to the church.* But in the meantime, the seeds they had sown germinated in the state itself. So rapid was the march of affairs that those anti-ecclesiastical opinions which a few years earlier were punished as the paradoxes of designing men, were now taken up and put into execution by senators and ministers. The rulers of France carried into effect principles which had hitherto been simply a matter of theory; and thus it happened, as is always the case, that practical statesmen only apply and work out ideas which have long before been suggested by more advanced thinkers.†

Hence it followed that at no period during the eighteenth century did the speculative classes and practical classes thoroughly combine against the church: since, in the first half of the century, the clergy were principally assailed by the literature, and not by the government; in the latter half of the century, by the government, and not by the literature.‡ Some of the circumstances of this singular transition have been already stated, and I hope clearly brought before the mind of the reader. I now purpose to complete the generalization, by proving that a corresponding change was taking place in all other branches of inquiry; and that while in the first period attention was chiefly directed towards mental phenomena, it was in the second period more directed towards physical phenomena. From this the political movement received a vast accession of

[67] In 1766, the Rev. William Cole writes to Alban Butler: "I travelled to Paris through Lille and Cambray in their public voitures, and was greatly scandalized and amazed at the open and unreserved disrespect, both of the trading and military people, for their clergy and religious establishment. When I got to Paris, it was much worse." *Ellis's Original Letters*, second series, vol. iv. p. 485. See also *Walpole's Letters to Lady Ossory*, vol. ii. p. 513, edit. 1848; and the complaint made at Besançon in 1761, in *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 113.

[68] And also to retain their immense property, which, when the Revolution occurred, was estimated at 80,000,000*l.* English money, bringing in a yearly revenue of "somewhat under 75,000,000 francs." *Alison's Europe*, vol. i. p. 183, vol. ii. p. 20, vol. xiv. pp. 122, 123.

[* This repeated error must be again noted. It is from the date of the fall of the Jesuits that Voltaire begins his most strenuous attack, and the whole output of the *philosophes* multiplies in the same period. Cp. Rocquain, *L'Esprit Révolutionnaire avant la Révolution*, 1878, p. 236. And see the next paragraph of the text.—Ed.]

[† What happened was simply that the statesmen of 1750 turned hopefully to the project of taxing the wealth of the church, which those of 1710 had attempted and been forced to abandon. This project was wholly independent of the polemic of the "advanced thinkers." It had been broached at the *États Généraux* of Pontoise in 1561 (Duruy, ii. 419), as it had been by the Lollards in England at the beginning of the previous century, and by Arnold of Brescia in the twelfth.—Ed.]

[‡ See notes on previous paragraph.—Ed.]

strength. For the French intellect, shifting the scene of its labours, diverted the thoughts of men from the internal to the external, and concentrating attention upon their material rather than upon their spiritual wants, turned against the encroachments of the state an hostility formerly reserved for the encroachments of the church. Whenever a tendency arises to prefer what comes from without to what comes from within, and thus to aggrandize matter at the expense of mind, there will also be a tendency to believe that an institution which hampers our opinions is less hurtful than one which controls our acts. Precisely in the same way, men who reject the fundamental truths of religion will care little for the extent to which those truths are perverted. Men who deny the existence of the Deity and the immortality of the soul will take no heed of the way in which a gross and formal worship obscures those sublime doctrines. All the idolatry, all the ceremonials, all the pomp, all the dogmas, and all the traditions by which religion is retarded, will give them no disquietude, because they consider the opinions that are checked to be equally false with those that are favoured. Why should they to whom transcendental truths are unknown labour to remove the superstitions which darken the truths? Such a generation, so far from attacking ecclesiastical usurpations, would rather look on the clergy as convenient tools to ensnare the ignorant and control the vulgar. Therefore it is that we rarely hear of a sincere atheist being a zealous polemic.* But if that should occur, which a century ago occurred in France; if it should happen that men of great energy, and actuated by the feelings I have described, were to find themselves in the presence of a political despotism,—they would direct against it the whole of their powers; and they would act with the more determined vigour, because, believing that their all was at stake, temporal happiness would be to them not only the first, but also the sole consideration.

It is from this point of view that the progress of those atheistical opinions, which now rose in France, becomes a matter of great though painful interest. And the date at which they appeared fully corroborates what I have just said respecting the change that took place in the middle of the eighteenth century.† The first great work in which they were openly promulgated, was the celebrated Encyclopædia, published in 1751.[69] Before that time such degrading opinions, though occasionally broached, were not held by any men of ability; nor could they in the preceding state of society have made much impression upon the age. But during the latter half of the eighteenth century, they affected every department of French literature. Between 1758 and 1770, atheistical tenets rapidly gained ground; [70] and in 1770 was published the famous work called the *System*

[69] M. Barante (*Littérature Française au XVIII^e Siècle*, p. 94) says, "On arriva bientôt à tout nier; déjà l'incrédulité avait rejeté les preuves divines de la révélation, et avait abjuré les devoirs et les souvenirs chrétiens: on vit alors l'athéisme lever un front plus hardi, et proclamer que tout sentiment religieux était une rêverie et un désordre de l'esprit humain. C'est de l'époque de l'Encyclopédie que datent les écrits où cette opinion est le plus expressément professée. Ils furent peu imités." This last sentence is erroneous, I am sorry to say. [Only the *first volume* of the *Encyclopédie* was published in 1751. In contradicting the last sentence of Barante, Buckle accepts the one preceding, which is the contradiction of his own repeated statement. But atheism was *not* expounded in the *Encyclopédie*, and could not possibly have been, even if the contributors had all been atheists, which they certainly were not. Voltaire was the chief, and he always opposed atheism.—Ed.]

[70] "Dans un intervalle de douze années, de 1758 à 1770, la littérature française fut souillée par un grand nombre d'ouvrages où l'athéisme étoit ouvertement professé."

[* See this *à priori* proposition contradicted in the next paragraph.—Ed.]

[† This statement must be pronounced unintelligible. The previous statement, many times repeated, was that at the middle of the century the literary attack was turned away from the church and against the state. It is now asserted that what happened was a development of atheistic propaganda, dating from 1751. Neither statement is accurate.—Ed.]

of Nature; the success and, unhappily, the ability of which, makes its appearance an important epoch in the history of France. Its popularity was immense;[71] and the views it contained are so clearly and methodically arranged as to have earned for it the name of the code of atheism.[72] Five years later, the Archbishop of Toulouse, in a formal address to the king on behalf of the clergy, declared that atheism had now become the prevailing opinion.[73] This, like all similar assertions, must have been an exaggeration: but that there was a large amount of truth in it is known to whoever has studied the mental habits of the generation immediately preceding the Revolution. Among the inferior class of writers, Damilaville, Deleyre, Maréchal, Naigeon, Toussaint, were active supporters* of that cold and gloomy dogma which, in order to extinguish the hope of a future life, blots out from the mind of man the glorious instincts of his own immortality.[74] And, strange to say, several even of the higher intellects were unable to escape the contagion. Atheism was openly advocated by Condorcet, by D'Alembert, by Diderot, by Helvétius, by Lalande, by Laplace, by Mirabeau, and by Saint Lambert.[75] Indeed, so thoroughly did all this harmonize with the general temper, that in society men boasted of what in other countries and in other days has been a rare and singular error, an eccentric taint, which those affected by it were willing to conceal.† In 1764 Hume met, at the house of Baron

Lacretelle, XVIII^e Siècle, vol. ii. p. 310. [No titles being given, it must suffice to say that the "grand nombre d'ouvrages" in question, if they existed, have passed out of knowledge. Only a few atheistic works are known to have been published in the period named.—Ed.]

[71] Voltaire, who wrote against it, mentions its diffusion among all classes, and says it was read by "des savants, des ignorants, des femmes." *Dict. Philos.* article *Dieu*, section iv., in *Œuvres de Voltaire*, vol. xxxviii. p. 366: see also vol. lxvii. p. 260; *Longchamp et Wagnière, Mém. sur Voltaire*, vol. i. pp. 13, 334; *Lettres inédites de Voltaire*, vol. ii. pp. 210, 216; and a letter from him in *Correspond. de Dudeffand*, vol. ii. p. 329. Compare *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. xi. p. 320: "mit ungetheiltem Beifalle aufgenommen worden und grossen Einfluss gehabt hat."

[72] "Le code monstrueux d'athéisme." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxix. p. 88. Morellet, who in such matters was by no means a harsh judge, says, "*Le Système de la Nature*, surtout, est un catéchisme d'athéisme complet." *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 133. Stäudlin (*Gesch. der theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 440) calls it "ein System des entschiedenen Atheismus:" while Tennemann, who has given by far the best account of it I have met with, says, "Es machte bei seinem Erscheinen gewaltiges Aufsehen, und ist fast immer als das Handbuch des Atheismus betrachtet worden." *Gesch. der Philos.* vol. xi. p. 349.

[73] "Le monstrueux athéisme est devenu l'opinion dominante." *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. iii. p. 16: the address of the archbishop with a deputation, "muni des pouvoirs de l'assemblée générale du clergé," in September 1775.

[74] *Biog. Univ.* vol. x. pp. 471, 669, vol. xxvii. p. 8, vol. xxx. p. 542; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. p. 305; *Tocqueville, Règne de Louis XV*, vol. ii. p. 77.

[75] *Mém. of Mallet du Pan*, vol. i. p. 50; *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. v. p. 127; *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobin*, vol. i. pp. 104, 135, 225, vol. ii. p. 23, vol. iii. p. 200; *Life of Romilly*, vol. i. pp. 46, 145; *Stäudlin, Theolog. Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 440; *Georgel, Mém.* vol. ii. pp. 250, 350; *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xv. p. 87; *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 130; *Lepan, Vie de Voltaire*, p. 369; *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. xi. p. 350; *Musset Pathay, Vie de Rousseau*, vol. ii. pp. 177, 297; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. v. p. 180; *Hitchcock's Geol.* p. 263; *Mém. d'Epinay*, vol. ii. pp. 63, 66, 76.

[* Damilaville, Deleyre, and Toussaint published no atheistic works: and it is only a guess that the first-named had a hand in the *System of Nature*. Maréchal's atheistic works were published *after* the Revolution.—Ed.]

[† For "willing to conceal" read "bound to conceal, if they valued their lives, or their peace." Buckle must have been aware that nowhere in the modern world, before the period in question, could a known atheist escape persecution. Vanini was burnt as an atheist in 1619.—Ed.]

d'Holbach, a party of the most celebrated Frenchmen then residing in Paris. The great Scotchman, who was no doubt aware of the prevailing opinion, took occasion to raise an argument as to the existence of an atheist, properly so called; for his own part, he said, he had never chanced to meet with one. "You have been somewhat unfortunate," replied Holbach; "but at the present moment you are sitting at table with seventeen of them." [76]

This, sad as it is, only forms a single aspect of that immense movement by which, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, the French intellect was withdrawn from the study of the internal, and concentrated upon that of the external world. Of this tendency, we find an interesting instance in the celebrated work of Helvétius, unquestionably the ablest and most influential treatise on morals which France produced at this period. It was published in 1758; [77] and although it bears the title of an essay on "the Mind," it does not contain a single passage from which we could infer that the mind, in the sense in which the word is commonly used, has any existence. In this work, which during fifty years was the code of French morals, principles are laid down which bear exactly the same relation to ethics that atheism bears to theology. Helvétius at the beginning of his inquiry assumes, as an incontestable fact that the difference between man and other animals is the result of a difference in their external form; and that if, for example, our wrists, instead of ending with hands and flexible fingers, had merely ended like a horse's foot, we should have always remained wanderers on the face of the earth, ignorant of every art, entirely defenceless, and having no other concern but to avoid the attacks of wild beasts, and find the needful supply of our daily food.[78] That the structure of our bodies is the sole cause of our boasted superiority becomes evident when we consider that our thoughts are simply the product of two faculties which we have in common with all other animals; namely, the faculty of receiving impressions from external objects, and the faculty of remembering those impressions after they are received.[79] From this, says Helvétius, it follows that the internal powers of man being the same as those of all other animals, our sensibility and our memory would be useless if it were not for those external peculiarities by which we are eminently distinguished, and to which we owe everything that is most valuable.[80] These positions being laid down, it is easy to deduce all the essential principles of moral actions. For, memory being merely one of the organs of physical sensibility,[81] and judgment being only a sensation,[82] all notions of duty and of virtue must be tested by their relation to the senses; in other words, by the gross amount of physical enjoyment to which they give rise. This is the true basis of moral philosophy. To take any other view

[76] This was related to Romilly by Diderot. *Life of Romilly*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132: see also *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 220. Priestley, who visited France in 1774, says, that "all the philosophical persons to whom I was introduced at Paris (were) unbelievers in Christianity, and even professed atheists." *Priestley's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 74. See also a letter by Horace Walpole, written from Paris in 1765 (*Walpole's Letters*, edit. 1840, vol. v. p. 96): "their avowed doctrine is atheism."

[77] *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. p. 29.

[78] "Si la nature, au lieu de mains et de doigts flexibles, eût terminé nos poignets par un pied de cheval; qui doute que les hommes, sans art, sans habitations, sans défense contre les animaux, tout occupés du soin de pourvoir à leur nourriture et d'éviter les bêtes féroces, ne fussent encore errants dans les forêts comme des troupeaux fugitifs?" *Helvétius de l'Esprit*, vol. i. p. 2. Had Helvétius ever read the attack of Aristotle against Anaxagoras for asserting that διὰ τὸ χεῖρας ἔχειν, φρονιμώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων τὸν ἄνθρωπον? *Cudworth, Intellec. Syst.* vol. iii. p. 311.

[79] *De l'Esprit*, vol. i. p. 2.

[80] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 4.

[81] "En effet la mémoire ne peut être qu'un des organes de la sensibilité physique," vol. i. p. 6. Compare what M. Lepelletier says on this, in his *Physiologie Médicale*, vol. iii. p. 272.

[82] "D'où je conclus que tout jugement n'est qu'une sensation." *De l'Esprit*, vol. i. p. 10; "*juger*, comme je l'ai déjà prouvé, n'est proprement que *sentir*," p. 41.

is to allow ourselves to be deceived by conventional expressions, which have no foundation except in the prejudices of ignorant men. Our vices and our virtues are solely the result of our passions; and our passions are caused by our physical sensibility to pain and to pleasure.[83] It was in this way that the sense of justice first arose. To physical sensibility men owed pleasure and pain; hence the feeling of their own interests, and hence the desire of living together in societies. Being assembled in society, there grew up the notion of a general interest, since without it society could not hold together; and, as actions are only just or unjust in proportion as they minister to this general interest, a measure was established by which justice is discriminated from injustice.[84] With the same inflexible spirit, and with great fulness of illustration, Helvétius examines the origin of those other feelings which regulate human actions. Thus, he says that both ambition and friendship are entirely the work of physical sensibility. Men yearn after fame, on account either of the pleasure which they expect the mere possession of it will give, or else as the means of subsequently procuring other pleasures.[85] As to friendship, the only use of it is to increase our pleasures or mitigate our pains; and it is with this object that a man longs to hold communion with his friend.[86] Beyond this, life has nothing to offer. To love what is good for the sake of the goodness, is as impossible as to love what is bad for the sake of the evil.[87] The mother who weeps for the loss of her child is solely actuated by selfishness; she mourns because a pleasure is taken from her, and because she sees a void difficult to fill up.[88] So it is that the loftiest virtues as well as the meanest vices are equally caused by the pleasure we find in the exercise of them.[89] This is the great mover and originator of all. Everything that we have, and everything that we are, we owe to the external world; nor is Man himself aught else except what he is made by the objects which surround him.[90]

The views put forward in this celebrated work I have stated at some length; not so much on account of the ability with which they are advocated, as on account of the clue they furnish to the movements of a most remarkable age. Indeed, so completely did they harmonize with the prevailing tendencies that they not only quickly obtained for their author a vast European reputation,[91] but during many years they continued to increase in influence, and in France in particular they exercised great sway.[92] As that was the country in which

[83] "Ne sensible à la douleur et au plaisir, c'est à la sensibilité physique que l'homme doit ses passions; et à ses passions, qu'il doit tous ses vices et toutes ses vertus." *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 53; and see vol. i. p. 239.

[84] "Une fois parvenu à cette vérité, je découvre facilement la source des vertus humaines; je vois que sans la sensibilité à la douleur et au plaisir physique, les hommes, sans désirs, sans passions, également indifférents à tout, n'eussent point connu d'intérêt personnel; que sans intérêt personnel ils ne se fussent point rassemblés en société, n'eussent point fait entr'eux de conventions, qu'il n'y eût point eu d'intérêt général, par conséquent point d'actions justes ou injustes; et qu'ainsi la sensibilité physique et l'intérêt personnel ont été les auteurs de toute justice." *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 278.

[85] *De l'Esprit*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 20, 30, 34, 293, 294, 318. Compare Epicurus, in *Diog. Laert. de Vit. Philos.* lib. x. seg. 120, vol. i. p. 654.

[86] *De l'Esprit*, vol. ii. p. 45. He sums up: "il s'ensuit que l'amitié, ainsi que l'avarice, l'orgueil, l'ambition et les autres passions, est l'effet immédiat de la sensibilité physique."

[87] "Il lui est aussi impossible d'aimer le bien pour le bien, que d'aimer le mal pour le mal." *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 73.

[88] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 249.

[89] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 58.

[90] "Nous sommes uniquement ce que nous font les objets qui nous environnent." *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 306.

[91] Saint Surin, a zealous opponent of Helvétius, admits that "les étrangers les plus éminents par leurs dignités ou par leurs lumières, désiraient d'être introduits chez un philosophe dont le nom retentissait dans toute l'Europe." *Biog. Univ.* vol. xx. p. 33.

[92] Brissot (*Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 339) says, that in 1775, "le système d'Helvétius avait alors la plus grande vogue." Turgot, who wrote against it, complains that it was praised

they arose, so also was it the country to which they were best adapted. Madame Dudeffand, who passed her long life in the midst of French society, and was one of the keenest observers of her time, has expressed this with great happiness. The work of Helvétius, she says, is popular, since he is the man who has told to all their own secret.[93]

True it was that to the contemporaries of Helvétius his views, notwithstanding their immense popularity, bore the appearance of a secret; because the connexion between them and the general march of events was as yet but dimly perceived. To us, however, who after this interval of time can examine the question with the resources of a larger experience, it is obvious how such a system met the wants of an age of which it was the exponent and the mouthpiece. That Helvétius must have carried with him the sympathies of his countrymen is clear, not only from the evidence we have of his success, but also from a more comprehensive view of the general complexion of those times. Even while he was still pursuing his labours, and only four years before he published them, a work appeared in France which, though displaying greater ability and possessing a higher influence than that of Helvétius, did nevertheless point in exactly the same direction. I allude to the great metaphysical treatise by Condillac, in many respects one of the most remarkable productions of the eighteenth century; and the authority of which, during two generations, was so irresistible that without some acquaintance with it we cannot possibly understand the [illegible] of those complicated movements by which the French Revolution [illegible] about.

In 1754,[94] Condillac put forth his celebrated work on th[illegible] title of which was a proof of the bias with which it was written [illegible] profound thinker aimed at nothing less than an exhaustive analysis of the human faculties, and although he is pronounced by a very able but hostile critic to be the only metaphysician France produced during the eighteenth century,[95] still he found it utterly impossible to escape * from those tendencies towards the external which governed his own age. The consequence was, that he called his work a "Treatise on Sensations;"[96] and in it he peremptorily asserts that everything we know is the result of sensation; by which he means the effect produced on us by the action of the external world. Whatever may be thought of the accuracy of this opinion, there can be no doubt that it is enforced with closeness and severity of reasoning which deserves the highest praise. To examine, however, the arguments by which his view is supported, would lead to a discussion foreign to my present object, which is merely to point out the relation between his philosophy and the general temper of his contemporaries. Without, therefore, pretending to any thing like a critical examination of this

Mémoires, "avec une sorte de fureur" (*Œuvres de Turgot*, vol. ix. p. 297); and Georgel (e trouvoit vol. ii. p. 256) says, "ce livre, écrit avec un style plein de chaleur et d'images, s sur toutes les toilettes."

[illegible] et on [illegible] ecret prête à Mme. Dudeffand ce mot fin et profond: 'C'est un homme qui a dit le s de tout le monde.'" *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* I. série, vol. iii. p. 201. Compare *Corresp. de Dudeffand*, vol. i. p. xxii.; and a similar sentiment in *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. p. 104. The relation of Helvétius's work to the prevailing philosophy is noticed in *Comte's Philos. Pos.* vol. iii. pp. 791, 792, vol. v. pp. 744, 745.

[94] *Biog. Univ.* vol ix. p. 399.

[95] "Condillac est le métaphysicien français du xviii[e] siècle." *Cousin, Hist. de la Philos.* I. série, vol. iii. p. 83.

[96] "Traité des Sensations," which, as M. Cousin says, is, "sans comparaison, le chef-d'œuvre de Condillac." *Hist. de la Philos.* II. série, vol. ii. p. 77.

[* This mode of expression reverts to the form of fallacy noted in Buckle's allusions to "laws" in his first chapter. It practically asserts an occult form of causation. Condillac was helping to make a "tendency" of his "age." Other men opposed him in the same age. Both sides developed from antecedent modes of thought.—Ed.]

celebrated book, I will simply bring together the essential positions on which it is based, in order to illustrate the harmony between it and the intellectual habits of the age in which it appeared.[97]

The materials from which the philosophy of Condillac was originally drawn were contained in the great work published by Locke about sixty years before this time. But though much of what was most essential was borrowed from the English philosopher, there was one very important point in which the disciple differed from his master. And this difference is strikingly characteristic of the direction which the French intellect was now taking. Locke, with some looseness of expression, and possibly with some looseness of thought, had asserted the separate existence of a power of reflection, and had maintained that by means of that power the products of sensation became available.[98] Condillac, moved by the prevailing temper of his own time, would not hear of such a distinction. He, like most of his contemporaries, was jealous of any claim which increased the authority of the internal, and weakened that of the external. He therefore altogether rejects the faculty of reflection as a source of our ideas; and this partly because it is but the channel through which ideas run from the senses, and partly because in its origin it is itself a sensation.[99] Therefore, according to him, the only question is as to the way in which our contact with nature supplies us with ideas. For in this scheme the faculties of man are solely caused by the operation of his senses. The judgments which we form are, says Condillac, often ascribed to the hand of the Deity; a convenient mode of reasoning, which has only arisen from the difficulty of analyzing them.[100] By considering how our judgments actually arise, we can alone remove these obscurities. The fact is that the attention we give to an object is nothing but the sensation which that object excites;[101] and what we call abstract ideas are merely different ways of being attentive.[102] Ideas being thus generated, the subsequent process is very simple. To attend to two ideas at the same time, is to compare them; so that comparison is not a result of attention, but is rather the attention itself.[103] This at once gives us the faculty of judging, because directly we institute a comparison, we do of necessity form a judgment.[104] Thus, too, memory is a transformed sensation;[105] while the imagination is nothing but memory, which, being carried to its highest possible vivacity, makes what is absent appear to

[97] On the immense influence of Condillac, compare *Renouard, Hist. de la Médecine*, vol. ii. p. 355; *Cuvier, Éloges*, vol. iii. p. 387; *Broussais, Cours de Phrénologie*, pp. 45, 68–71, 829; *Pinel, Alién. Mentale*, p. 94; *Brown's Philos. of the Mind*, p. 212.

[98] Whether or not Locke held that reflection is an independent as well as a separate faculty is uncertain; because passages could be quoted from his writings to prove either the affirmative or the negative: Dr. Whewell justly remarks that Locke uses the word so vaguely as to "allow his disciples to make of his doctrines what they please." *History of Moral Philosophy*, 1852, p. 71.

[99] "Locke distingue deux sources de nos idées, les sens et la réflexion. Il seroit plus exact de n'en reconnoître qu'une, soit parceque la réflexion n'est dans son principe que la sensation même, soit parcequ'elle est moins la source des idées, que le canal par lequel elles découlent des sens." *Condillac, Traité des Sensations*, p. 13; see also, at pp. 19, 216, the way in which sensation becomes reflection; and the summing up, at p. 416, "que toutes nos connoissances viennent des sens, et particulièrement du toucher."

[100] He says of Malebranche (*Traité des Sensations*, p. 312), "ne pouvant comprendre comment nous formerions nous-mêmes ces jugemens, il les attribue à Dieu; manière de raisonner fort commode, et presque toujours la ressource des philosophes."

[101] "Mais à peine j'arrête la vue sur un objet, que les sensations particulières que j'en reçois sont l'attention même que je lui donne." *Traité des Sensations*, p. 16.

[102] "Ne sont que différentes manières d'être attentif." p. 122.

[103] "Dès qu'il y a double attention, il y a comparaison; car être attentif à deux idées ou les comparer, c'est la même chose." p. 17.

[104] "Dès qu'il y a comparaison, il y a jugement." p. 65.

[105] "La mémoire n'est donc que la sensation transformée." p. 17. Compare p. 61.

be present.[106] The impressions we receive from the external world being therefore not the cause of our faculties, but being the faculties themselves,* the conclusion to which we are driven is inevitable. It follows, says Condillac, that in man nature is the beginning of all; that to nature we owe the whole of our knowledge; that we only instruct ourselves according to her lessons; and that the entire art of reasoning consists in continuing the work which she has appointed us to perform.[107]

It is so impossible to mistake the tendency of these views that I need not attempt to estimate their result otherwise than by measuring the extent to which they were adopted. Indeed, the zeal with which they were now carried into every department of knowledge can only surprise those who, being led by their habits of mind to study history in its separate fragments, have not accustomed themselves to consider it as an united whole, and who therefore do not perceive that in every great epoch there is some one idea at work which is more powerful than any other, and which shapes the events of the time and determines their ultimate issue. In France, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, this idea was, the inferiority of the internal to the external. It was this dangerous but plausible principle which drew the attention of men from the church to the state; † which was seen in Helvétius, the most celebrated of the French moralists, and in Condillac, the most celebrated of the French metaphysicians. It was this same principle which, by increasing, if I may so say, the reputation of Nature, induced the ablest thinkers to devote themselves to a study of her laws, and to abandon those other pursuits which had been popular in the preceding age. In consequence of this movement, such wonderful additions were made to every branch of physical science that more new truths concerning the external world were discovered in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century than during all the previous periods put together. The details of these discoveries, so far as they have been subservient to the general purposes of civilization, will be related in another place; at present I will indicate only the most prominent, in order that the reader may understand the course of the subsequent argument, and may see the connexion between them and the French Revolution.

Taking a general view of the external world, we may say that the three most important forces by which the operations of nature are effected are heat, light, and electricity; including under this last magnetic and galvanic phenomena. On all these subjects the French, for the first time, now exerted themselves with signal success. In regard to heat, not only were the materials for subsequent induction collected with indefatigable industry, but before that generation

[106] "L'imagination est la mémoire même, parvenue à toute la vivacité dont elle est susceptible." p. 78. "Or j'ai appelé imagination cette mémoire vive, qui fait paroître présent ce qui est absent." p. 245.

[107] "Il résulte de cette vérité, que la nature commence tout en nous: aussi ai-je démontré que, dans le principe ou dans le commencement, nos connoissances sont uniquement son ouvrage, que nous ne nous instruisons que d'après ses leçons, et que tout l'art de raisonner consiste à continuer comme elle nous a fait commencer." p. 178.

[* Condillac did not, as Buckle represents, first say that the "faculties of man are solely caused by the operation of his senses," and then that his "impressions" are "the faculties themselves." The line of analysis he followed excluded such propositions. His own words must be taken for his positions.—Ed.]

[† In terms of the previous exposition, there was no recognition whatever of the "inferiority" here alleged, but a denial of the old distinction. And as the attention of men was *not* thus drawn from the church to the State (the men who so changed their attitude being the believers and not the unbelievers) the theorem once more collapses. But when we further remember that it was believers who made a political revolution in England in the previous century, and that believers like Boyle and Newton had there done scientific work in the next generation, the line of inference followed by Buckle is seen to have been doubly arbitrary.—Ed.]

passed away, the induction was actually made ; for while the laws of its radiation were worked out by Prevost,[108] those of its conduction were established by Fourier, who, just before the Revolution, employed himself in raising thermotics to a science by the deductive application of that celebrated mathematical theory which he contrived, and which still bears his name.[109] In regard to electricity it is enough to notice, during the same period, the important experiments of D'Alibard, followed by those vast labours of Coulomb which brought electrical phenomena under the jurisdiction of the mathematics, and thus completed what Œpinus had already prepared.[110] As to the laws of light, those ideas were now accumulating which rendered possible the great steps that, at the close of the century, were taken by Malus, and still later by Fresnel.[111] Both of these eminent Frenchmen not only made important additions to our knowledge of double refraction, but Malus discovered the polarization of light,* undoubtedly the most splendid contribution received by optical science since the analysis of the solar rays.[112] It was also in consequence of this that Fresnel began those profound researches which placed on a solid basis that great undulatory theory of which Hooke, Huygens, and above all Young, are to be deemed the founders, and by which the corpuscular theory of Newton was finally overthrown.[113]

Thus much as to the progress of French knowledge respecting those parts

[108] Compare *Powell on Radiant Heat*, p. 261, in *Second Rep. of Brit. Assoc.* ; *Whewell's History of Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 526 ; and his *Philosophy*, vol. i. pp. 339, 340. Prévost was professor at Geneva ; but his great views were followed up in France by Dulong and Petit ; and the celebrated theory of dew by Dr. Wells is merely an application of them. *Herschel's Nat. Philosophy*, pp. 163, 315, 316. Respecting the further prosecution of these inquiries, and our present knowledge of radiant heat, see *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. i. p. 79, vol. iii. p. 30, vol. iv. p. 45.

[109] On Fourier's mathematical theory of conduction, see *Comte, Philos. Positive* vol. i. pp. 142, 175, 345, 346, 351, vol. ii. pp. 453, 551 ; *Prout's Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 203, 204 ; *Kelland on Heat*, p. 6, in *Brit. Assoc. for* 1841 ; *Erman's Siberia*, vol. i. p. 243 ; *Humboldt's Cosmos*, vol. i. p. 169 ; *Hitchcock's Geology*, p. 198 ; *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, ii. 696, 697.

[110] Coulomb's memoirs on electricity and magnetism were published from 1782 to 1789. *Fifth Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 4. Compare *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. iii. p. 128 ; and on his relation to Œpinus, who wrote in 1759, see *Whewell's Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 24–26, 35, 36, and *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, vol. iii. p. 44, vol. iv. p. 14. There is a still fuller account of what was effected by Coulomb in M. Pouillet's able work, *Elémens de Physique*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 63–79, 130–135.

[111] Fresnel belongs to the present century ; but M. Biot says that the researches of Malus began before the passage of the Rhine in 1797. *Biot's Life of Malus*, in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxvi. p. 412.

[112] *Pouillet, Elémens de Physique*, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 484, 514 ; *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1832, p. 314 ; *Leslie's Nat. Philos.* p. 83 ; *Whewell's Hist. of Sciences*, vol. ii. pp. 408–410 ; *Philos. of Sciences*, vol. i. p. 350, vol. ii. p. 25 ; *Herschel's Nat. Philos.* p. 258.

[113] The struggle between these rival theories, and the ease with which a man of such immense powers as Young was put down, and as it were suppressed, by those ignorant pretenders who presumed to criticize him, will be related in another part of this work, as a valuable illustration of the history and habits of the English mind. At present the controversy is finished, so far as the advocates of emission are concerned ; but there are still difficulties on the other side, which should have prevented Dr. Whewell from expressing himself with such extreme positiveness on an unexhausted subject. This able writer says : " The undulatory theory of light ; the only discovery which can stand by the side of the theory of universal gravitation, as a doctrine belonging to the same order, for its generality, its fertility, and its certainty." *Whewell's Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. ii. p. 425 ; see also p. 508.

[* Read " polarization of light by reflexion." See Buckle's letter to Sir C. Wheatstone, in Mr. Huth's *Life*, i. 148.—Ed.]

of nature which are in themselves invisible, and of which we cannot tell whether they have a material existence, or whether they are mere conditions and properties of other bodies.[114] The immense value of these discoveries, as increasing the number of known truths, is incontestable : but at the same time another class of discoveries was made, which, dealing more palpably with the visible world, and being also more easily understood, produced more immediate results, and, as I shall presently show, exercised a remarkable influence in strengthening that democratic tendency which accompanied the French Revolution. It is impossible, within the limits I have assigned to myself, to give anything like an adequate notion of the marvellous activity with which the French now pushed their researches into every department of the organic and inorganic world ; still it is, I think, practicable to compress into a few pages such a summary of the more salient points as will afford the reader some idea of what was done by that generation of great thinkers which flourished in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

If we confine our view to the globe we inhabit, it must be allowed that chemistry and geology are the two sciences which not only offer the fairest promise, but already contain the largest generalizations. The reason of this will become clear if we attend to the ideas on which these two great subjects are based. The idea of chemistry is the study of composition ; [115] the idea of geology is the study of position. The object of the first is to learn the laws which govern the properties of matter ; the object of the second is to learn the laws which govern its locality.* In chemistry we experiment ; in geology we observe. In chemistry we deal with the molecular arrangement of the smallest atoms ; [116] in geology with the cosmological arrangement of the largest masses. Hence it is that the chemist by his minuteness, and the geologist by his grandeur, touch the two extremes of the material universe ; and, starting from these opposite points, have, as I could easily prove, a constantly increasing tendency to bring under their own authority sciences which have at present an independent existence, and which, for the sake of a division of labour, it is still convenient to study separately ; though it must be the business of philosophy, properly so called, to integrate them into a complete and effective whole. Indeed it is obvious that if we knew all the laws of the composition of matter, and likewise all the laws of its position, we should likewise know all the changes of which matter is capable spontaneously, that is, when uninterrupted by the mind of man. Every phenomenon which any given substance presents must be caused either by something taking place in the substance, or else by something taking place out of it, but acting upon it ; while what occurs within must be explicable by its own composition, and what occurs without must be due to its position in relation to the objects by which it is affected. This is an ex-

[114] As to the supposed impossibility of conceiving the existence of matter without properties which give rise to forces (note in *Paget's Lectures on Pathology*, 1853, vol. i. p. 61), there are two reasons which prevent me from attaching much weight to it. First, a conception which in one stage of knowledge is called impossible becomes in a later stage perfectly easy, and so natural as to be often termed necessary. Secondly, however indissoluble the connexion may appear between force and matter, it was not found fatal to the dynamical theory of Leibnitz ; it has not prevented other eminent thinkers from holding similar views ; and the arguments of Berkeley, though constantly attacked, have never been refuted.

[115] Every chemical decomposition being only a new form of composition. *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. pp. 455, 456, 498 : " de tout cela il résulte, que la dissolution est un cas particulier des combinaisons."

[116] What is erroneously called the atomic theory is, properly speaking, an hypothesis, and not a theory : but hypothesis though it be, it is by its aid that we wield the doctrine of definite proportions, the corner-stone of chemistry.

[* This definition is obviously imperfect. Air is part of the " matter " of chemistry, but not of geology.—Ed.]

haustive statement of every possible contingency, and to one of these two classes of laws everything must be referrible; even those mysterious forces which, whether they be emanations from matter, or whether they be merely properties of matter, must in an ultimate analysis depend either on the internal arrangement or else on the external locality of their physical antecedents. However convenient, therefore, it may be, in the present state of our knowledge, to speak of vital principles, imponderable fluids, and elastic æthers, such terms can only be provisional, and are to be considered as mere names for that residue of unexplained facts which it will be the business of future ages to bring under generalizations wide enough to cover and include the whole.

These ideas of composition and of position being thus the basis of all natural science, it is not surprising that chemistry and geology, which are their best, but still their insufficient representatives, should in modern times have made more progress than any other of the great branches of human knowledge. Although the chemists and geologists have not yet risen to the full height of their respective subjects,[117] there are few things more curious than to note the way in which, during the last two generations, they have been rapidly expanding their views,—encroaching on topics with which, at first sight, they appeared to have no concern,—making other branches of inquiry tributary to their own,—and collecting from every quarter that intellectual wealth which, long hidden in obscure corners, had been wasted in the cultivation of special and inferior pursuits. This, as being one of the great intellectual characteristics of the present age, I shall hereafter examine at considerable length; but what I have now to show is that in these two vast sciences, which, though still very imperfect, must eventually be superior to all others, the first important steps were made by Frenchmen during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

That we owe to France the existence of chemistry as a science will be admitted by every one who uses the word science in the sense in which alone it ought to be understood, namely, as a body of generalizations so irrefragably true that, though they may be subsequently covered by higher generalizations, they cannot be overthrown by them; in other words, generalizations which may be absorbed, but not refuted. In this point of view, there are in the history of chemistry only three great stages. The first stage was the destruction of the phlogistic theory, and the establishment, upon its ruins, of the doctrines of oxidation, combustion and respiration. The second stage was the establishment of the principle of definite proportions, and the application to it of the atomic hypothesis. The third stage, above which we have not yet risen, consists in the union of chemical and electrical laws, and in the progress we are making towards fusing into one generalization their separate phenomena. Which of these three stages was in its own age the most valuable is not now the question; but it is certain that the first of them was the work of Lavoisier, by far the greatest of the French chemists. Before him several important points had been cleared up by the English chemists, whose experiments ascertained the existence of bodies formerly unknown. The links, however, to connect the facts were still wanting; and until Lavoisier entered the field there were no generalizations wide enough to entitle chemistry to be called a science; or, to speak more properly, the only large generalization commonly received was that by Stahl, which the great Frenchman proved to be not only imperfect but altogether inaccurate. A notice of the vast discoveries of Lavoisier will be found in many well-known books:[118] it is enough to say that he not only worked out the laws of the oxidation of bodies and of their combustion, but that he is

[117] Many of them being still fettered, in geology, by the hypothesis of catastrophes; in chemistry, by the hypothesis of vital forces.

[118] See, for instance, *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. pp. 32–34, 40; *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, p. 282; *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 184, 185; *Brande's Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. lxxxv.–lxxxix. 302; *Thomson's Animal Chemistry*, pp. 520, 634, and a great part of the second volume of his *History of Chemistry*; also *Müller's Physiol.* vol. i. pp. 90, 323.

the author of the true theory of respiration, the purely chemical character of which he first demonstrated ; thus laying the foundation of those views respecting the functions of food which the German chemists subsequently developed, and which, as I have proved in the second chapter of this Introduction, may be applied to solve some great problems in the history of Man. The merit of this was so obviously due to France, that though the system now established was quickly adopted in other countries,[119] it received the name of the French chemistry.[120] At the same time, the old nomenclature being full of old errors, a new one was required, and here again France took the initiative ; since this great reformation was begun by four of her most eminent chemists, who flourished only a few years before the Revolution.[121]

While one division of the French thinkers was reducing to order the apparent irregularities of chemical phenomena, another division of them was performing precisely the same service for geology. The first step towards popularizing this noble study was taken by Buffon, who in the middle of the eighteenth century broached a geological theory which, though not quite original, excited attention by its eloquence, and by the lofty speculations with which he connected it.[122] This was followed by the more special but still important labours of Rouelle, Desmarest, Dolomieu, and Montlosier, who in less than forty years effected a complete revolution in the ideas of Frenchmen, by familiarizing them with the strange conception that the surface of our planet, even where it appears perfectly stable, is constantly undergoing most extensive changes. It began to be understood that this perpetual flux takes place not only in those parts of nature which are obviously feeble and evanescent, but also in those which seem to possess every element of strength and permanence, such as the mountains of granite which wall the globe, and are the shell and encasement in which it is held. As soon as the mind became habituated to this notion of universal change, the time was ripe for the appearance of some great thinker who should generalize the scattered observations, and form them into a science, by connecting them with some other department of knowledge, of which the laws, or at all events the empirical uniformities, had been already ascertained.

It was at this point, and while the inquiries of geologists, notwithstanding their value, were still crude and unsettled, that the subject was taken up by

[119] According to Mr. Harcourt (*Brit. Assoc. Report for* 1839, p. 10), Cavendish has this merit, so far as England is concerned : " He, first of all his contemporaries, did justice to the rival theory recently proposed by Lavoisier."

[120] " La chimie française." *Thomson's Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. ii. pp. 101, 130. On the excitement caused by Lavoisier's views, see a letter which Jefferson wrote in Paris in 1789, printed partly in *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 314, 315 ; and at length in *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. ii. pp. 453–455.

[121] " The first attempt to form a systematic chemical nomenclature was made by Lavoisier, Berthollet, G. de Morveau, and Fourcroy, soon after the discovery of oxygen gas." *Turner's Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 127. Cuvier (*Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 39) and Robin et Verdeil (*Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. pp. 602, 603) ascribe the chief merit to De Morveau. Thomson says (*Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 133) : " this new nomenclature very soon made its way into every part of Europe, and became the common language of chemists, in spite of the prejudices entertained against it, and the opposition which it everywhere met with."

[122] The famous central heat of Buffon is often supposed to have been taken from Leibnitz ; but though it was vaguely taught by the ancients, the real founder of the doctrine appears to have been Descartes. See *Bordas Demoulin, Cartésianisme*, Paris, 1843, vol. i. p. 312. There is an unsatisfactory note on this in *Prichard's Physical Hist.* vol. i. p. 100. Compare *Experimental Hist. of Cold*, tit. 17, in *Boyle's Works*, vol. ii. p. 308 ; *Brewster's Life of Newton*, vol. ii. p. 100. On the central heat of the Pythagoreans, see *Tennemann, Gesch. der Philos.* vol. i. p. 149 ; and as to the central fire mentioned in the so-called Oracles of Zoroaster, see *Beausobre, Hist. de Manichée*, vol. ii. p. 152. But the complete ignorance of the ancients respecting geology made these views nothing but guesses. Compare some sensible remarks in *Matter's Hist. de l'École d'Alexandrie*, vol. ii. p. 282.

Cuvier, one of the greatest naturalists Europe has ever produced. A few others there are who have surpassed him in depth ; but in comprehensiveness it would be hard to find his superior ; and the immense range of his studies gave him a peculiar advantage in surveying the operations and dependencies of the external world.[123] This remarkable man is unquestionably the founder of geology as a science, since he is not only the first who saw the necessity of bringing to bear upon it the generalizations of comparative anatomy, but he is also the first who actually, executing this great idea, succeeded in co-ordinating the study of the strata of the earth with the study of the fossil animals found in them.[124] Shortly before his researches were published, many valuable facts had indeed been collected respecting the separate strata ; the primary formations being investigated by the Germans, the secondary ones by the English.[125] But these observations, notwithstanding their merit, were isolated ; and they lacked that vast conception which gave unity and grandeur to the whole, by connecting inquiries concerning the inorganic changes of the surface of the globe with other inquiries concerning the organic changes of the animals the surface contained.

How completely this immense step is due to France, is evident not only from the part played by Cuvier, but also from the admitted fact that to the French we owe our knowledge respecting tertiary strata,[126] in which the organic remains are most numerous, and the general analogy to our present state is most intimate.[127] Another circumstance may likewise be added, as pointing to the same conclusion. This is, that the first application of the principles of comparative anatomy to the study of fossil bones was also the work of a Frenchman, the celebrated Daubenton. Hitherto these bones had been the object of stupid wonder ; some saying that they were rained from heaven, others saying that they were the gigantic limbs of the ancient patriarchs, men who were believed

[123] This comprehensiveness of Cuvier is justly remarked by M. Flourens as the leading characteristic of his mind. *Flourens, Hist. des Travaux de Cuvier*, pp. 76, 142, 306 : " ce qui caractérise partout M. Cuvier, c'est l'esprit vaste."

[124] Hence he is called by Mr. Owen, " the founder of palæontological science." *Owen on Fossil Mammalia*, in *Report of Brit. Assoc. for* 1843, p. 208. It was in 1796 that there were thus " opened to him entirely new views of the theory of the earth." p. 209. See also *Bakewell's Geology*, p. 368 ; and *Milne Edwards, Zoologie*, part ii. p. 279. The importance of this step is becoming more evident every year ; and it has been justly remarked that without palæontology there would be, properly speaking, no geology. *Balfour's Botany*, 1849, p. 591. Sir R. Murchinson (*Siluria*, 1854, p. 366) says, " it is essentially the study of organic remains which has led to the clear subdivision of the vast mass of older rocks, which were there formerly merged under the unmeaning term ' Grauwacke.' " In the same able work, p. 465, we are told that, " in surveying the whole series of formations, the practical geologist is fully impressed with the conviction that there has at all periods subsisted a very intimate connexion between the existence, or at all events the preservation of animals, and the media in which they have been fossilized." For an instance of this in the old red sandstone, see p. 329.

[125] *Whewell's Hist. of Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 679 ; *Lyell's Geol.* p. 59. Indeed gneiss received its name from the Germans. *Bakewell's Geol.* p. 108.

[126] Compare *Conybeare's Report on Geology*, p. 371 (*Brit. Assoc. for* 1832), with *Bakewell's Geol.* pp. 367, 368, 419, and *Lyell's Geol.* p. 59.

[127] In the older half of the secondary rocks, mammals are hardly to be found, and they do not become common until the tertiary. *Murchison's Siluria*, pp. 466, 467 ; and *Strickland on Ornithology*, p. 210 (*Brit. Assoc. for* 1844). So too in the vegetable kingdom, many of the plants in the tertiary strata belong to genera still existing ; but this is rarely the case with the secondary strata ; while in the primary strata even the families are different to those now found on the earth. *Balfour's Botany*, pp 592, 593. Compare Wilson's additions to *Jussieu's Botany*, 1849, p. 746 ; and for further illustration of this remarkable law of the relation between advancing time and diminished similarity, a law suggesting the most curious speculations, see *Hitchcock's Geology*, p. 21 ; *Lyell's Geology*, p. 183 ; and *Owen's Lectures on the Invertebrata*, 1855, pp. 38, 576.

to be tall because they were known to be old.[128] Such idle conceits were for ever destroyed by Daubenton, in a Memoir he published in 1762 ;[129] with which, however, we are not now concerned, except that it is evidence of the state of the French mind, and is worth noting as a precursor of the discoveries of Cuvier.

By this union of geology and anatomy, there was first introduced into the study of nature a clear conception of the magnificent doctrine of universal change ; while at the same time there grew up by its side a conception equally steady of the regularity with which the changes are accomplished, and of the undeviating laws by which they are governed. Similar ideas had no doubt been occasionally held in preceding ages ; but the great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century were the first who applied them to the entire structure of the globe, and who thus prepared the way for that still higher view for which their minds were not yet ripe,[130] but to which in our own time the most advanced thinkers are rapidly rising. For it is now beginning to be understood that since every addition to knowledge affords fresh proof of the regularity with which all the changes of nature are conducted, we are bound to believe that the same regularity existed long before our little planet assumed its present form, and long before man trod the surface of the earth. We have the most abundant evidence that the movements incessantly occurring in the material world have a character of uniformity ; and this uniformity is so clearly marked, that in astronomy, the most perfect of all the sciences, we are able to predict events many years before they actually happen ; nor can any one doubt that if on other subjects our science were equally advanced, our predictions would be equally accurate. It is therefore clear that the burden of proof lies not on those who assert the eternal regularity of nature, but rather on those who deny it ; and who set up an imaginary period, to which they assign an imaginary catastrophe, during which they say new laws were introduced and a new order established. Such gratuitous assumptions, even if they eventually turn out to be true, are in the present state of knowledge unwarrantable, and ought to be rejected as the last remains of those theological prejudices by which the march of every science has in its turn been hindered. These and all analogous notions work a double mischief. They are mischievous, because they cripple the human mind by imposing limits to its inquiries ; and above all they are mischievous, because they weaken

[128] M. Geoffroy Saint Hilaire (*Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. pp. 121–127) has collected some evidence respecting the opinions formerly held on these subjects. Among other instances, he mentions a learned man named Henrion, an academician, and, I suppose, a theologian, who in 1718 published a work in which "il assignait à Adam cent vingt trois pieds neuf pouces ;" Noah being twenty feet shorter, and so on. The bones of elephants were sometimes taken for giants : see a pleasant circumstance in *Cuvier, Hist. des Sciences*, part ii. p. 43.

[129] "Daubenton a le premier détruit toutes ces idées ; il a le premier appliqué l'anatomie comparée à la détermination de ces os. . . . Le mémoire où Daubenton a tenté, pour la première fois, la solution de ce problème important est de 1762." *Flourens, Travaux de Cuvier*, pp. 36, 37. Agassiz (*Report on Fossil Fishes*, p. 82, *Brit. Assoc. for* 1842) claims this merit too exclusively for Cuvier, overlooking the earlier researches of Daubenton ; and the same mistake is made in *Hitchcock's Geol.* p. 249, and in *Bakewell's Geol. p.* 384.

[130] Even Cuvier held the doctrine of catastrophes ; but, as Sir Charles Lyell says (*Principles of Geology*, p. 60), his own discoveries supplied the means of overthrowing it, and of familiarizing us with the idea of continuity. Indeed it was one of the fossil observations of Cuvier which first supplied the link between reptiles, fishes, and cetaceous mammals. See *Owen on Fossil Reptiles*, pp. 60, 198, *Brit. Assoc. for* 1841 ; and compare *Carus's Comparative Anatomy*, vol. i. p. 155. To this I may add that Cuvier unconsciously prepared the way for disturbing the old dogma of fixity of species, though he himself clung to it to the last. See some observations, which are very remarkable, considering the period when they were written, in *Cabanis, Rapports du Physique et du Moral*, pp. 427, 428 ; conclusions drawn from Cuvier, which Cuvier would have himself rejected.

that vast conception of continuous and uninterrupted law, which few indeed are able firmly to seize, but on which the highest generalizations of future science must ultimately depend.

It is this deep conviction that changing phenomena have unchanging laws, and that there are principles of order to which all apparent disorder may be referred,—it is this which, in the seventeenth century, guided in a limited field Bacon, Descartes, and Newton; which in the eighteenth century was applied to every part of the material universe; and which it is the business of the nineteenth century to extend to the history of the human intellect. This last department of inquiry we owe chiefly to Germany; for, with the single exception of Vico, no one even suspected the possibility of arriving at complete generalizations respecting the progress of man, until shortly before the French Revolution, when the great German thinkers began to cultivate this, the highest and most difficult of all studies. But the French themselves were too much occupied with physical science to pay attention to such matters;[131] and speaking generally, we may say that in the eighteenth century each of the three leading nations of Europe had a separate part to play. England diffused a love of freedom; France, a knowledge of physical science; while Germany, aided in some degree by Scotland, revived the study of metaphysics, and created the study of philosophic history. To this classification some exceptions may of course be made; but that these were the marked characteristics of the three countries is certain. After the death of Locke in 1704, and that of Newton in 1727, there was in

[131] Neither Montesquieu nor Turgot appears to have believed in the possibility of generalizing the past so as to predict the future; while as to Voltaire, the weakest point in his otherwise profound view of history was his love of the old saying, that great events spring from little causes; a singular error for so comprehensive a mind, because it depended on confusing causes with conditions. That a man like Voltaire should have committed what now seems so gross a blunder, is a mortifying reflection for those who are able to appreciate his vast and penetrating genius, and it may teach the best of us a wholesome lesson. This fallacy was avoided by Montesquieu and Turgot; and the former writer in particular displayed such extraordinary ability that there can be little doubt that had he lived at a later period, and thus had the means of employing in their full extent the resources of political economy and physical science, he would have had the honour not only of laying the basis, but also of rearing the structure of the philosophy of the history of Man. As it was, he failed in conceiving what is the final object of every scientific inquiry, namely, the power of foretelling the future; and after his death, in 1755, all the finest intellects in France, Voltaire alone excepted, concentrated their attention upon the study of natural phenomena. [Montesquieu and Turgot actually did "predict the future" in regard to the severance of the American colonies from Britain; and Buckle has actually noted this in regard to Turgot (ch. xiii. note 144). As to the question of causes *versus* conditions, see the argument recapitulated in *Mr. Huth's Life of Buckle*, ii. 175. Buckle's formula, however, unduly simplifies the case, as it would often be equally accurate to call the conditions "great" and the "cause" small—*e.g.* in the case of a great fire begun by a small spark, falling in combustible material and fanned by a wind. Schopenhauer argued (essay *On Style*) that "to condition" is the same thing as "to cause." And see above, ch. viii. at note 22, Buckle's specific admission as to an "accident" introducing a "most important change." As to the statement in the closing sentence of the above note, it must be cancelled. *Rousseau's Contrat Social* and *Émile* appeared in 1762; and the *Nouvelle Héloïse* in 1761; the bulk of the work of Diderot, including his writings on social and historical questions, appeared after 1755; so did the bulk of the work of Turgot, his chief economic writings being dated 1766 and 1771; Condorcet was only twenty-two in 1755, and Volney was not born. One of the most widely read books of the time was *Raynal's Histoire Philosophique et politique . . . des deux Indes* (1770), in which Diderot collaborated; and *Mably's Observations sur l'histoire de France*, praised by Buckle, appeared in 1765. The *De l'Esprit* of Helvétius, finally, appeared in 1758, and his *De l'Homme* in 1772. Before, Buckle had stated that after 1750 the French intellect turned to *political* criticism.—ED.]

England a singular dearth of great speculative thinkers ; and this not because the ability was wanting, but because it was turned partly into practical pursuits, partly into political contests.* I shall hereafter examine the causes of this peculiarity, and endeavour to ascertain the extent to which it has influenced the fortunes of the country. That the results were on the whole beneficial, I entertain no doubt ; but they were unquestionably injurious to the progress of science, because they tended to divert it from all new truths except those likely to produce obvious and practical benefit. The consequence was that though the English made several great discoveries, they did not possess, during seventy years, a single man who took a really comprehensive view of the phenomena of nature ; not one who could be compared with those illustrious thinkers who in France reformed every branch of physical knowledge. Nor was it until more than two generations after the death of Newton that the first symptoms appeared of a remarkable reaction, which quickly displayed itself in nearly every department of the national intellect. In physics, it is enough to mention Dalton, Davy, and Young, each of whom was in his own field the founder of a new epoch ; while on other subjects I can only just refer, first, to the influence of the Scotch school ; and secondly to that sudden and well-deserved admiration for the German literature, of which Coleridge was the principal exponent, and which infused into the English mind a taste for generalizations higher and more fearless than any hitherto known. The history of this vast movement, which began early in the nineteenth century, will be traced in the future volumes of this work : at present I merely notice it as illustrating the fact that until the movement began, the English, though superior to the French in several matters of extreme importance, were for many years inferior to them in those large and philosophic views without which not only is the most patient industry of no avail, but even real discoveries lose their proper value, for want of such habits of generalization as would trace their connexion with each other, and consolidate their severed fragments into one vast system of complete and harmonious truth.

The interest attached to these inquiries has induced me to treat them at greater length than I had intended ; perhaps at greater length than is suitable to the suggestive and preparatory character of this Introduction. But the extraordinary success with which the French now cultivated physical knowledge is so curious, on account of its connexion with the Revolution, that I must mention a few more of its most prominent instances : though, for the sake of brevity, I will confine myself to those three great divisions which, when put together, form what is called Natural History, and in all of which we shall see that the most important steps were taken in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the first of these divisions, namely, the department of zoology, we owe to the Frenchmen of the eighteenth century those generalizations which are still the highest this branch of knowledge has reached. Taking zoology in the proper sense of the term, it consists only of two parts, the anatomical part, which is its statics, and the physiological part, which is its dynamics : the first referring to the structure of animals ; the other to their functions.[132] Both of these

[132] The line of demarcation between anatomy as statical, and physiology as dynamical, is clearly drawn by M. Comte (*Philos. Positive*, vol. iii. p. 303) and by MM. Robin et Verdeil (*Chimie Anatomique*, vol. i. pp. 11, 12, 40, 102, 188, 434). What is said by Carus (*Comparative Anatomy*, vol. ii. p. 356) and by Sir Benjamin Brodie (*Lectures on Pathology and Surgery*, p. 6) comes nearly to the same thing, though expressed with less precision. On the other hand, M. Milne Edwards (*Zoologie*, part i. p. 9) calls physiology "la science de la vie ;" which, if true, would simply prove that there is no physiology at all, for there certainly is at present no science of life.

[* Berkeley is here oddly overlooked ; and Hume, though Scotch, should be included among the great names of English philosophy. But the admission is entirely accurate as regards the succession to Newton ; and the explanation given points to the true account of the reign of Louis XIV.—that the national energy had been turned into military channels.—Ed.]

were worked out, nearly at the same time, by Cuvier and Bichat; and the leading conclusions at which they arrived remain, after the lapse of sixty years, undisturbed in their essential points. In 1795, Cuvier laid down the great principle that the study and classification of animals was to be, not as heretofore, with a view to external peculiarities, but with a view to internal organization; and that therefore no real advance could be made in our knowledge except by extending the boundaries of comparative anatomy.[133] This step, simple as it now appears, was of immense importance, since by it zoology was at once rescued from the hands of the observer, and thrown into those of the experimenter: the consequence of which has been the attainment of that precision and accuracy of detail which experiment alone can give, and which is every way superior to such popular facts as observation supplies. By thus indicating to naturalists the true path of inquiry, by accustoming them to a close and severe method, and by teaching them to despise those vague descriptions in which they had formerly delighted, Cuvier laid the foundation of a progress which during the last sixty years has surpassed the most sanguine expectations. This, then, is the real service rendered by Cuvier, that he overthrew the artificial system which the genius of Linnæus had raised up,[134] and substituted in its place that far superior scheme which gave the freest scope to future inquiry: since according to it all systems are to be deemed imperfect and provisional so long as anything remains to be learned respecting the comparative anatomy of the animal kingdom. The influence exercised by this great view was increased by the extraordinary skill and industry with which its proposer followed it out, and proved the practicability of his own precepts. His additions to our knowledge of comparative anatomy are probably more numerous than those made by any other man; but what has gained him most celebrity is the comprehensive spirit with which he used what he acquired. Independently of other generalizations, he is the author of that vast classification of the whole animal kingdom into vertebrata, mollusca, articulata, and radiata;[135] a classification which keeps its ground, and is one of the most remarkable instances of that large and philosophic spirit which France brought to bear upon the phenomena of the material world.[136]

[133] In his *Règne Animal*, vol. i. pp. vi. vii., he says that preceding naturalists "n'avaient guère considéré que les rapports extérieurs de ces espèces, et personne ne s'était occupé de coördonner les classes et les ordres d'après l'ensemble de la structure. . . . Je dus donc, et cette obligation me prit un temps considérable, je dus faire marcher de front l'anatomie et la zoologie, les dissections et le classement. . . . Les premiers résultats de ce double travail parurent en 1795, dans un mémoire spécial sur une nouvelle division des animaux à sang blanc."

[134] On the opposition between the methods of Linnæus and of Cuvier, see *Jenyns' Report on Zoology*, pp. 144, 145, in *Brit. Assoc. for* 1834.

[135] The foundations of this celebrated arrangement were laid by Cuvier, in a paper read in 1795. *Whewell's History of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 494. It appears, however (*Flourens, Travaux de Cuvier*, pp. 69, 70), that it was in or just after 1791 that the dissection of some mollusca suggested to him the idea of reforming the classification of the whole animal kingdom. Compare *Cuvier, Règne Animal*, vol. i. pp. 51, 52 note.

[136] The only formidable opposition made to Cuvier's arrangement has proceeded from the advocates of the doctrine of circular progression: a remarkable theory, of which Lamarck and Macleay are the real originators, and which is certainly supported by a considerable amount of evidence. Still, among the great majority of competent zoologists, the fourfold division holds its ground, although the constantly-increasing accuracy of microscopical observations has detected a nervous system much lower in the scale than was formerly suspected, and has thereby induced some anatomists to divide the radiata into acrita and nematoneura. *Owen's Invertebrata*, 1855, pp. 14, 15; and *Rymer Jones's Animal Kingdom*, 1855, p. 4. As, however, it seems probable that all animals have a distinct nervous system, this subdivision is only provisional; and it is very likely that when our microscopes are more improved we shall have to return to Cuvier's arrangement. Some of Cuvier's successors have removed the apodous

Great, however, as is the name of Cuvier, a greater still remains behind. I allude, of course, to Bichat, whose reputation is steadily increasing as our knowledge advances, and who, if we compare the shortness of his life with the reach and depth of his views, must be pronounced the most profound thinker and the most consummate observer by whom the organization of the animal frame has yet been studied.[137] He wanted indeed that comprehensive knowledge for which Cuvier was remarkable ; but though on this account his generalizations were drawn from a smaller surface, they were on the other hand less provisional ; they were, I think, more complete, and certainly they dealt with more momentous topics. For the attention of Bichat was pre-eminently directed to the human frame [138] in the largest sense of the word ; his object being so to investigate the organization of man as to rise, if possible, to some knowledge concerning the causes and nature of life. In this magnificent enterprise, considered as a whole, he failed ; but what he effected in certain parts of it is so extraordinary, and has given such an impetus to some of the highest branches of inquiry, that I will briefly indicate his method, in order to compare it with that other method which, at the same moment, Cuvier adopted with immense success.

The important step taken by Cuvier was that he insisted on the necessity of a comprehensive study of the organs of animals, instead of following the old plan of merely describing their habits and external peculiarities. This was a vast improvement, since, in the place of loose and popular observations, he substituted direct experiment, and hence introduced into zoology a precision formerly unknown.[139] But Bichat, with a still keener insight, saw that even this was not enough. He saw that, each organ being composed of different tissues, it was requisite to study the tissues themselves before we could learn the way in which, by their combination, the organs are produced. This, like

echinoderms from the radiata ; but in this Mr. Rymer Jones (*Animal Kingdom*, p. 211) vindicates the Cuverian classification.

[137] We may except Aristotle ; but between Aristotle and Bichat I can find no middle man.

[138] But not exclusively. M. Blainville (*Physiol. comparée*, vol. ii. p. 304) says, "celui qui, comme Bichat, bornait ses études à l'anatomie humaine ; " and at p. 350, " quand on ne considère que ce qui se passe chez l'homme, ainsi que l'a fait Bichat." This, however, is much too positively stated. Bichat mentions " les expériences nombreuses que j'ai faites sur les animaux vivans." *Bichat, Anatomie Générale*, vol. i. p. 332 ; and for other instances of his experiments on animals below man, see the same work, vol. i. pp. 164, 284, 311, 312, 326, vol. ii. pp. 13, 25, 69, 73, 107, 133, 135, 225, 264, 423, vol. iii. pp. 151, 218, 242, 262, 363, 364, 400, 478, 501, vol. iv. pp. 27, 28, 34, 46, 229, 247, 471 : see also *Bichat, Recherches sur la Vie*, pp. 262, 265, 277, 312, 336, 356, 358, 360, 368, 384, 400, 411, 439, 455, 476, 482, 494, 512 ; and his *Traité des Membranes*, pp. 48, 64, 67, 130, 158, 196, 201, 224. These are all experiments on inferior animals, which aided this great physiologist in establishing those vast generalizations which, though applied to man, were by no means collected merely from human anatomy. The impossibility of understanding physiology without studying comparative anatomy is well pointed out in Mr. Rymer Jones's work, *Organization of the Animal Kingdom*, 1855, pp. 601, 791.

[139] Mr. Swainson (*Geography and Classification of Animals*, p. 170) complains, strangely enough, that Cuvier " rejects the more plain and obvious characters which every one can see, and which had been so happily employed by Linnæus, and makes the differences between these groups to depend upon circumstances which no one but an anatomist can understand." See also p. 173 : " characters which, however good, are not always comprehensible, except to the anatomist." (Compare *Hodgson on the Ornithology of Nepal*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xix. p. 179, Calcutta, 1836.) In other words, this is a complaint that Cuvier attempted to raise zoology to a science, and therefore, of course, deprived it of some of its popular attractions, in order to invest it with other attractions of a far higher character. The errors introduced into the natural sciences by relying upon observation instead of experiment have been noticed by many writers ; and by none more judiciously than by M. Saint Hilaire in his *Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. p. 98.

all really great ideas, was not entirely struck out by a single man ; for the physiological value of the tissues had been recognized by three or four of the immediate predecessors of Bichat, such as Carmichael Smyth, Bonn, Bordeu, and Fallopius. These inquirers, however, notwithstanding their industry, had effected nothing of much moment, since, though they collected several special facts, there was in their observations that want of harmony and that general incompleteness always characteristic of the labours of men who do not rise to a commanding view of the subject with which they deal.[140]

It was under these circumstances that Bichat began those researches which, looking at their actual and still more at their prospective results, are probably the most valuable contribution ever made to physiology by a single mind. In 1801, only a year before his death,[141] he published his great work on anatomy, in which the study of the organs is made altogether subservient to the study of the tissues composing them. He lays it down that the body of man consists of twenty-one distinct tissues, all of which, though essentially different, have in common the two great properties of extensibility and contractility.[142] These tissues he, with indefatigable industry,[143] subjected to every sort of examination ; he examined them in different ages and diseases, with a view to ascertain the laws of their normal and pathological development.[144] He studied the way each tissue is

[140] It is very doubtful if Bichat was acquainted with the works of Smyth, Bonn, or Fallopius, and I do not remember that he anywhere even mentions their names. He had, however, certainly studied Bordeu ; but I suspect that the author by whom he was most influenced was Pinel, whose pathological generalizations were put forward just about the time when Bichat began to write. Compare *Bichat, Traité des Membranes*, pp. 3, 4, 107, 191 ; *Béclard, Anat. Gén.* pp. 65, 66 ; *Bouillaud, Philos. Médicale*, p. 26 ; *Blainville, Physiol. comparée*, vol. i. p. 284, vol. ii. pp. 19, 252 ; *Henle, Anat. Gén.* vol. i. pp. 119, 120.

[141] *Biog. Univ.* vol. iv. pp. 468, 469.

[142] For a list of the tissues, see *Bichat, Anat. Gén.* vol. i. p. 49. At p. 50 he says, " en effet, quel que soit le point de vue sous lequel on considère ces tissus, ils ne se ressemblent nullement : c'est la nature, et non la science, qui a tiré une ligne de démarcation entre eux." There is, however, now reason to think that both animal and vegetable tissues are, in all their varieties, referrible to a cellular origin. This great view, which M. Schwann principally worked out, will, if fully established, be the largest generalization we possess respecting the organic world, and it would be difficult to overrate its value. Still there is danger lest, in prematurely reaching at so vast a law, we should neglect the subordinate but strongly-marked differences between the tissues as they actually exist. Burdach (*Traité de Physiologie*, vol. vi. pp. 195, 196) has made some good remarks on the confusion introduced into the study of tissues by neglecting those salient characteristics which were indicated by Bichat.

[143] Pinel says, " dans un seul hiver il ouvrit plus de six cents cadavres." *Notice sur Bichat*, p. xiii., in vol. i. of *Anat. Gén.* By such enormous labour, and by working day and night in a necessarily polluted atmosphere, he laid the foundation for that diseased habit which caused a slight accident to prove fatal, and carried him off at the age of thirty-one. " L'esprit a peine à concevoir que la vie d'un seul homme puisse suffire à tant de travaux, à tant de découvertes, faites ou indiquées : Bichat est mort avant d'avoir accompli sa trente-deuxième année ! " *Pinel*, p. xvi.

[144] To this sort of comparative anatomy (if it may be so called), which before his time scarcely existed, Bichat attached great importance, and clearly saw that it would eventually become of the utmost value for pathology. *Anat. Gén.* vol. i. pp. 331, 332. vol. ii. pp. 234–241, vol. iv. p. 417, etc. Unfortunately these investigations were not properly followed up by his immediate successors ; and Müller, writing long after his death, was obliged to refer chiefly to Bichat for " the true principles of general pathology." *Müller's Physiology*, 1840, vol. i. p. 808. M. Vogel too, in his *Pathological Anatomy*, 1847, pp. 398, 413, notices the error committed by the earlier pathologists, in looking at changes in the organs, and neglecting those in the tissues ; and the same remark is made in *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie Anatomique*, 1853, vol. i. p. 45 ; and in *Henle, Traité d'Anatomie*, vol. i. p. vii., Paris, 1843. That " structural anatomy," and " structural development,"

affected by moisture, air, and temperature ; also the way in which their properties are altered by various chemical substances,[145] and even their effect on the taste.[146] By these means, and by many other experiments tending in the same direction, he took so great and sudden a step, that he is to be regarded not merely as an innovator on an old science, but rather as the creator of a new one.[147] And although subsequent observers have corrected some of his conclusions, this has only been done by following his method ; the value of which is now so generally recognized, that it is adopted by nearly all the best anatomists, who, differing in other points, are agreed as to the necessity of basing the future progress of anatomy on a knowledge of the tissues, the supreme importance of which Bichat was the first to perceive.[148]

The methods of Bichat and of Cuvier, when put together, exhaust the actual resources of zoological science ; so that all subsequent naturalists have been compelled to follow one of these two schemes ; that is, either to follow Cuvier in comparing the organs of animals, or else to follow Bichat in comparing the tissues which compose the organs.[149] And inasmuch as one comparison is

are to be made the foundations of pathology is moreover observed in *Simon's Pathology*, 1850, p. 115 (compare *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, 1848, p. 67), who ascribes the chief merit of this "rational pathology" to Henle and Schwann ; omitting to mention that they only executed Bichat's scheme, and (be it said with every respect for these eminent men) executed it with a comprehensiveness much inferior to that displayed by their great predecessor. In *Broussais, Examen des Doctrines Médicales*, vol. iv. pp. 106, 107, there are some just and liberal observations on the immense service which Bichat rendered to pathology. See also *Béclard, Anatomie*, Paris, 1852, p. 184.

[145] *Bichat, Anat. Gén.* vol. i. pp. 51, 160, 161, 259, 372, vol. ii. pp. 47, 448, 449, vol. iii. pp. 33, 168, 208, 309, 406, 435, vol. iv. pp. 21, 52, 455–461, 517.

[146] According to M. Comte (*Philos. Pos.* vol. iii. p. 319), no one had thought of this before Bichat. MM. Robin et Verdeil, in their recent great work, fully admit the necessity of employing this singular resource. *Chimie Anatomique*, 1853, vol. i. pp. 18, 125, 182, 357, 531.

[147] "Dès-lors il créa une science nouvelle, l'anatomie générale." *Pinel sur Bichat*, p. xii. "À Bichat appartient véritablement la gloire d'avoir conçu et surtout exécuté, le premier, le plan d'une anatomie nouvelle." *Bouillaud, Philos. Médicale*, p. 27. "Bichat fut le créateur de l'histologie, en assignant des caractères précis à chaque classe de tissus." *Burdach, Physiologie*, vol. vii. p. 111. "Le créateur de l'anatomie générale fut Bichat." *Henle, Anatomie*, vol. i. p. 120. Similar remarks will be found in *Saint Hilaire, Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. p. 10 ; and in *Robin et Verdeil, Chimie. Anat.* vol. i. p. xviii., vol. iii. p. 405.

[148] In *Béclard, Anat. Gén.* 1852, p. 61, it is said that "la recherche de ces tissus élémentaires, ou éléments organiques, est devenue la préoccupation presque exclusive des anatomistes de nos jours." Compare *Blainville, Physiol. Gén. et Comp.* vol. i. p. 93 : "Aujourd'hui nous allons plus avant, nous pénétrons dans la structure intime, non seulement de ces organes, mais encore des tissus qui concourent à leur composition ; nous faisons en un mot de la véritable anatomie, de l'anatomie proprement dite." And at p. 105 : "c'est un genre de recherches qui a été cultivé avec beaucoup d'activité, et qui a reçu une grande extension depuis la publication du bel ouvrage de Bichat." See also vol. ii. p. 303.

In consequence of this movement, there has sprung up, under the name of *Degenerations of Tissues*, an entirely new branch of morbid anatomy, of which, I believe, no instance will be found before the time of Bichat, but the value of which is now recognized by most pathologists. Compare *Paget's Surgical Pathology*, vol. i. pp. 98–112 ; *Williams's Principles of Medicine*, pp. 369–376 ; *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. viii. p. 367 ; *Reports of Brit. Assoc.* vol. vi. p. 147 ; *Jones and Sieveking's Pathological Anatomy*, 1854, pp. 154–156, 302–304, 555–558. "They are," say these last writers, "of extremely frequent occurrence ; but their nature has scarcely been recognized until of late."

[149] Cuvier completely neglected the study of tissues ; and in the very few instances in which he mentions them, his language is extremely vague. Thus, in his *Règne Animal*, vol. i. p. 12, he says of living bodies, "leur tissu est donc composé de réseaux et de mailles, ou de fibres et de lames solides qui renferment des liquides dans leurs intervalles."

chiefly suggestive of function, and the other comparison of structure, it is evident that to raise the study of the animal world to the highest point of which it is capable, both these great plans are necessary : but if we ask which of the two plans, unaided by the other, is more likely to produce important results, the palm must, I think, be yielded to that proposed by Bichat. Certainly if we look at the question as one to be decided by authority, a majority of the most eminent anatomists and physiologists now incline to the side of Bichat, rather than to that of Cuvier ; while, as a matter of history, it may be proved that the reputation of Bichat has, with the advance of knowledge, increased more rapidly than that of his great rival. What however appears to me still more decisive is that the two most important discoveries made in our time respecting the classification of animals are entirely the result of the method which Bichat suggested. The first discovery is that made by Agassiz, who in the course of his ichthyological researches was led to perceive that the arrangement by Cuvier according to organs did not fulfil its purpose in regard to fossil fishes, because in the lapse of ages the characteristics of their structure were destroyed.[150] He therefore adopted the only other remaining plan, and studied the tissues, which, being less complex than the organs, are oftener found intact. The result was the very remarkable discovery that the tegumentary membrane of fishes is so intimately connected with their organization, that if the whole of a fish has perished except this membrane, it is practicable, by noting its characteristics, to reconstruct the animal in its most essential parts. Of the value of this principle of harmony some idea may be formed from the circumstance that on it Agassiz has based the whole of that celebrated classification of which he is the sole author, and by which fossil ichthyology has for the first time assumed a precise and definite shape.[151]

The other discovery, of which the application is much more extensive, was made in exactly the same way. It consists of the striking fact that the teeth of each animal have a necessary connexion with the entire organization of its frame ; so that within certain limits we can predict the organization by examining the tooth. This beautiful instance of the regularity of the operations of nature was not known until more than thirty years after the death of Bichat, and it is evidently due to the prosecution of that method which he sedulously inculcated. For the teeth never having been properly examined in regard to their separate tissues, it was believed that they were essentially devoid of structure, or, as some thought, were simply a fibrous texture.[152] But by minute microscopic investigations, it has been recently ascertained that the tissues of the teeth are strictly analogous to those of other parts of the body ; [153] and that the ivory, or dentine

[150] A well-known ornithologist makes the same complaint respecting the classification of birds. *Strickland on Ornithology, Brit. Assoc. for* 1844, pp. 209, 210. Even in regard to living species, Cuvier (*Règne Animal*, vol. ii. p. 128) says, " La classe des poissons est de toutes, celle qui offre le plus de difficultés quand on veut la subdiviser en ordres d'après des caractères fixés et sensibles."

[151] The discoveries of M. Agassiz are embodied in his great work, *Recherches sur les Poissons fossiles* : but the reader who may not have an opportunity of consulting that costly publication, will find two essays by this eminent naturalist, which will give an idea of his treatment of the subject, in *Reports of British Assoc. for* 1842, pp. 80–88, and for 1844, pp. 279–310. How essential this study is to the geologist, appears from the remark of Sir R. Murchison (*Siluria*, 1854, p. 417), that " fossil fishes have everywhere proved the most exact chronometers of the age of rocks."

[152] That they were composed of fibres, was the prevailing doctrine, until the discovery of their tubes, in 1835, by Purkinjé. Before Purkinjé, only one observer, Leeuwenhoek, had announced their tubular structure ; but no one believed what he said, and Purkinjé was unacquainted with his researches. Compare *Nasmyth's Researches on the Teeth*, 1839, p. 159 ; *Owen's Odontography*, 1840–1845, vol. i. pp. ix. x. ; *Henle, Anat. Gén.* vol. ii. p. 457 ; *Reports of Brit. Assoc.* vol. vii. pp. 135, 136 (*Transac. of Sections*).

[153] Mr. Nasmyth, in his valuable but, I regret to add, posthumous work, notices as the result of these discoveries " the close affinity subsisting between the dental and other

as it is now called,[154] is highly organized ; that it, as well as the enamel, is cellular, and is in fact a development of the living pulp. This discovery, which to the philosophic anatomist is pregnant with meaning, was made about 1838 ; and though the preliminary steps were taken by Purkinjé, Retzius, and Schwann, the principal merit is due to Nasmyth and Owen,[155] between whom it is disputed, but whose rival claims we are not here called upon to adjust.[156] What I wish to observe is that the discovery is similar to that which we owe to Agassiz ; similar in the method by which it was worked out, and also in the results which have followed from it. Both are due to a recognition of the fundamental maxim of Bichat, that the study of organs must be subordinate to the study of tissues, and both have supplied the most valuable aid to zoological classification. On this point, the service rendered by Owen is incontestable, whatever may be thought of his original claims. This eminent naturalist has, with immense industry, applied the discovery to all vertebrate animals ; and in an elaborate work specially devoted to the subject he has placed beyond dispute the astonishing fact that the structure of a single tooth is a criterion of the nature and organization of the species to which it belongs.[157]

Whoever has reflected much on the different stages through which our knowledge has successively passed, must, I think, be led to the conclusion that, while fully recognizing the great merit of these investigators of the animal frame, our highest admiration ought to be reserved not for those who make the discoveries, but rather for those who point out how the discoveries are to be made.[158] When the true path of inquiry has once been indicated, the rest is comparatively easy. The beaten highway is always open ; and the difficulty is, not to find those who will travel the old road, but those who will make a fresh one. Every age produces in abundance men of sagacity and of considerable industry, who, while perfectly competent to increase the details of a science, are unable to extend its distant boundaries. This is because such extension must be accompanied by a new method,[159] which, to be valuable as well as new, supposes on the part of its

organized tissues of the animal frame." *Researches on the Development, etc., of the Teeth*, 1849, p. 198. This is, properly speaking, a continuation of Mr. Nasmyth's former book, which bore the same title, and was published in 1839.

[154] This name, which Mr. Owen appears to have first suggested, has been objected to, though, as it seems to me, on insufficient grounds. Compare *Owen's Odontography*, vol. i. p. iii. with *Nasmyth's Researches*, 1849, pp. 3–4. It is adopted in *Carpenter's Human Physiol.* 1846, p. 154 ; and in *Jones and Sieveking's Patholog. Anat.* 1854, pp. 483, 486.

[155] See the correspondence in *Brit. Assoc. for* 1841, Sec., pp. 2–23.

[156] In the notice of it in *Whewell's Hist. of Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 678, nothing is said about Mr. Nasmyth ; while in that in *Wilson's Human Anatomy*, p. 65, edit. 1851, nothing is said about Mr. Owen. A specimen of the justice with which men treat their contemporaries. Dr. Grant (*Supplement to Hooper's Medical Dict.* 1848, p. 1390) says, " the researches of Mr. Owen tend to confirm those of Mr. Nasmyth." Nasmyth, in his last work (*Researches on the Teeth*, 1849, p. 81), only refers to Owen to point out an error ; while Owen (*Odontography*, vol. i. pp. xlvi.–lvi.) treats Nasmyth as an impudent plagiarist.

[157] Dr. Whewell (*Hist. of Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 678) says that " he has carried into every part of the animal kingdom an examination, founded upon this discovery, and has published the results of this in his *Odontography*." If this able but rather hasty writer had read the *Odontography*, he would have found that Mr. Owen, so far from carrying the examination " into every part of the animal kingdom," distinctly confines himself to " one of the primary divisions of the animal kingdom " (I quote his own words from *Odontography*, vol. i. p. lxvii.), and appears to think that below the vetebrata the inquiry would furnish little or no aid for the purposes of classification.

[158] But in comparing the merits of discoverers themselves, we must praise him who proves rather than him who suggests. See some sensible remarks in *Owen's Odontography*, vol. i. p. xlix. ; which, however, do not affect my observations on the superiority of method.

[159] By a new method of inquiring into a subject, I mean an application to it of generalizations from some other subject, so as to widen the field of thought. To call this a new

suggester not only a complete mastery over the resources of his subject, but also the possession of originality and comprehensiveness,—the two rarest forms of human genius. In this consists the real difficulty of every great pursuit. As soon as any department of knowledge has been generalized into laws, it contains, either in itself or in its applications, three distinct branches ; namely, inventions, discoveries, and method. Of these, the first corresponds to art ; the second to science ; and the third to philosophy. In this scale, inventions have by far the lowest place, and minds of the highest order are rarely occupied by them. Next in the series come discoveries ; and here the province of intellect really begins since here the first attempt is made to search after truth on its own account, and to discard those practical considerations to which inventions are of necessity referred. This is science properly so called ; and how difficult it is to reach this stage is evident from the fact that all half-civilized nations have made many great inventions, but no great discoveries. The highest, however, of all the three stages is the philosophy of method, which bears the same relation to science that science bears to art. Of its immense, and indeed supreme importance the annals of knowledge supply abundant evidence ; and for want of it some very great men have effected absolutely nothing, consuming their lives in fruitless industry, not because their labour was slack, but because their method was sterile. The progress of every science is effected more by the scheme according to which it is cultivated than by the actual ability of the cultivators themselves. If they who travel in an unknown country spend their force in running on the wrong road, they will miss the point at which they aim, and perchance may faint and fall by the way. In that long and difficult journey after truth which the human mind has yet to perform, and of which we in our generation can only see the distant prospect, it is certain that success will depend not on the speed with which men hasten in the path of inquiry, but rather on the skill with which that path is selected for them by those great and comprehensive thinkers who are as the lawgivers and founders of knowledge ; because they supply its deficiencies, not by investigating particular difficulties, but by establishing some large and sweeping innovation which opens up a new vein of thought, and creates fresh resources, which it is left for their posterity to work out and apply.

It is from this point of view that we are to rate the value of Bichat, whose works, like those of all men of the highest eminence,—like those of Aristotle, Bacon, and Descartes,—mark an epoch in the history of the human mind, and as such can only be fairly estimated by connecting them with the social and intellectual condition of the age in which they appeared. This gives an importance and a meaning to the writings of Bichat of which few indeed are fully aware. The two greatest recent discoveries respecting the classification of animals are, as we have just seen, the result of his teaching ; but his influence has produced other effects still more momentous. He, aided by Cabanis, rendered to physiology the incalculable service of preventing it from participating in that melancholy reaction to which France was exposed early in the nineteenth century. This is too large a subject to discuss at present ; but I may mention that when Napoleon, not from feelings of conviction, but for selfish purposes of his own, attempted to restore the power of ecclesiastical principles, the men of letters, with disgraceful subserviency, fell into his view ; * and there began a marked decline in that

method is rather vague ; but there is no other word to express the process. Properly speaking, there are only two methods, the inductive and the deductive ; which, though essentially different, are so mixed together as to make it impossible wholly to separate them. The discussion of the real nature of this difference I reserve for my comparison, in the next volume, of the German and American civilizations. [This purpose was not fulfilled.—Ed.]

[* As English physiologists are declared in the same paragraph to have shown themselves reactionary, the imputation of "disgraceful subserviency" to French men of letters seems supererogatory. Reaction was as natural to them as to any class of the community, and it spread after the Restoration. Chateaubriand, whose reactionism

independent and innovating spirit with which during fifty years the French had cultivated the highest departments of knowledge. Hence that metaphysical school arose which, though professing to hold aloof from theology, was intimately allied with it ; and whose showy conceits form, in their ephemeral splendour, a striking contrast to the severer methods followed in the preceding generation.[160] Against this movement the French physiologists have as a body always protested ; and it may be clearly proved that their opposition, which even the great abilities of Cuvier were unable to win over, is partly due to the impetus given by Bichat, in enforcing in his own pursuit the necessity of rejecting those assumptions by which metaphysicians and theologians seek to control every science. As an illustration of this, I may mention two facts worthy of note. The first is that in England, where during a considerable period the influence of Bichat was scarcely felt, many even of our eminent physiologists have shown a marked disposition to ally themselves with the reactionary party ; and have not only opposed such novelties as they could not immediately explain, but have degraded their own noble science by making it a handmaid to serve the purposes of natural theology. The other fact is that in France the disciples of Bichat have with scarcely an exception rejected the study of final causes, to which the school of Cuvier still adheres : while, as a natural consequence, the followers of Bichat are associated in geology with the doctrine of uniformity ; in zoology, with that of the transmutation of species ; and in astronomy, with the nebular hypothesis : vast and magnificent schemes, under whose shelter the human mind seeks an escape from that dogma of interference which the march of knowledge everywhere reduces, and the existence of which is incompatible with those conceptions of eternal order towards which, during the last two centuries, we have been constantly tending.

These great phenomena which the French intellect presents, and of which I have only sketched a rapid outline, will be related with suitable detail in the latter part of this work, when I shall examine the present condition of the European mind, and endeavour to estimate its future prospects. To complete, however, our appreciation of Bichat, it will be necessary to take notice of what some consider the most valuable of all his productions, in which he aimed at nothing less than an exhaustive generalization of the functions of life. It appears, indeed to me that in many important points Bichat here fell short ; but the work itself still stands alone, and is so striking an instance of the genius of the author that I will give a short account of its fundamental views.

Life considered as a whole has two distinct branches ;[161] one branch being characteristic of animals, the other of vegetables. That which is confined to animals is called animal life ; that which is common both to animals and vegetables is called organic life. While, therefore, plants have only one life, man has two distinct lives, which are governed by entirely different laws, and which, though intimately connected, constantly oppose each other. In the organic life,

[160] In literature and in theology Chateaubriand and De Maistre were certainly the most eloquent, and were probably the most influential leaders of this reaction. Neither of them liked induction, but preferred reasoning deductively from premises which they assumed, and which they called first principles. De Maistre, however, was a powerful dialectician, and on that account his works are read by many who care nothing for the gorgeous declamation of Chateaubriand. In metaphysics a precisely similar movement occurred ; and Laromiguière, Royer Collard, and Maine de Biran founded that celebrated school which culminated in M. Cousin, and which is equally characterized by an ignorance of the philosophy of induction, and by a want of sympathy with physical science.

[161] *Bichat, Recherches sur la Vie et la Mort*, pp. 5–9, 226 ; and his *Anat. Gén.* vol. i. p. 73.

suited and pleased Napoleon, boldly attacked him after the execution of the Duc d'Enghien. Neither were Fontanes, Morellet, Daunou, and Volney subservient. (Cp. Charpentier, *La Litt. Française au 19e Siècle*, pp. 7, 12, 27 ; Albert, *La Litt. Fr. sous la Révol.*, etc., 1891, p. 83. Laromiguière, mentioned in the next note, gave offence by his lectures, and had to give them up.—Ed.]

man exists solely for himself ; in the animal life he comes in contact with others. The functions of the first are purely internal, those of the second are external. His organic life is limited to the double process of creation and destruction : the creative process being that of assimilation, as digestion, circulation, and nutrition ; the destructive process being that of excretion, such as exhalation and the like. This is what man has in common with plants ; and of this life he, when in a natural state, is unconscious. But the characteristic of his animal life is consciousness, since by it he is made capable of moving, of feeling, of judging. By virtue of the first life he is merely a vegetable ; by the addition of the second he becomes an animal.

If now we look at the organs by which in man the functions of these two lives are carried on, we shall be struck by the remarkable fact that the organs of his vegetable life are very irregular, those of his animal life very symmetrical. His vegetative or organic life is conducted by the stomach, the intestines, and the glandular system in general, such as the liver and the pancreas ; all of which are irregular, and admit of the greatest variety of form and development, without their functions being seriously disturbed. But in his animal life the organs are so essentially symmetrical that a very slight departure from the ordinary type impairs their action.[162] Not only the brain, but also the organs of sense, as the eyes, the nose, the ears, are perfectly symmetrical ; and they, as well as the other organs of animal life, as the feet and hands, are double, presenting on each side of the body two separate parts which correspond with each other, and produce a symmetry unknown to our vegetative life, the organs of which are, for the most part, merely single, as in the stomach, liver, pancreas, and spleen.[163]

From this fundamental difference between the organs of the two lives there have arisen several other differences of great interest. Our animal life being double, while our organic life is single, it becomes possible for the former life to take rest, that is, stop part of its functions for a time, and afterwards

[162] " C'est de là, sans doute, que naît cette autre différence entre les organes des deux vies, savoir, que la nature se livre bien plus rarement à des écarts de conformation dans la vie animale que dans la vie organique. . . . C'est une remarque qui n'a pu échapper à celui dont les dissections ont été un peu multipliées, que les fréquentes variations de formes, de grandeur, de position, de direction des organes internes, comme la rate, le foie, l'estomac, les reins, les organes salivaires, etc. . . . Jetons maintenant les yeux sur les organes de la vie animale, sur les sens, les nerfs, le cerveau, les muscles volontaires, le larynx ; tout y est exact, précis, rigoureusement déterminé dans la forme, la grandeur et la position. On n'y voit presque jamais de variétés de conformation ; s'il en existe, les fonctions sont troublées, anéanties ; tandis qu'elles restent les mêmes dans la vie organique, au milieu des altérations diverses des parties." *Bichat sur la Vie*, pp. 23–25. Part of this view is corroborated by the evidence collected by Saint Hilaire (*Anomalies de l'Organisation*, vol. i. pp. 248 seq.) of the extraordinary aberrations to which the vegetative organs are liable ; and he mentions (vol. ii. p. 8) the case of a man in whose body, on dissection, " on reconnut que tous les viscères étaient transposés." Comparative anatomy supplies another illustration. The bodies of mollusca are less symmetrical than those of articulata ; and in the former the " vegetal series of organs," says Mr. Owen, are more developed than the animal series ; while in the articulata " the advance is most conspicuous in the organs peculiar to animal life." *Owen's Invertebrata*, p. 470. Compare *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. i. pp. 153, 189 ; and a confirmation of the " unsymmetrical " organs of the gasteropoda, in *Grant's Comparative Anatomy* p. 461. This curious antagonism is still further seen in the circumstance that idiots, whose functions of nutrition and of excretion are often very active, are at the same time remarkable for a want of symmetry in the organs of sensation. *Esquirol, Maladies Mentales*, vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

A result, though perhaps an unconscious one, of the application and extension of these ideas is that within the last few years there has arisen a pathological theory of what are called " symmetrical diseases," the leading facts of which have been long known, but are now only beginning to be generalized. See *Paget's Pathology*, vol. i. pp. 18–22, vol. ii. pp. 244, 245 ; *Simon's Pathology*, pp. 210, 211 ; *Carpenter's Human Physiol.* pp. 607, 608.

[163] *Bichat sur la Vie*, pp. 15–21.

renew them. But in organic life, to stop is to die. The life which we have in common with vegetables never sleeps ; and if its movements entirely cease only for a single instant, they cease for ever. That process by which our bodies receive some substances and give out others, admits of no interruption ; it is by its nature incessant, because, being single, it can never receive supplementary aid. The other life we may refresh, not only in sleep, but even when we are awake. Thus we can exercise the organs of movement while we rest the organs of thought ; and it is even possible to relieve a function while we continue to employ it, because, our animal life being double, we are able for a short time, in case of one of its parts being fatigued, to avail ourselves of the corresponding part ; using, for instance, a single eye or a single arm, in order to rest the one which circumstances may have exhausted ; an expedient which the single nature of organic life entirely prevents.[164]

Our animal life being thus essentially intermittent, and our organic life being essentially continuous,[165] it has necessarily followed that the first is capable of an improvement of which the second is incapable. There can be no improvement without comparison, since it is only by comparing one state with another that we can rectify previous errors, and avoid future ones. Now, our organic life does not admit of such comparison, because, being uninterrupted, it is not broken into stages, but when unchequered by disease, runs on in dull monotony. On the other hand, the functions of our animal life, such as thought, speech, sight, and motion, cannot be long exercised without rest ; and as they are constantly suspended, it becomes practicable to compare them, and, therefore, to improve them. It is by possessing this resource that the first cry of the infant gradually rises into the perfect speech of the man, and the unformed habits of early thought are ripened into that maturity which nothing can give but a long series of successive efforts.[166] But our organic life, which we have in common with vegetables, admits of no interruption, and consequently of no improvement. It obeys its own laws ; but it derives no benefit from that repetition to which animal life is exclusively indebted. Its functions, such as nutrition and the like, exist in man several months before he is born, and while, his animal life not having yet begun, the faculty of comparison, which is the basis of improvement, is impossible.[167] And although, as the human frame increases in size, its vegetative organs become larger, it cannot be supposed that their functions really improve, since, in ordinary cases, their duties are performed as regularly and as completely in childhood as in middle age.[168]

[164] *Ibid.* pp. 21–50.

[165] On intermittence as a quality of animal life, see *Holland's Medical Notes*, pp. 313, 314, where Bichat is mentioned as its great expounder. As to the essential continuity of organic life, see *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. viii. p. 420. M. Comte has made some interesting remarks on Bichat's law of intermittence. *Philos. Positive*, vol. iii. pp. 300, 395, 744, 745, 750, 751.

[166] On the development arising from practice, see *Bichat sur la Vie*, pp. 207–225.

[167] *Ibid.* pp. 189–203, 225–230. M. Broussais also (in his able work, *Cours de Phrénologie*, p. 487) says that comparison only begins after birth ; but surely this must be very doubtful. Few physiologists will deny that embryological phenomena, though neglected by metaphysicians, play a great part in shaping the future character ; and I do not see how any system of psychology can be complete which ignores considerations probable in themselves, and not refuted by special evidence. So carelessly, however, has this subject been investigated, that we have the most conflicting statements respecting even the *vagitus uterinus*, which, if it exists to the extent alleged by some physiologists, would be a decisive proof that animal life (in the sense of Bichat) does begin during the fœtal period. Compare *Burdach, Physiol.* vol. iv. pp. 113, 114, with *Wagner's Physiol.* p. 182.

[168] " Les organes internes qui entrent alors en exercice, ou qui accroissent beaucoup leur action, n'ont besoin d'aucune éducation ; ils atteignent tout à coup une perfection à laquelle ceux de la vie animale ne parviennent que par habitude d'agir souvent." *Bichat sur la Vie*, p. 231.

Thus it is that, although other causes conspire, it may be said that the progressiveness of animal life is due to its intermittence ; the unprogressiveness of organic life to its continuity. It may, moreover, be said, that the intermittence of the first life results from the symmetry of its organs, while the continuity of the second life results from their irregularity. To this wide and striking generalization many objections may be made, some of them apparently insuperable ; but that it contains the germs of great truths I entertain little doubt, and at all events it is certain that the method cannot be too highly praised, for it unites the study of function and structure with that of embryology, of vegetable physiology, of the theory of comparison, and of the influence of habit ; a vast and magnificent field, which the genius of Bichat was able to cover, but of which, since him, neither physiologists nor metaphysicians have even attempted a general survey.

This stationary condition, during the present century, of a subject of such intense interest is a decisive proof of the extraordinary genius of Bichat ; since, notwithstanding the additions made to physiology, and to every branch of physics connected with it, nothing has been done at all comparable to that theory of life which he, with far inferior resources, was able to construct. This stupendous work he left, indeed, very imperfect ; but even in its deficiencies we see the hand of the great master, whom, on his own subject, no one has yet approached. His essay on life may well be likened to those broken fragments of ancient art which, imperfect as they are, still bear the impress of the inspiration which gave them birth, and present in each separate part that unity of conception which to us makes them a complete and living whole.

From the preceding summary of the progress of physical knowledge, the reader may form some idea of the ability of those eminent men who arose in France during the latter half of the eighteenth century. To complete the picture, it is only necessary to examine what was done in the two remaining branches of natural history, namely, botany and mineralogy, in both of which the first great steps towards raising each study to a science were taken by Frenchmen a few years before the Revolution.

In botany, although our knowledge of particular facts has during the last hundred years rapidly increased,[169] we are only possessed of two generalizations wide enough to be called laws of nature. The first generalization concerns the structure of plants ; the other concerns their physiology. That concerning their physiology is the beautiful morphological law, according to which the different appearance of the various organs arises from arrested development : the stamens, pistils, corolla, calyx, and bracts being simply modifications or successive stages of the leaf. This is one of many valuable discoveries we owe to Germany, it being made by Göthe late in the eighteenth century.[170] With its importance

[169] Dioscorides and Galen knew from 450 to 600 plants (*Winckler, Geschichte der Botanik*, 1854, pp. 34, 40) ; but, according to Cuvier (*Éloges*, vol. iii. p. 468), Linnæus in 1778 " en indiquait environ huit mille espèces ; " and Meyen (*Geog. of Plants*, p. 4) says, " at the time of Linnæus's death, about 8,000 species were known." Dr. Whewell, in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, p. 247, says " about 10,000." Since then the progress has been uninterrupted ; and in *Henslow's Botany*, 1837, p. 136, we are told that " the number of species already known and classified in works of botany amounts to about 60,000." Ten years later, Dr. Lindley (*Vegetable Kingdom*, 1847, p. 800) states them at 92,930 ; and two years afterwards Mr. Balfour says " about 100,000." *Balfour's Botany*, 1849, p. 560. Such is the rate at which our knowledge of nature is advancing. To complete this historical note, I ought to have mentioned that in 1812 Dr. Thomson says " nearly 30,000 species of plants have been examined and described." *Thomson's Hist. of the Royal Society*, p. 21.

[170] It was published in 1790. *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, p. 389. But the historians of botany have overlooked a short passage in Göthe's works, which proves that he had glimpses of the discovery in or before 1786. See *Italiänische Reise*, in *Göthe's Werke*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 286, Stuttgart, 1837, where he writes from Padua, in September, 1786, " Hier in dieser neu mir entgegen tretenden Mannigfaltigkeit wird jener Gedanke immer lebendiger : dass man sich alle Pflanzengestalten vielleicht aus Einer entwickeln könne."

every botanist is familiar ; while to the historian of the human mind it is peculiarly interesting, as strengthening that great doctrine of development towards which the highest branches of knowledge are now hastening, and which, in the present century, has been also carried into one of the most difficult departments of animal physiology.[171]

But the most comprehensive truth with which we are acquainted respecting plants is that which includes the whole of their general structure ; and this we learnt from those great Frenchmen who in the latter half of the eighteenth century began to study the external world. The first steps were taken directly after the middle of the century, by Adanson, Duhamel de Monceau, and, above all, Desfontaines ; three eminent thinkers, who proved the practicability of a natural method hitherto unknown, and of which even Ray himself had only a faint perception.[172] This, by weakening the influence of the artificial system of Linnæus,[173] prepared the way for an innovation more complete than has been effected in any other branch of knowledge. In the very year in which the Revolution occurred, Jussieu put forward a series of botanical generalizations, of which the most important are all intimately connected, and still remain the highest this department of inquiry has reached.[174] Among these I need only mention

There are some interesting remarks on this brilliant generalization in *Owen's Parthenogenesis*, 1849, pp. 53 seq. [Compare the remarks of Virchow, *Göthe als Naturforscher*, 1861, p. 31 seq.—Ed.]

[171] That is, into the study of animal monstrosities, which, however capricious they may appear, are now understood to be the necessary result of preceding events. Within the last thirty years several of the laws of these unnatural births, as they used to be called, have been discovered ; and it has been proved that, so far from being unnatural, they are strictly natural. A fresh science has thus been created, under the name of Teratology, which is destroying the old *lusus naturæ* in one of its last and favourite strongholds. [Buckle here allows that the term "unnatural" has a meaning, but by denying it any application he makes it meaningless.—Ed.]

[172] Dr. Lindley (*Third Report of Brit. Assoc.* p. 33) says that Desfontaines was the first who demonstrated the opposite modes of increase in dicotyledonous and monocotyledonous stems. See also *Richard, Eléments de Botanique*, p. 131 ; and *Cuvier, Eloges*, vol. i. p. 64. In regard to the steps taken by Adanson and De Monceau, see *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, pp. 204, 205 ; *Thomson's Chemistry of Vegetables*, p. 951 ; *Lindley's Introduc. to Botany*, vol. ii. p. 132.

[173] It is curious to observe how even good botanists clung to the Linnæan system long after the superiority of a natural system was proved. This is the more noticeable because Linnæus, who was a man of undoubted genius, and who possessed extraordinary powers of combination, always allowed that his own system was merely provisional, and that the great object to be attained was a classification according to natural families. See *Winckler, Geschichte der Botanik*, p. 202 ; and *Richard, Éléments de Botanique*, p. 570. Indeed, what could be thought of the permanent value of a scheme which put together the reed and the barberry, because they were both hexandria ; and forced sorrel to associate with saffron, because both were trigynia ? *Jussieu's Botany*, 1849, p. 524.

[174] The *Genera Plantarum* of Antoine Jussieu was printed at Paris in 1789 ; and though t is known to have been the result of many years of continued labour, some writers have asserted that the ideas in it were borrowed from his uncle, Bernard Jussieu. But assertions of this kind rarely deserve attention ; and as Bernard did not choose to publish anything of his own, his reputation ought to suffer for his uncommunicativeness. Compare *Winckler, Gesch. der Botanik*, pp. 261–272, with *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxii. pp. 162–166. I will only add the following remarks from a work of authority, *Richard, Éléments de Botanique*, Paris, 1846, p. 572 : "Mais ce ne fut qu'en 1789 que l'on eut véritablement un ouvrage complet sur la méthode des familles naturelles. Le *Genera Plantarum* d'A. L. de Jussieu présenta la science des végétaux sous un point de vue si nouveau, par la précision et l'élégance qui y règnent, par la profondeur et la justesse des principes généraux qui y sont exposés pour la première fois, que c'est depuis cette époque seulement que la méthode des familles naturelles a été véritablement créée, et que date la nouvelle ère de la science des végétaux. . . . L'auteur du *Genera Plantarum* posa le premier les bases de la science, en

the three vast propositions which are now admitted to form the basis of vegetable anatomy. The first is that the vegetable kingdom, in its whole extent, is composed of plants either with one cotyledon, or with two cotyledons, or else with no cotyledon at all. The second proposition is that this classification, so far from being artificial, is strictly natural; since it is a law of nature that plants having one cotyledon are endogenous, and grow by additions made to the centre of their stems, while on the other hand plants having two cotyledons are exogenous, and are compelled to grow by additions made not to the centre of their stems but to the circumference.[175] The third proposition is that when plants grow at their centre, the arrangement of the fruit and leaves is threefold; when however they grow at the circumference, it is nearly always fivefold.[176]

This is what was effected by the Frenchmen of the eighteenth century for the vegetable kingdom: [177] and if we now turn to the mineral kingdom, we shall find that our obligations to them are equally great. The study of minerals is the most imperfect of the three branches of natural history, because, notwithstanding its apparent simplicity, and the immense number of experiments which have been made, the true method of investigation has not yet been ascertained; it being doubtful whether mineralogy ought to be subordinated to the laws of chemistry or to those of crystallography, or whether both sets of laws will have to be considered.[178] At all events it is certain that, down to the present time, chemistry has shown itself unable to reduce mineralogical phenomena; nor has any chemist possessing sufficient powers of generalization attempted the task except Berzelius; and most of his conclusions were overthrown by the splendid discovery of isomorphism, for which, as is well known, we are indebted to Mitscherlich, one of the many great thinkers Germany has produced.[179]

faisant voir quelle était l'importance relative des différents organes entre eux, et par conséquent leur valeur dans la classification. . . . Il a fait, selon la remarque de Cuvier, la même révolution dans les sciences d'observation que la chimie de Lavoisier dans les sciences d'expérience. En effet, il a non seulement changé la face de la botanique, mais son influence s'est également exercée sur les autres branches de l'histoire naturelle, et y a introduit cet esprit de recherches, de comparaison, et cette méthode philosophique et naturelle, vers le perfectionnement de laquelle tendent désormais les efforts de tous les naturalistes."

[175] Hence the removal of a great source of error; since it is now understood that in dicotyledons alone can age be known with certainty. *Henslow's Botany*, p. 243: compare *Richard, Eléments de Botanique*, p. 159, aphorisme xxiv. On the stems of endogenous plants, which, being mostly tropical, have been less studied than the exogenous, see *Lindley's Botany*, vol. i. pp. 221–236; where there is also an account, pp. 229 seq., of the views which Schleiden advanced on this subject in 1839.

[176] On the arrangement of the leaves, now called phyllotaxis, see *Balfour's Botany*, p. 92; *Burdach's Physiologie*, vol. v. p. 518.

[177] The classification by cotyledons has been so successful that "with very few exceptions, however, nearly all plants may be referred by any botanist, at a single glance, and with unerring certainty, to their proper class; and a mere fragment even of the stem, leaf, or some other part, is often quite sufficient to enable him to decide this question." *Henslow's Botany*, p. 30. In regard to some difficulties still remaining in the way of the threefold cotyledonous division of the whole vegetable world, see *Lindley's Botany*, vol. ii. pp. 61 seq.

[178] Mr. Swainson (*Study of Natural History*, p. 356) says, "mineralogy, indeed, which forms but a part of chemistry." This is deciding the question very rapidly; but, in the meantime, what becomes of the geometrical laws of minerals? and what are we to do with that relation between their structure and optical phenomena which Sir David Brewster has worked out with signal ability?

[179] The difficulties introduced into the study of minerals by the discovery of isomorphism and polymorphism are no doubt considerable; but M. Beudant (*Minéralogie*, Paris, 1841, p. 37) seems to me to exaggerate their effect upon "l'importance des formes crystallines." They are much more damaging to the purely chemical arrangement, because our implements for measuring the minute angles of crystals are still very imperfect, and

Although the chemical department of mineralogy is in an unformed and indeed anarchical condition, its other department, namely crystallography, has made great progress ; and here again the earliest steps were taken by two Frenchmen, who lived in the latter half of the eighteenth century. About 1760, Romé de Lisle[180] set the first example of studying crystals according to a scheme so large as to include all the varieties of their primary forms, and to account for their irregularities and the apparent caprice with which they were arranged. In this investigation he was guided by the fundamental assumption, that what is called an irregularity is in truth perfectly regular, and that the operations of nature are invariable.[181] Scarcely had this great idea been applied to the almost innumerable forms into which minerals crystallize, when it was followed up with still larger resources by Haüy, another eminent Frenchman.[182] This remarkable

the goniometer may fail in detecting differences which really exist ; and therefore many alleged cases of isomorphism are probably not so in reality. Wollaston's reflecting goniometer has been long considered the best instrument possessed by crystallographers : but I learn from *Liebig and Kopp's Reports*, vol. i. pp. 19, 20, that Frankenheim has recently invented one for measuring the angles of " microscopic crystals." On the amount of error in the measurement of angles, see *Phillip's Mineralogy*, 1837, p. viii.

[180] He says, " depuis plus de vingt ans que je m'occupe de cet objet." *Romé de Lisle, Cristallographie, ou Description des Formes propres à tous les Corps du Règne Minéral*, Paris, 1783, vol. i. p. 91.

[181] See his *Essai de Cristallographie*, Paris, 1772, p. x. : " un de ceux qui m'a le plus frappé ce sont les formes régulières et constantes que prennent naturellement certains corps que nous désignons par le nom de cristaux." In the same work, p. 13, " il faut nécessairement supposer que les molécules intégrantes des corps ont chacune, suivant qui lui est propre, une figure constante et déterminée." In his later treatise (*Cristallographie*, 1783, vol. i. p. 70), after giving some instances of the extraordinary complications presented by minerals, he adds : " il n'est donc pas étonnant que d'habiles chimistes n'aient rien vu de constant ni de déterminé dans les formes cristallines, tandis qu'il n'en est aucune qu'on ne puisse, avec un peu d'attention, rapporter à la figure élémentaire et primordiale dont elle dérive." Even Buffon, notwithstanding his fine perception of law, had just declared " qu'en général la forme de cristallisation n'est pas un caractère constant, mais plus équivoque et plus variable qu'aucun autre des caractères par lesquels on doit distinguer les minéraux." *De Lisle*, vol. i. p. xviii. Compare, on this great achievement of De Lisle's, *Herschel's Nat. Philos.* p. 239 : " he first ascertained the important fact of the constancy of the angles at which their faces meet."

[18] The first work of Haüy appeared in 1784 (*Quérard, France Littéraire*, vol. iv. p. 41) ; but he had read two special memoirs in 1781. *Cuvier, Eloges*, vol. iii. p. 138. The intellectual relation between his views and those of his predecessor must be obvious to every mineralogist ; but Dr. Whewell, who has noticed this judiciously enough, adds (*Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 229, 230) : " Unfortunately Romé de Lisle and Haüy were not only rivals, but in some measure enemies. . . . Haüy revenged himself by rarely mentioning Romé in his works, though it was manifest that his obligations to him were immense ; and by recording his errors while he corrected them." The truth, however, is that so far from rarely mentioning De Lisle, he mentions him incessantly ; and I have counted upwards of three hundred instances in Haüy's great work in which he is named and his writings are referred to. On one occasion he says of De Lisle, " En un mot, sa cristallographie est le fruit d'un travail immense par son étendue, presque entièrement neuf par son objet, et très précieux par son utilité." *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, Paris, 1801, vol. i. p. 17. Elsewhere he calls him, " cet habile naturaliste ; ce savant célèbre," vol. ii. p. 323 ; " ce célèbre naturaliste," vol. iii. p. 442 ; see also vol. iv. pp. 51, etc. In a work of so much merit as Dr. Whewell's, it is important that these errors should be indicated, because we have no other book of value on the general history of the sciences ; and many authors have deceived themselves and their readers by implicitly adopting the statements of this able and industrious writer. I would particularly caution the student in regard to the physiological part of Dr. Whewell's History, where, for instance, the antagonism between the methods of Cuvier and Bichat is entirely lost sight of, and whilewhole pages are devoted to Cuvier, Bichat is disposed of in four lines.

man achieved a complete union between mineralogy and geometry ; and, bringing the laws of space to bear on the molecular arrangements of matter, he was able to penetrate into the intimate structure of crystals.[183] By this means he succeeded in proving that the secondary forms of all crystals are derived from their primary forms by a regular process of decrement ;[184] and that, when a substance is passing from a liquid to a solid state, its particles are compelled to cohere, according to a scheme which provides for every possible change, since it includes even those subsequent layers which alter the ordinary type of the crystal, by disturbing its natural symmetry.[185] To ascertain that such violations of symmetry are susceptible of mathematical calculation, was to make a vast addition to our knowledge ; but what seems to me still more important is that it indicates an approach to the magnificent idea that everything which occurs is regulated by law, and that confusion and disorder are impossible.[186] For, by proving that even the most uncouth and singular forms of minerals are the natural results of their antecedents, Haüy laid the foundation of what may be called the pathology of the inorganic world. However paradoxical such a notion may seem, it is certain that symmetry is to crystals what health is to animals ; so that an irregularity of shape in the first corresponds with an appearance of disease in the second.[187] When, therefore, the minds of men became familiarized with the great truth that in the mineral kingdom there is, properly speaking, no irregularity, it became more easy for them to grasp the still higher truth that the same principle holds good of the animal kingdom, although, from the superior complexity of the phenomena, it will be long before we can arrive at an equal demonstration. But that such a demonstration is possible is the principle upon which

[183] " Haüy est donc le seul véritable auteur de la science mathématique des cristaux." *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 8 ; see also p. 317. Dr. Clarke, whose celebrated lectures on mineralogy excited much attention among his hearers, was indebted for some of his principal views to his conversations with Haüy : see *Otter's Life of Clarke*, vol. ii. p. 192.

[184] See an admirable statement of the three forms of decrement, in *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, vol. i. pp. 285, 286. Compare *Whewell's Hist. of the Induc. Sciences*, vol. iii. pp. 224, 225 ; who, however, does not mention Haüy's classification of " décroissemens sur les bords," " décroissemens sur les angles," and " décroissemens intermédiaires."

[185] And, as he clearly saw, the proper method was to study the laws of symmetry, and then apply them deductively to minerals, instead of rising inductively from the aberrations actually presented by minerals. This is interesting to observe, because it is analogous to the method of the best pathologists, who seek the philosophy of their subject in physiological phenomena rather than in pathological ones ; striking downwards from the normal to the abnormal. " *La symétrie des formes* sous lesquelles se présentent les solides que nous avons considérés jusqu'ici, *nous a fourni des données* pour exprimer les lois de décroissemens dont ces solides sont susceptibles." *Haüy, Traité de Minéralogie*, vol. i. p. 442 ; compare vol. ii. p. 192.

[186] " Un coup d'œil peu attentif, jeté sur les cristaux, les fit appeler d'abord de *purs jeux de la nature*, ce qui n'étoit qu'une manière plus élégante de faire l'aveu de son ignorance. Un examen réfléchi nous y découvre des lois d'arrangement, à l'aide desquelles le calcul représente et enchaîne l'un à l'autre les résultats observés ; lois si variables et en même temps si précises et si régulières ; ordinairement très simples, sans rien perdre de leur fécondité." *Haüy, Minéralogie*, vol. i. pp. xiii. xiv. Again, vol. ii. p. 57, " notre but, qui est de prouver que les lois d'où dépend la structure du cristal sont les plus simples possibles dans leur ensemble." [The phrase " confusion and disorder are *impossible* " is another verbal confusion. The terms in question are significant relatively to human ideals. In this sense Buckle himself proceeds to use the term " pathology."—Ed.]

[187] On the remarkable power possessed by crystals, in common with animals, of repairing their own injuries, see *Paget's Pathology*, 1853, vol. i. pp. 152, 153, confirming the experiments of Jordan on this curious subject : " The ability to repair the damages sustained by injury . . . is not an exclusive property of living beings ; for even crystals will repair themselves when, after pieces have been broken from them, they are placed in the same conditions in which they were first formed."

the future progress of all organic, and, indeed, of all mental science depends. And it is very observable that the same generation which established the fact that the apparent aberrations presented by minerals are strictly regular, also took the first steps towards establishing the far higher fact that the aberrations of the human mind are governed by laws as unfailing as those which determine the condition of inert matter. The examination of this would lead to a digression foreign to my present design ; but I may mention that, at the end of the century, there was written in France the celebrated treatise on insanity by Pinel ; a work remarkable in many respects, but chiefly in this, that in it the old notions respecting the mysterious and inscrutable character of mental disease are altogether discarded : [188] the disease itself is considered as a phenomenon inevitably occurring under certain given conditions, and the foundation laid for supplying another link in that vast chain of evidence which connects the material with the immaterial, and thus uniting mind and matter into a single study, is now preparing the way for some generalization which, being common to both, shall serve as a centre round which the disjointed fragments of our knowledge may safely rally.

These were the views which, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, began to dawn upon French thinkers. The extraordinary ability and success with which these eminent men cultivated their respective sciences I have traced at a length greater than I had intended, but still very inadequate to the importance of the subject. Enough, however, has been brought forward to convince the reader of the truth of the proposition I wished to prove ; namely, that the intellect of France was, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, concentrated upon the external world with unprecedented zeal, and thus aided that vast movement of which the Revolution itself was merely a single consequence.* The intimate connexion between scientific progress and social rebellion is evident from the fact that both are suggested by the same yearning after improvement, the same dissatisfaction with what has been previously done, the same restless, prying, insubordinate, and audacious spirit. But in France this general analogy was strengthened by the curious circumstances I have already noticed, by virtue of which the activity of the country was, during the first half of the century, directed against the church rather than against the state † ; so that, in order to complete the antecedents of the Revolution, it was necessary that, in the latter half of the century, the ground of attack should be shifted. This is precisely what was done by the wonderful impetus given to every branch of natural science.

[188] " M. Pinel a imprimé une marche nouvelle à l'étude de la folie. . . . En la rangeant simplement, et sans différences aucunes, au nombre des autres dérangemens de nos organes, en lui assignant une place dans le cadre nosographique, il fit faire un pas immense à son histoire." *Georget, de la Folie*, Paris, 1820, p. 69. In the same work, p. 295, " M. Pinel, le premier en France, on pourrait dire en Europe, jeta les fondemens d'un traitement vraiment rationnel en rangeant la folie au nombre des autres affections organiques." M. Esquirol, who expresses the modern and purely scientific view, says in his great work (*Des Maladies Mentales*, Paris, 1838, vol. i. p. 336), " L'aliénation mentale, que les anciens peuples regardaient comme une inspiration ou une punition des dieux, qui dans la suite fut prise pour la possession des démons, qui dans d'autres temps passa pour une œuvre de la magie ; l'aliénation mentale, dis-je, avec toutes ses espèces et ses variétés innombrables, ne diffère en rien des autres maladies." The recognition of this he expressly ascribes to his predecessor : " grâce aux principes exposés par Pinel." p. 340. Pinel himself clearly saw the connexion between his own opinions and the spirit of the age : see *Pinel, Traité Médico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale*, p. xxxii. : " Un ouvrage de médecine, publié en France à la fin du dix-huitième siècle, doit avoir un autre caractère que s'il avoit été écrit à une époque antérieure."

[* As Bichat's chief works are dated 1800 and 1801, he cannot be counted among the Revolution-makers ; and as Pinel was appointed to the Hôpital Bicêtre only in 1792, he is in the same case. As is noted above (*note* 174), Jussieu's great work, in turn, belongs to the year of the Revolution.—Ed.]

[† See edit. notes above, pp. 435, 473, 487.—Ed.]

For, the attention of men being thus steadily fixed upon the external world, the internal fell into neglect; while, as the external corresponds to the state, and the internal to the church, it was part of the same intellectual development that the assailers of the existing fabric should turn against political abuses the energy which the preceding generation had reserved for religious ones.

Thus it was that the French Revolution, like every great revolution the world has yet seen, was preceded by a complete change in the habits and associations of the national intellect. But besides this there was also taking place, precisely at the same time, a vast social movement, which was intimately connected with the intellectual movement, and indeed formed part of it, in so far as it was followed by similar results and produced by similar causes. The nature of this social revolution I shall examine only very briefly, because in a future volume it will be necessary to trace its history minutely, in order to illustrate the slighter but still remarkable changes which in the same period were going on in English society. *

In France, before the Revolution, the people, though always very social, were also very exclusive. The upper classes, protected by an imaginary superiority, looked with scorn upon those whose birth or titles were unequal to their own. The class immediately below them copied and communicated their example, and every order in society endeavoured to find some fanciful distinction which should guard them from the contamination of their inferiors. The only three real sources of superiority,—the superiority of morals, of intellect, and of knowledge,—were entirely overlooked in this absurd scheme; and men became accustomed to pride themselves not on any essential difference, but on those inferior matters which, with extremely few exceptions, are the result of accident, and therefore no test of merit.[189]

The first great blow to this state of things was the unprecedented impulse given to the cultivation of physical science. Those vast discoveries which were being made not only stimulated the intellect of thinking men, but even roused the curiosity of the more thoughtless parts of society. The lectures of chemists, of geologists, of mineralogists, and of physiologists, were attended by those who came to wonder, as well as by those who came to learn. In Paris the scientific assemblages were crowded to overflowing.[190] The halls and amphitheatres in which the great truths of nature were expounded were no longer able to hold their audiences, and in several instances it was found necessary to enlarge them.[191] The sittings of the Academy, instead of being confined to a few solitary scholars, were frequented by every one whose rank or influence enabled them to secure a place.[192] Even women of fashion, forgetting

[189] Comp. *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 23, with the Introduction to *Des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. i. p. 34. A good illustration of this is that the Prince de Montbarey, in his Memoirs, gently censures Louis XV., not for his scandalous profligacy, but because he selected for his mistresses some women who were not of high birth. *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. i. p. 341, and see vol. iii. p. 117.

[190] And that too even on such a subject as anatomy. In 1768, Antoine Petit began his anatomical lectures in the great amphitheatre of the Jardin du Roi; and the press to hear him was so great, that not only all the seats were occupied, but the very window-ledges were crowded. See the animated description in *Biog. Univ.* vol. xxxiii. p. 494.

[191] Dr. Thomson (*Hist. of Chemistry*, vol. ii. p. 169) says of Fourcroy's lectures on chemistry, which began in 1774: "Such were the crowds, both of men and women, who flocked to hear him, that it was twice necessary to enlarge the size of the lecture-room." This circumstance is also mentioned in *Cuvier, Éloges*, vol. ii. p. 19.

[192] In 1779 it was remarked that "les séances publiques de l'Académie Française sont devenues une espèce de spectacle fort à la mode:" and as this continued to increase, the throng became at length so great that in 1785 it was found necessary to diminish the number of tickets of admission, and it was even proposed that ladies should be excluded, in consquence of some uproarious scenes which had happened. *Grimm et Diderot, Correspond. Lit.* vol. x. p. 341, vol. xiv. pp. 148, 149, 185, 251.

[* This plan Buckle did not live to fulfil.—Ed.]

their usual frivolity, hastened to hear discussions on the composition of a mineral, on the discovery of a new salt, on the structure of plants, on the organization of animals, on the properties of the electric fluid.[193] A sudden craving after knowledge seemed to have smitten every rank. The largest and the most difficult inquiries found favour in the eyes of those whose fathers had hardly heard the names of the sciences to which they belonged. The brilliant imagination of Buffon made geology suddenly popular; the same thing was effected for chemistry by the eloquence of Fourcroy, and for electricity by Nollet; while the admirable expositions of Lalande caused astronomy itself to be generally cultivated. In a word, it is enough to say that during the thirty years preceding the Revolution the spread of physical science was so rapid that in its favour the old classical studies were despised;[194] it was considered the essential basis of a good education, and some slight acquaintance with it was deemed necessary for every class, except those who were obliged to support themselves by their daily labour.[195]

The results produced by this remarkable change are very curious, and from their energy and rapidity were very decisive. As long as the different classes confined themselves to pursuits peculiar to their own sphere, they were encouraged to preserve their separate habits; and the subordination, or as it were the hierarchy, of society was easily maintained. But when the members of the various orders met in the same place with the same object, they became knit together by a new sympathy. The highest and most durable of all pleasures, the pleasure caused by the perception of fresh truths, was now a great link, which banded together those social elements that were formerly wrapped up in the pride of their own isolation. Besides this, there was also given to them not only a new pursuit,

[193] Goldsmith, who was in Paris in 1755, says with surprise, "I have seen as bright a circle of beauty at the chemical lectures of Rouelle as gracing the court of Versailles." *Prior's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. p. 180; *Forster's Life of Goldsmith*, vol. i. p. 65. In the middle of the century electricity was very popular among the Parisian ladies; and the interest felt in it was revived several years later by Franklin. Compare *Grimm, Correspondance*, vol. vii. p. 122, with *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. pp. 190, 191. Cuvier (*Éloges*, vol. i. p. 56) tells us that even the anatomical descriptions which Daubenton wrote for Buffon were to be found "sur la toilette des femmes." This change of taste is also noticed, though in a jeering spirit, in *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. vi. p. 32. Compare the account given by Townsend, who visited France in 1786, on his way to Spain: "A numerous society of gentlemen and ladies of the first fashion meet to hear lectures on the sciences, delivered by men of the highest rank in their profession. . . . I was much struck with the fluency and elegance of language with which the anatomical professor spoke, and not a little so with the deep attention of his auditors." *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, vol. i. p. 41: see also *Smith's Tour on the Continent in 1786*, vol. i. p. 117.

[194] In a letter written in 1756, it is said, "Mais c'est peine perdue aujourd'hui que de plaisanter les érudits; il n'y en a plus en France." *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. ii. p. 15. In 1764, "Il est honteux et incroyable à quel point l'étude des anciens est negligée," vol. iv. p. 97. In 1768, "Une autre raison qui rendra les traductions des auteurs anciens de plus en plus rares en France, c'est que depuis long-temps on n'y sait plus le Grec, et qu'on néglige l'étude du Latin tous les jours davantage." vol. vi. p. 140. Sherlock (*New Letters from an English Traveller*, London, 1781, p. 86) says, "It is very rare to meet a man in France that understands Greek." In 1785, Jefferson writes from Paris to Madison, "Greek and Roman authors are dearer here than, I believe, anywhere in the world; nobody here reads them, wherefore they are not reprinted." *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 301. See further, on this neglect of the ancients, a significant precursor of the Revolution, *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. iii. p. 181; *Villemain, Littérature au XVIII^e Siècle*, vol. iii. pp. 243–248; *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 344.

[195] For further evidence of the popularity of physical knowledge, and of its study, even by those who might have been expected to neglect it, see *Mém. de Roland*, vol. i. pp. 115, 268, 324, 343; *Mém. de Morellet*, vol. i. p. 16; *Dupont de Nemours, Mém. sur Turgot*, pp. 45, 52, 53, 411; *Mém. de Brissot*, vol. i. pp. 62, 151, 319, 336, 338, 357; *Cuvier, Progrès des Sciences*, vol. i. p. 89.

but also a new standard of merit. In the amphitheatre and the lecture-room the first object of attention is the professor and the lecturer. The division is between those who teach and those who learn. The subordination of ranks makes way for the subordination of knowledge.[196] The petty and conventional distinctions of fashionable life are succeeded by those large and genuine distinctions by which alone man is really separated from man. The progress of the intellect supplies a new object of veneration ; the old worship of rank is rudely disturbed, and its superstitious devotees are taught to bow the knee before what to them is the shrine of a strange god. The hall of science is the temple of democracy Those who come to learn, confess their own ignorance, abrogate in some degree their own superiority, and begin to perceive that the greatness of men has no connexion with the splendour of their titles, or the dignity of their birth ; that it is not concerned with their quarterings, their escutcheons, their descents, their dexter-chiefs, their sinister-chiefs, their chevrons, their bends, their azures, their gules, and the other trumperies of their heraldry ; but that it depends upon the largeness of their minds, the powers of their intellect, and the fulness of their knowledge.

These were the views which in the latter half of the eighteenth century began to influence those classes which had long been the undisputed masters of society.[197] And what shows the strength of this great movement is that it was accompanied by other social changes which, though in themselves apparently trifling, become full of meaning when taken in connexion with the general history of the time.

While the immense progress of physical knowledge was revolutionizing society, by inspiring the different classes with an object common to all, and thus raising a new standard of merit, a more trivial but equally democratic tendency was observable even in the conventional forms of social life. To describe the whole of these changes would occupy a space disproportioned to the other parts of this Introduction ; but it is certain that, until the changes have been carefully examined, it will be impossible for any one to write a history of the French Revolution. As a specimen of what I mean, I will notice two of these innovations which are very conspicuous, and are also interesting on account of their analogy with what has happened in English society.

The first of these changes was an alteration in dress, and a marked contempt for those external appearances hitherto valued as one of the most important of all matters. During the reign of Louis XIV., and indeed during the first half of the reign of Louis XV., not only men of frivolous tastes, but even those distinguished for their knowledge, displayed in their attire a dainty precision, a nice and studied adjustment, a pomp of gold, of silver, and of ruffles, such as in our days can nowhere be seen except in the courts of European princes where a certain barbarian splendour is still retained. So far was this carried, that in the seventeenth century the rank of a person might be immediately known by his appearance ; no one presuming to usurp a garb worn by the class immediately above his own.[198] But in that democratic movement which preceded the French

[196] A celebrated writer has well said, though in a somewhat different point of view, " Il ne peut y avoir dans les sciences morales, pas plus que dans les sciences physiques, ni maîtres, ni esclaves, ni rois, ni sujets, ni citoyens, ni étrangers." *Comte, Traité de Legislation*, vol. i. p. 43.

[197] The remarks which Thomas made upon Descartes in 1765, in an *éloge* crowned by the Academy, illustrate the opinions which in the latter half of the eighteenth century were becoming rapidly diffused in France. See the passage beginning " O préjugés ! ô ridicule fierté des places et du rang ! " etc., *Œuvres de Descartes*, vol. i. p. 74. Certainly no one would have used such language, on such an occasion, thirty years earlier. So, too, the Count de Ségur says of the younger nobles before the Revolution, " nous préférions un mot d'éloges de D'Alembert, de Diderot, à la faveur la plus signalée d'un prince." *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 142 : see also vol. ii. p. 46.

[198] Among many other illustrations which might be given of this distinction of classes by dress, see *Monteil, Hist. des divers Etats*, vol. vii. pp. 7–10 ; and *Tallemant des Réaux, Historiettes*, vol. i. p. 36, note.

Revolution, the minds of men became too earnest, too intent upon higher matters, to busy themselves with those idle devices which engrossed the attention of their fathers. A contemptuous disregard of such distinctions became general. In Paris the innovation was seen even in those gay assemblies where a certain amount of personal decoration is still considered natural. At dinners, suppers, and balls, it is noticed by contemporary observers that the dress usually worn was becoming so simple as to cause a confusion of ranks, until at length every distinction was abandoned by both sexes; the men, on such occasions, coming in a common frock-coat, the women in their ordinary morning-gowns.[199] Nay, to such a pitch was this carried that we are assured by the Prince de Montbarey, who was in Paris at the time, that shortly before the Revolution even those who had stars and orders were careful to hide them by buttoning their coats, so that these marks of superiority might no longer be seen.[200]

The other innovation to which I have referred is equally interesting as characteristic of the spirit of the time. This is, that the tendency to amalgamate the different orders of society[201] was shown in the institution of clubs; a remarkable contrivance, which to us seems perfectly natural because we are accustomed to it, but of which it may be truly said that until the eighteenth century its existence was impossible. Before the eighteenth century each class was so jealous of its superiority over the one below it, that to meet together on equal terms was impracticable; and although a certain patronizing familiarity towards one's inferiors might be safely indulged in, this only marked the immense interval of separation, since the great man had no fear of his condescension being abused. In those good old times a proper respect was paid to rank and birth; and he who could count his twenty ancestors was venerated to an extent of which we, in these degenerate days, can hardly form an idea. As to anything like social equality,

[199] In August, 1787, Jefferson writes from Paris (*Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 224): "In society, the *habit habillé* is almost banished, and they begin to go even to great suppers in frock: the court and diplomatic corps, however, must always be excepted. They are too high to be reached by any improvement. They are the last refuge from which etiquette, formality, and folly will be driven. Take away these, and they would be on a level with other people." Jefferson was a statesman and a diplomatist, and was well acquainted with his profession. The change, however, which he noticed had been coming on some years earlier. In a letter written in May 1786, it is said: "Il est rare aujourd'hui de rencontrer dans le monde des personnes qui soient ce qu'on appelle habillées. Les femmes sont en chemise et en chapeau, les hommes en froc et en gilet." *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xiv. p. 485; and on the increased simplicity of attire in 1780, see vol. xi. pp. 141, 142. Ségur, who witnessed these changes, and was much displeased by them, says of their advocates, "Ils ne voyaient pas que les frocs, remplaçant les amples et imposans vêtemens de l'ancienne cour, présagaient un penchant général pour l'égalité." *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 131. Soulavie (*Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. vi. p. 38) observes that "les grands, vers les approches de la révolution, n'avoient plus que des habits simples et peu coûteux;" and that "on ne distingua plus une duchesse d'une actrice," p. 43: see also an extract from Montjoye, in *Alison's History*, vol. i. pp. 352, 353. Compare *Mém. sur Marie Antoinette*, vol. i. pp. 226, 372, vol. ii. p. 174, and *Mém. de Madame du Hausset*, introduc. p. 17.

[200] "Les personnes du premier rang et même d'un âge mûr, qui avaient travaillé toute leur vie pour obtenir les ordres du roi, preuve de la plus haute faveur, s'habituèrent à en cacher les marques distinctives sous le froc le plus simple, qui leur permettait de courir à pied dans les rues et de se confondre dans la foule." *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. iii. pp. 161, 162. Another alteration of the same tendency is worth recording. The Baroness d'Oberkirch, who revisited Paris in 1784, remarked on her arrival that "gentlemen began about this time to go about unarmed, and wore swords only in full dress. . . . And thus the French nobility laid aside a usage which the example of their fathers had consecrated through centuries." *D'Oberkirch's Memoirs*, Lond. 1852, vol. ii. p. 211.

[201] A striking instance of which was moreover seen in the number of *mésalliances*, which first became frequent about the middle of the reign of Louis XV. Compare *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. iii. pp. 116, 156, 157; *Lacretelle, Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. iii. p. 220.

that was a notion too preposterous to be conceived ; nor was it possible that any institution should exist which placed mere ordinary men on a level with those illustrious characters whose veins were filled with the purest blood, and the quarterings of whose arms none could hope to rival.

But in the eighteenth century the progress of knowledge became so remarkable that the new principle of intellectual superiority made rapid encroachments on the old principle of aristocratic superiority. As soon as these encroachments had reached a certain point, they gave rise to an institution suited to them ; and thus it was that there were first established clubs in which all the educated classes could assemble without regard to those other differences which in the preceding period kept them separate. The peculiarity of this was that for mere purposes of social enjoyment men were brought into contact who, according to the aristocratic scheme, had nothing in common, but who were now placed on the same footing in so far as they belonged to the same establishment, conformed to the same rules, and reaped the same advantages. It was however expected that the members, though varying in many other respects, were to be all in some degree educated ; and in this way society first distinctly recognized a classification previously unknown ; the division between noble and ignoble being succeeded by another division between educated and uneducated.

The rise and growth of clubs is therefore to the philosophic observer a question of immense importance ; and it is one which, as I shall hereafter prove, played a great part in the history of England during the latter half of the eighteenth century. In reference to our present subject, it is interesting to observe that the first clubs, in the modern sense of the word, which ever existed in Paris, were formed about 1782, only seven years before the French Revolution. At the beginning they were merely intended to be social assemblages ; but they quickly assumed a democratic character, conformable to the spirit of the age. Their first result, as was noticed by a keen observer of what was then passing, was to make the manners of the upper classes more simple than they had hitherto been, and to weaken that love of form and ceremony suitable to their earlier habits. These clubs likewise effected a remarkable separation between the sexes ; and it is recorded that after their establishment women associated more with each other, and were oftener seen in public unaccompanied by men.[202] This had the effect of encouraging among men a republican roughness, which the influence of the other sex would have tended to keep down. All these things effaced the old lines of demarcation between the different ranks, and by merging the various classes into one, made the force of their united opposition irresistible, and speedily overthrew both the church and the state. The exact period at which the clubs became political cannot of course be ascertained, but the change seems to have taken place about 1784.[203] From this moment all was over ; and although the

[202] " Nous commençâmes aussi à avoir des clubs : les hommes s'y réunissaient, non encore pour discuter, mais pour dîner, jouer au wisk, et lire tous les ouvrages nouveaux. Ce premier pas, alors presque inaperçu, eut dans la suite de grandes, et momentanément de funestes conséquences. Dans le commencement, son premier résultat fut de séparer les hommes des femmes, et d'apporter ainsi un notable changement dans nos mœurs : elles devinrent moins frivoles, mais moins polies ; plus fortes, mais moins aimables : la politique y gagna, la société y perdit." *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. ii. p. 28. By the spring of 1786 this separation of the sexes had become still more marked ; and it was a common complaint that ladies were obliged to go to the theatre alone, men being at their clubs. See the very curious observations in *Grimm, Correspond.* vol. xiv. pp. 486–489, where there is also a notice of " le prodigieux succès qu'a eu l'établissement des clubs à l'anglaise." See also, on the diminished attention paid to women, *Williams's Letters from France*, vol. ii. p. 80, 3rd edit. 1796.

[203] The remarks of Georgel appear to apply to the political clubs only : " À Paris les assemblées de nouvellistes, les clubs qui s'étoient formés à l'instar de ceux des Anglais, s'expliquaient hautement et sans retenue sur les droits de l'homme, sur les avantages de la liberté, sur les grands abus de l'inégalité des conditions. Ces clubs, trop accrédités, avoient commencé à se former en 1784." *Mém. de Georgel*, vol. ii. p. 310.

government in 1787 issued orders to close the leading club, in which all classes discussed political questions, it was found impossible to stem the torrent. The order therefore was rescinded; the club reassembled, and no further attempt was made to interrupt that course of affairs which a long train of preceding events had rendered inevitable.[204]

While all these things were conspiring to overthrow the old institutions, an event suddenly occurred which produced the most remarkable effects in France, and is itself strikingly characteristic of the spirit of the eighteenth century. On the other side of the Atlantic a great people, provoked by the intolerable injustice of the English government, rose in arms, turned on their oppressors, and after a desperate struggle gloriously obtained their independence. In 1776 the Americans laid before Europe that noble Declaration which ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king, and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace. In words the memory of which can never die, they declared that the object of the institution of government is to secure the rights of the people; that from the people alone it derives its powers; and "that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." [205]

If this Declaration had been made only one generation earlier, the whole of France, with the exception of a few advanced thinkers, would have rejected it with horror and with scorn. Such, however, was now the temper of the public mind, that the doctrines it contained were not merely welcomed by a majority of the French nation, but even the government itself was unable to withstand the general feeling.[206] In 1776 Franklin arrived in France, as envoy from the American people. He met with the warmest reception from all classes,[207] and succeeded in inducing the government to sign a treaty, engaging to defend the young republic in the rights it had gloriously won.[208] In Paris the enthusiasm was irresistible.[209] From every quarter large bodies of men came forward, volunteering to cross the Atlantic and to fight for the liberties of America. The heroism

[204] "Le lieutenant de police fit fermer le club nommé *club du salon;* ordre arbitraire et inutile : ce club alors était composé de personnes distinguées de la noblesse ou de la haute bourgeoisie, ainsi que des artistes et des hommes de lettres les plus considérés. Cette réunion offrait, pour la première fois, l'image d'une égalité qui devient bientôt, plus que la liberté même, le vœu le plus ardent de la plus grande partie de la nation. Aussi le mécontentement produit par la clôture de ce club fut si vif, que l'autorité se crut obligée de le rouvrir." *Mém. de Ségur,* vol. iii. pp. 258, 259. On the increase of these clubs from 1787 to 1789, compare *Du Mesnil, Mém. sur Le Brun,* p. 148; *Mém. de Lafayette,* vol. i. pp. 312, 322, 391, 434, vol. ii. p. 9; *Barruel, Hist. du Jacob.* vol. i. p. 40, vol. ii. p. 310, vol. v. pp. 101, 168; *Thiers, Hist. de la Révolution,* vol. i. p. 36, Paris, 1834.

[205] *Mem. of Franklin,* vol. ii. pp. 14 seq.; and *Mem. of Jefferson,* vol. i. pp. 17–22, where the passages are given which Congress altered.

[206] Ségur (*Mém.* vol. i. p. 111) says that his father had been frequently told by Maurepas that public opinion forced the government, against its own wishes, to side with America. Compare *Mém. de Georgel,* vol. iv. p. 370; and *Flassan, Diplomatie Française* vol. vii. p. 166.

[207] The news of which soon reached England. In January, 1777, Burke writes (*Works,* vol. ii. p. 394), "I hear that Dr. Franklin has had a most extraordinary reception at Paris from all ranks of people." Soulavie (*Règne de Louis XVI,* vol. ii. p. 50) says, "J'ai vu Francklin devenir un objet de culte." See also, on his popularity, *Mém. d'Epinay,* vol. iii. p. 419.

[208] *Flassan, Diplomatie Française,* vol. vii. p. 159; *Life of Franklin, by Himself,* vol. ii. pp. 60, 61; *Mahon's Hist. of England,* vol. vii. pp. 197, 198.

[209] The sneering letter written from Paris by Lord Stormont, as early as December, 1774 (*Adolphus's George III.,* vol. ii. p. 316), should be compared with *Lafayette, Mémoires,* vol. i. pp. 24, 169, 229; *Dutens, Mém. d'un Voyageur,* vol. ii. p. 317; *Mém. de Ségur,* vol. i. p. 149; and *Schlosser's Eighteenth Century,* vol. v. p. 175.

with which these auxiliaries aided the noble struggle forms a cheering passage in the history of that time, but is foreign to my present purpose, which is merely to notice its effect in hastening the approach of the French Revolution. And this effect was indeed most remarkable. Besides the indirect result produced by the example of a successful rebellion, the French were still further stimulated by actual contact with their new allies. The French officers and soldiers who served in America introduced into their own country on their return those democratic opinions which they had imbibed in the infant republic.[210] By this means fresh strength was given to the revolutionary tendencies already prevalent; and it is worthy of remark that Lafayette borrowed from the same source one of his most celebrated acts. He drew his sword on behalf of the Americans; and they in their turn communicated to him that famous doctrine respecting the rights of man which, at his instigation, was formally adopted by the National Assembly.[211] Indeed there is reason to believe that the final blow the French government received was actually dealt by the hand of an American; for it is said that it was in consequence of the advice of Jefferson that the popular part of the legislative body proclaimed itself the National Assembly, and thus set the crown at open defiance.[212]

I have now brought to a close my examination of the causes of the French Revolution; but before concluding the present volume, * it appears to me that the variety of topics which have been discussed makes it advisable that I should sum up their leading points; and should state as briefly as possible the steps of that long and complicated argument by which I have attempted to prove that the Revolution was an event inevitably arising out of preceding circumstances. Such a summary, by recalling the entire subject before the reader, will remedy any confusion which the fulness of detail may have produced, and will simplify an investigation which many will consider to have been needlessly protracted; but which could not have been abridged without weakening in some essential part the support of those general principles that I seek to establish.

Looking at the state of France immediately after the death of Louis XIV., we have seen that, his policy having reduced the country to the brink of ruin, and having destroyed every vestige of free inquiry, a reaction became necessary; but that the materials for the reaction could not be found among a nation which for fifty years had been exposed to so debilitating a system. This deficiency at home caused the most eminent Frenchmen to turn their attention abroad, and gave rise to a sudden admiration for the English literature, and for those habits of thought which were then peculiar to the English people. New life being thus breathed into the wasted frame of French society, an eager and inquisitive spirit

[210] *De Staël sur la Révolution*, vol. i. p. 88; *Mém. de Montbarey*, vol. iii. pp. 134, 186; *Mém. de Ségur*, vol. i. p. 277; *Campan, Mém de Marie Antoinette*, vol. i. p. 233, vol. iii. pp. 96, 116; *Soulavie, Règne de Louis XVI*, vol. ii. pp. xxiv. li. lii.; *Dumont, Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, p. 176; *Mém de Du Hausset*, introduc. p. 40; *Mém. de Genlis*, vol. vi. p. 57; *Jefferson's Mem. and Correspond.* vol. i. p. 59; and Maitland's speech, in *Parl. Hist.* vol. xxx. pp, 198, 199; also the remarks of the Duke of Bedford, vol. xxxi. p. 663.

[211] *Lamartine, Hist. des Girondins*, vol. i. p. 46. Dumont (*Souvenirs*, p. 97) calls this "une idée américaine;" and see to the same effect, *Mém. de Lafayette*, vol. i. pp. 193, 268, 269, 416, vol. ii. pp. 139, 140; *Jefferson's Correspond.* vol. i. p. 90; *Barruel, Hist. du Jacobinisme*, vol. v. p. 311. The influence which the American Revolution exercised over the mind of Lafayette is noticed by Bouillé, his cousin and his enemy. *Mém. de Bouillé*, vol. i. p. 102, vol. ii. pp. 131, 183.

[212] "The Duke of Dorset, the English ambassador, writing to Mr. Pitt from Paris, July 9, 1789, said, 'Mr. Jefferson, the American minister at this court, has been a great deal consulted by the principal leaders of the *tiers état*; and I have great reason to think that it was owing to his advice that order called itself *L'Assemblée Nationale*.'" *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. ii. p. 266.

[* The first volume of the original edition ended with this chapter.—ED.]

was generated, such as had not been seen since the time of Descartes. The upper classes, taking offence at this unexpected movement, attempted to stifle it, and made strenuous efforts to destroy that love of inquiry which was daily gaining ground. To effect their object they persecuted literary men with such bitterness as to make it evident that the intellect of France must either relapse into its former servility or else boldly assume the offensive. Happily for the interests of civilization, the latter alternative was adopted; and, in or about 1750, a deadly struggle began, in which those principles of liberty which France borrowed from England, and which had hitherto been supposed only applicable to the church, were for the first time applied to the state. Coinciding with this movement, and indeed forming part of it, other circumstances occurred of the same character. Now it was that the political economists succeeded in proving that the interference of the governing classes had inflicted great mischief even upon the material interests of the country; and had, by their protective measures, injured what they were believed to have benefited. This remarkable discovery in favour of general freedom put a fresh weapon into the hands of the democratic party, whose strength was still further increased by the unrivalled eloquence with which Rousseau assailed the existing fabric. Precisely the same tendency was exhibited in the extraordinary impulse given to every branch of physical science, which familiarized men with ideas of progress, and brought them into collision with the stationary and conservative ideas natural to government. The discoveries made respecting the external world encouraged a restlessness and excitement of mind hostile to the spirit of routine, and therefore full of danger for institutions only recommended by their antiquity. This eagerness for physical knowledge also effected a change in education; and, the ancient languages being neglected, another link was severed which connected the present with the past. The church, the legitimate protector of old opinions, was unable to resist the passion for novelty, because she was weakened by treason in her own camp. For by this time Calvinism had spread so much among the French clergy as to break them into two hostile parties, and render it impossible to rally them against their common foe. The growth of this heresy was also important, because Calvinism being essentially democratic, a revolutionary spirit appeared even in the ecclesiastical profession, so that the feud in the church was accompanied by another feud between the government and the church. These were the leading symptoms of that vast movement which culminated in the French Revolution; and all of them indicated a state of society so anarchical and so thoroughly disorganized as to make it certain that some great catastrophe was impending. At length, and when everything was ready for explosion, the news of the American Rebellion fell like a spark on the inflammable mass, and ignited a flame which never ceased its ravages until it had destroyed all that Frenchmen once held dear, and had left for the instruction of mankind an awful lesson of the crimes into which continued oppression may hurry a generous and long-suffering people.

Such is a rapid outline of the view which my studies have led me to take of the causes of the French Revolution. That I have ascertained all the causes I do not for a moment suppose; but it will, I believe, be found that none of importance have been omitted.* It is indeed true that among the materials of which the evidence consists many deficiencies will be seen; and a more protracted labour would have been rewarded by a greater success. Of these shortcomings I am deeply sensible; and I can only regret that the necessity of passing on to a still larger field has compelled me to leave so much for future inquirers to gather in. At the same time, it ought to be remembered that this is the first attempt which has ever been made to study the antecedents of the French Revolution according to a scheme wide enough to include the whole of their intellectual bearings. In defiance of sound philosophy, and, I may say, in defiance of common understanding, historians obstinately persist in neglecting those great branches of

[*Perhaps the only serious omission is the failure to note that the progression of debt and taxation under Louis XV. provoked the attack on the State system which in the end led to its overthrow.—Ed.]

physical knowledge in which in every civilized country the operations of the human mind may be most clearly seen, and therefore the mental habits most easily ascertained. The result is that the French Revolution, unquestionably the most important, the most complicated, and the most glorious event in history, has been given over to authors, many of whom have displayed considerable ability, but all of whom have shown themselves destitute of that preliminary scientific education, in the absence of which it is impossible to seize the spirit of any period, or to take a comprehensive survey of its various parts. Thus, to mention only a single instance: we have seen that the extraordinary impulse given to the study of the external world was intimately connected with that democratic movement which overthrew the institutions of France. But this connexion historians have been unable to trace, because they were unacquainted with the progress of the various branches of natural philosophy and of natural history. Hence it is that they have exhibited their great subject maimed and mutilated, shorn of those fair proportions which it ought to possess. According to this scheme the historian sinks into the annalist; so that instead of solving a problem he merely paints a picture. Without, therefore, disparaging the labours of those industrious men who have collected materials for a history of the French Revolution, we may assuredly say that the history itself has never been written; since they who have attempted the task have not possessed such resources as would enable them to consider it as merely a single part of that far larger movement which was seen in every department of science, of philosophy, of religion, and of politics.

Whether or not I have effected anything of real value towards remedying this deficiency is a question for competent judges to decide. Of this at least I feel certain, that whatever imperfections may be observed, the fault consists, not in the method proposed, but in the extreme difficulty of any single man putting into full operation all the parts of so vast a scheme. It is on this point, and on this alone, that I feel the need of great indulgence. But as to the plan itself I have no misgivings; because I am deeply convinced that the time is fast approaching when the history of Man will be placed on its proper footing; when its study will be recognized as the noblest and most arduous of all pursuits; and when it will be clearly seen that, to cultivate it with success, there is wanted a wide and comprehensive mind, richly furnished with the highest branches of human knowledge. When this is fully admitted, history will be written only by those whose habits fit them for the task; and it will be rescued from the hands of biographers, genealogists, collectors of anecdotes, chroniclers of courts, of princes, and of nobles, —those babblers of vain things, who lie in wait at every corner and infest this, the public highway of our national literature. That such compilers should trespass on a province so far above their own, and should think that by these means they can throw light on the affairs of men, is one of many proofs of the still backward condition of our knowledge, and of the indistinctness with which its boundaries have been mapped out. If I have done anything towards bringing these intrusions into discredit, and inspiring historians themselves with a sense of the dignity of their own calling, I shall have rendered in my time some little service, and I shall be well content to have it said that in many cases I have failed in executing what I originally proposed. Indeed, that there are in this volume several instances of such failure I willingly allow; and I can only plead the immensity of the subject, the shortness of a single life, and the imperfection of every single enterprise. I therefore wish this work to be estimated, not according to the finish of its separate parts, but according to the way in which those parts have been fused into a complete and symmetrical whole. This, in an undertaking of such novelty and magnitude, I have a right to expect. And I would moreover add that if the reader has met with opinons adverse to his own, he should remember that his views are perchance the same as those which I too once held, and which I have abandoned, because, after a wider range of study, I found them unsupported by solid proof, subversive of the interests of Man, and fatal to the progress of his knowledge. To examine the notions in which we have been educated, and to turn aside from those which will not bear the test, is a task so painful that they

who shrink from the suffering should pause before they reproach those by whom the suffering is undergone. What I have put forward may no doubt be erroneous; but it is at all events the result of an honest searching after truth, of unsparing labour, of patient and anxious reflection. Conclusions arrived at in this way are not to be overturned by stating that they endanger some other conclusions; nor can they be even affected by allegations against their supposed tendency. The principles which I advocate are based upon distinct arguments, supported by well-ascertained facts. The only points, therefore, to be ascertained are whether the arguments are fair, and whether the facts are certain. If these two conditions have been obeyed, the principles follow by an inevitable inference. Their demonstration is, in the present volume, necessarily incomplete; and the reader must suspend his final judgment until the close of this Introduction, when the subject in all its bearings will be laid before him. The remaining part of the Introduction will be occupied, as I have already intimated, with an investigation of the civilizations of Germany, America,* Scotland, and Spain; each of which presents a different type of intellectual development, and has therefore followed a different direction in its religious, scientific, social and political history. The causes of these differences I shall attempt to ascertain. The next step will be to generalize the causes themselves; and having thus referred them to certain principles common to all, we shall be possessed of what may be called the fundamental laws of European thought; the divergence of the different countries being regulated either by the direction those laws take, or else by their comparative energy. To discover these fundamental laws will be the business of the Introduction; while in the body of the work I shall apply them to the history of England, and endeavour by their aid to work out the epochs through which we have successively passed, fix the basis of our present civilization, and indicate the path of our future progress.

[* See edit. notes above, pp. 508, 518.—Ed.]

CHAPTER XV

Outline of the History of the Spanish Intellect from the Fifth to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

In the preceding volume I have endeavoured to establish four leading propositions, which, according to my view, are to be deemed the basis of the history of civilization. They are: 1st. That the progress of mankind depends on the success with which the laws of phenomena are investigated, and on the extent to which a knowledge of those laws is diffused. 2nd. That before such investigation can begin, a spirit of scepticism must arise, which, at first aiding the investigation, is afterwards aided by it. 3rd. That the discoveries thus made increase the influence of intellectual truths, and diminish, relatively, not absolutely, the influence of moral truths; moral truths being more stationary than intellectual truths, and receiving fewer additions. 4th. That the great enemy of this movement, and therefore the great enemy of civilization, is the protective spirit; by which I mean the notion that society cannot prosper unless the affairs of life are watched over and protected at nearly every turn by the state and the church; the state teaching men what they are to do, and the church teaching them what they are to believe. Such are the propositions which I hold to be the most essential for a right understanding of history, and which I have defended in the only two ways any proposition can be defended; namely, inductively and deductively. The inductive defence comprises a collection of historical and scientific facts, which suggest and authorize the conclusions drawn from them; while the deductive defence consists of a verification of those conclusions, by showing how they explain the history of different countries and their various fortunes. To the former or inductive method of defence, I am at present unable to add anything new; but the deductive defence I hope to strengthen considerably in this volume,* and by its aid confirm not only the four cardinal propositions just stated, but also several minor propositions which, though strictly speaking flowing from them, will require separate verification. According to the plan already sketched, the remaining part of the Introduction will contain an examination of the history of Spain, of Scotland, of Germany, and of the United States of America, with the object of elucidating principles on which the history of England supplies inadequate information. And as Spain is the country where what I conceive to be the fundamental conditions of national improvement have been most flagrantly violated, so also shall we find that it is the country where the penalty paid for the violation has been most heavy, and where, therefore, it is most instructive to ascertain how the prevalence of certain opinions causes the decay of the people among whom they predominate.

We have seen that the old tropical civilizations were accompanied by remarkable features which I have termed Aspects of Nature, and which, by inflaming the imagination, encouraged superstition, and prevented men from daring to analyze such threatening physical phenomena; in other words, prevented the creation of the physical sciences. Now it is an interesting fact that in these respects no European country is so analogous to the tropics as Spain. No other part of Europe is so clearly designated by nature as the seat and refuge of superstition. Recurring to what has been already proved,[1] it will be remembered that

[1] Above, pp. 67, 84.

[* The second volume of the original begins with this chapter.—Ed.]

among the most important physical causes of superstition are famines, epidemics, earthquakes, and that general unhealthiness of climate which, by shortening the average duration of life, increases the frequency and earnestness with which supernatural aid is invoked. These peculiarities, taken together, are more prominent in Spain than anywhere else in Europe ; it will therefore be useful to give such a summary of them as will exhibit the mischievous effects they have produced in shaping the national character.

If we except the northern extremity of Spain, we may say that the two principal characteristics of the climate are heat and dryness, both of which are favoured by the extreme difficulty which nature has interposed in regard to irrigation. For the rivers which intersect the land run mostly in beds too deep to be made available for watering the soil, which consequently is, and always has been, remarkably arid.[2] Owing to this, and to the infrequency of rain, there is no European country as richly endowed in other respects where droughts and therefore famines have been so frequent and serious.[3] At the same time the vicissitudes of climate, particularly in the central parts, make Spain habitually unhealthy ; and this general tendency being strengthened in the Middle Ages by the constant occurrence of famine, caused the ravages of pestilence to be unusually fatal.[4] When we moreover add that in the Peninsula, including Portugal, earthquakes have been extremely disastrous,[5] and have excited all

[2] " The low state of agriculture in Spain may be ascribed partly to physical and partly to moral causes. At the head of the former must be placed the heat of the climate and the aridity of the soil. Most part of the rivers with which the country is intersected run in deep beds, and are but little available, except in a few favoured localities, for purposes of irrigation." *M'Culloch's Geographical and Statistical Dictionary*, London, 1849, vol. ii. p. 708. See also *Laborde's Spain*, London, 1809, vol. iv. p. 284, vol. v. p. 261. The relative aridity of the different parts is stated in *Cook's Spain*, London, 1834, vol. ii. pp. 216–19.

[3] On these droughts and famines, see *Mariana, Historia de España*, Madrid, 1794, vol. ii. p. 270, vol. iii. p. 225, vol. iv. p. 32. *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, Paris, 1840, pp. 142, 149, 154, 170. *Davila, Historia de la Vida de Felipe Tercero*, Madrid, 1771, folio, lib. ii. p. 114. *Clarke's Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, London, 1763, 4to, p. 282. *Udal ap Rhys' Tour through Spain*, London, 1760, pp. 292, 293. *Spain by an American*, London, 1831, vol. ii. p. 282. *Hoskins' Spain*, London, 1851, vol. i. pp. 127, 132, 152. " España es castigada frecuentemente con las sequedades y faltas de lluvias." *Muriel, Gobierno de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1839, p. 193.

[4] " Añádase á todo esto las repetidas pestes, y mortales epidemias que han afligido á las provincias de España, mayormente á las meridionales que han sido las mas sujetas á estas plagas. De estas se hace mencion en los anales é historias muy freqüentemente ; y en su confirmacion se puede leer el tratado historico, o *epidemiológia* que sobre ellas ha publicado Don Joach n de Villalba, donde se verá con dolor y espanto con quanta freqüencia se repetian estos azotes desde mediados del siglo décimoquarto." . . . " Dos exemplos bien recientes y dolorosos hemos visto, y conservaremos en la memoria, en los formidables estragos que acaban de padecer gran parte del reyno de Sevilla, Cádiz, y sus contornos, M á laga, Cartagena, y Alicante ; sin contar la mortandad con que han afligido á la mayor parte de los pueblos de ámbas Castillas las epidemias de calenturas pútridas en el año pasado de 1805." . . . " Por otra parte la fundacion de tantas capillas y procesiones á San Roque, y á San Sebastian, como abogados contre la peste, que todavía se conservan en la mayor parte de nuestras ciudades de España, son otro testimonio de los grandes y repetidos estragos que habian padecido sus pueblos de este azote. Y el gran número de médicos españoles que publicáron tratados preservativos y curativos de la peste en los reynados de Cárlos V., Felipe II., Felipe III., y Felipe IV., confirman mas la verdad de los hechos." *Capmany, Qüestiones Criticas*, Madrid, 1807, pp. 51, 52 ; see also pp. 66, 67 ; and *Janer, Condicion Social de los Moriscos de España*, Madrid, 1857, pp. 106, 107 ; and the notice of Malaga in *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1808, vol. iii. p. 242.

[5] " Earthquakes are still often felt at Granada and along the coast of the province of Alicante, where their effects have been very disastrous. Much further in the interior,

in the small Sierra del Tremédal, or district of Albarracia, in the province of Terruel, eruptions and shocks have been very frequent since the most remote periods; the black porphyry is there seen traversing the altered strata of the oolitic formation. The old inhabitants of the country speak of sinking of the ground and of the escape of sulphureous gases when they were young; these same phenomena have occurred during four consecutive months of the preceding winter, accompanied by earthquakes, which have caused considerable mischief to the buildings of seven villages situated within a radius of two leagues. They have not, however, been attended with any loss of life, on account of the inhabitants hastening to abandon their dwellings at the first indications of danger." *Ezquerra on the Geology of Spain*, in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London*, vol. vi. pp. 412, 413, London, 1850. "The provinces of Malaga, Murcia, and Granada, and, in Portugal, the country round Lisbon, are recorded at several periods to have been devastated by great earthquakes." *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, London, 1853, p. 358. "Los terremotos son tan sensibles y freqüentes en lo alto de las montañas, como en lo llano, pues Sevilla está sujeta á ellos hallándose situada sobre una llanura tan igual y baxa como Holanda." *Bowles, Introduccion á la Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, pp. 90, 91. "The littoral plains, especially about Cartagena and Alicante, are much subject to earthquakes." *Ford's Spain*, 1847, p. 168. "This corner of Spain is the chief volcanic district of the Peninsula, which stretches from Cabo de Gata to near Cartagena; the earthquakes are very frequent." *Ford*, p. 174. "Spain, including Portugal, in its external configuration, with its vast tableland of the two Castiles, rising nearly 2,000 feet above the sea, is perhaps the most interesting portion of Europe, not only in this respect, but as a region of earthquake disturbance, where the energy and destroying power of this agency have been more than once displayed upon the most tremendous scale." *Mallet's Earthquake Catalogue of the British Association*, Report for 1858, p. 9, London, 1858.

I quote these passages at length, partly on account of their interest as physical truths, and partly because the facts stated in them are essential for a right understanding of the history of Spain. Their influence on the Spanish character was pointed out, for I believe the first time, in my *History of Civilization*, vol. i. pp. 112, 113. On that occasion I adduced no evidence to prove the frequency of earthquakes in the Peninsula, because I supposed that all persons moderately acquainted with the physical history of the earth were aware of the circumstance. But in April, 1858, a criticism of my book appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which the serious blunders which I am said to have committed are unsparingly exposed. In p. 468 of that Review, the critic, after warning his readers against my "inaccuracies," observes, "But Mr. Buckle goes on to state that 'earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are more frequent and more destructive in Italy, and in the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, than in any other of the great countries.' Whence he infers, by a singular process of reasoning, that superstition is more rife, and the clergy more powerful; but that the fine arts flourish, poetry is cultivated, and the sciences neglected. Every link in this chain is more or less faulty. There is no volcano in the Spanish peninsula, and the only earthquake known to have occurred there was that of Lisbon." Now, I have certainly no right to expect that a reviewer, composing a popular article for an immediate purpose, and knowing that when his article is read it will be thrown aside and forgotten, should under such unfavourable circumstances be at the pains of mastering all the details of his subject. To look for this would be the height of injustice. He has no interest in being accurate; his name being concealed, his reputation, if he have any, is not at stake; and the errors into which he falls ought to be regarded with leniency, inasmuch as, their vehicle being an ephemeral publication, they are not likely to be remembered, and they are therefore not likely to work much mischief.

These considerations have always prevented me from offering any reply to anonymous criticisms. But the passage in the *Edinburgh Review* to which I have called attention displays such marvellous ignorance that I wish to rescue it from oblivion, and to put it on record as a literary curiosity. The other charges brought against me could, I need hardly say, be refuted with equal ease. Indeed, no reasonable person can possibly suppose that after years of arduous and uninterrupted study I should have committed those childish blunders with which my opponents unscrupulously taunt me. Once for all, I may say that I have made no assertion for the truth of which I do not possess ample and irrefragable evidence. But it is impossible for me to arrange and adduce all the proofs at the same time; and in so vast an enterprise I must in some degree rely, not on the

those superstitious feelings which they naturally provoke, we may form some idea of the insecurity of life, and of the ease with which an artful and ambitious priesthood could turn such insecurity into an engine for the advancement of their own power.[6]

generosity of the reader, but on his candour. I do not think that I am asking too much in requesting him, if on any future occasion his judgment should be in suspense between me and my critics, to give me the benefit of the doubt, and to bear in mind that statements embodied in a deliberate and slowly concocted work, authenticated by the author's name, are as a mere matter of antecedent probability more likely to be accurate than statements made in reviews and newspapers, which, besides being written hastily, and often at very short notice, are unsigned, and by which, consequently, their promulgators evade all responsibility, avoid all risk, and can in their own persons neither gain fame nor incur obloquy.

The simple fact is that in Spain there have been more earthquakes than in all other parts of Europe put together, Italy excepted. If the destruction of property and of life produced by this one cause were summed up, the results would be appalling. When we moreover add those alarming shocks which, though less destructive, are far more frequent, and of which not scores nor hundreds but thousands have occurred, and which by increasing the total amount of fear have to an incalculable extent promoted the growth of superstition, it is evident that such phenomena must have played an important part in forming the national character of the Spaniards. Whoever will take the trouble of consulting the following passages will find decisive proofs of the frightful ravages committed by earthquakes in Spain alone; Portugal being excluded. They all refer to a period of less than two hundred years; the first being in 1639, and the last in 1829. *Lettres de Madame de Villars, Ambassadrice en Espagne*, Amsterdam, 1759, p. 205. *Laborde's Spain*, Lond. 1809, vol. i. p. 169. *Dunlop's Memoirs of Spain*, Edinburgh, 1834, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227. *Boisel, Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1669, 4to, p. 243. *Mallet's Earthquake Catalogue of the British Association*, London, 1858; Report for 1853, p. 146; for 1854, pp. 26, 27, 54, 55, 57, 58, 65, 110, 140, 173, 196, 202. *Swinburne's Travels through Spain*, London, 1787, vol. i. p. 166. *Ford's Spain*, London, 1847, p. 178. *Bacon's Six Years in Biscay*, London, 1838, p. 32, compared with *Inglis' Spain*, London, 1831, vol. i. p. 393, vol. ii. p. 289–291.

These authorities narrate the ravages committed during a hundred and ninety years. From their account it is manifest that in Spain hardly a generation passed by without castles, villages, and towns being destroyed, and men, women, and children killed by earthquakes. But according to our anonymous instructor it is doubtful if there ever was an earthquake in Spain; for he says of the whole Peninsula, including Portugal, "the only earthquake known to have occurred there was that of Lisbon."

[It is true, as has been remarked in the editor's introduction, that the great majority of the charges of error and ignorance brought against Buckle by his contemporaries fall to the ground, as does that which he has here exposed. But, as we have also seen at many points, we who stand at his point of view, looking through his new windows, and with the help of his method, do find that on a number of points he has fallen into errors of fact, as well as of argument. This, indeed, is the portion of every pioneer; and as he has admitted at the close of the preceding chapter that what he has put forward "may no doubt be erroneous," the sweeping claim to inerrancy in the foregoing note should not have been made.—Ed.]

[6] On the superstitious fears caused by earthquakes in Spain, see a good passage in *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes*, p. 155. "En el año 267, dia jueves, 22 de la luna de Xawâl, tembló la tierra con tan espantoso ruido y estremecimiento, que cayeron muchos alcázares y magníficos edificios, y otros quedaron muy quebrantados, se hundieron montes, se abrieron peñascos, y la tierra se hundió y tragó pueblos y alturas, el mar se retrajo y apartó de las costas, y desaparecieron islas y escollos en el mar. Las gentes abandonaban los pueblos y huian á los campos, las aves salian de sus nidos, y las fieras espantadas dejaban sus grutas y madrigueras con general turbacion y trastorno; nunca los hombres vieron ni oyeron cosa semejante; se arruinaron muchos pueblos de la costa meridional y occidental de España. Todas estas cosas influyeron tanto en los

Another feature of this singular country is the prevalence of a pastoral life, mainly caused by the difficulty of establishing regular habits of agricultural industry. In most parts of Spain the climate renders it impossible for the labourer to work the whole of the day ;[7] and this forced interruption encourages among the people an irregularity and instability of purpose which makes them choose the wandering avocations of a shepherd rather than the more fixed pursuits of agriculture.[8] And during the long and arduous war which they waged against their Mohammedan invaders they were subject to such incessant surprises and forays on the part of the enemy as to make it advisable that their means of subsistence should be easily removed ; hence they preferred the produce of their flocks to that of their lands, and were shepherds instead of agriculturists, simply because by that means they would suffer less in case of an unfavourable issue. Even after the capture of Toledo, late in the eleventh century, the inhabitants of the frontier in Estramadura, La Mancha, and New Castile, were almost entirely herdsmen, and their cattle were pastured not in private meadows

ánimos de los hombres, y en especial en la ignorante multitud, que no pudo Almondhir persuadirles que eran cosas naturales, aunque poco frecüentes, que no tenian influjo ni relacion con las obras de los hombres, ni con sus empresas, sino por su ignorancia y vanos temores, que lo mismo temblaba la tierra para los muslimes que para los cristianos, para las fieras que para las inocentes criaturas." Compare *Geddes' Tracts concerning Spain*, London, 1730, vol. i. p. 89 ; and Mariana, who, under the year 1395, says (*Historia de España*, vol. v. p. 27) : " Tembló la tierra en Valencia mediado el mes de Diciembre, con que muchos edificios cayéron por tierra, otros quedáron desplomados ; que era maravilla y lástima. El pueblo *como agorero que es, pensaba eran señales del cielo* y pronósticos de los daños que temian." The history of Spain abounds with similar instances far too numerous to quote or even to refer to. But the subject is so important and has been so misrepresented, that even at the risk of wearying the reader I will give one more illustration of the use of earthquakes in fostering Spanish superstition. In 1504 " an earthquake, accompanied by a tremendous hurricane, such as the oldest men did not remember, had visited Andalusia, and especially Carmona, a place belonging to the Queen, and occasioned frightful desolation there. The superstitious Spaniards now read in these portents *the prophetic signs by which Heaven announces some great calamity. Prayers were put up in every temple*," etc., etc. *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, Paris, 1842, vol. iii. p. 174. [As has been shown by Dozy in his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 1861, Conde's narrative is not trustworthy ; but his errors are not such as to affect Buckle's argument where he founds on him.—Ed.]

[7] Above, p. 24. See also *Laborde's Spain*, vol. iv. p. 42.

[8] A writer early in the eighteenth century notices " el gran numero de pastores que hay." *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, 3rd ed. Madrid, 1757, folio, p. 20. As to the Arabic period, see *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion*, p. 244 : " Muchos pueblos, siguiendo su natural inclinacion, se entregaron á la ganaderia." Hence " the wandering life so congenial to the habits of the Spanish peasantry," noticed in *Cook's Spain*, vol. i. p. 85, where, however, the connexion between this and the physical constitution of the country is not indicated. The solution is given by Mr. Ticknor with his usual accuracy and penetration : " The climate and condition of the Peninsula, which from a very remote period had favoured the shepherd's life and his pursuits, facilitated, no doubt, if they did not occasion, the first introduction into Spanish poetry of a pastoral tone, whose echoes are heard far back among the old ballads." . . . " From the Middle Ages the occupations of a shepherd's life had prevailed in Spain and Portugal to a greater extent than elsewhere in Europe ; and, probably in consequence of this circumstance, eclogues and bucolics were early known in the poetry of both countries, and became connected in both with the origin of the popular drama." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1849, vol. iii. pp. 9, 36. On the pastoral literature of Spain, see *Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1823, vol. i. pp. 123–129 ; and on the great number of pastoral romances. *Southey's Letters from Spain*, Bristol, 1799, p. 336. But these writers, not seizing the whole question, have failed to observe the relation between the literary, physical, and social phenomena.

but in the open fields.[9] All this increased the uncertainty of life, and strengthened that love of adventure and that spirit of romance which at a later period gave a tone to the popular literature. Under such circumstances everything grew precarious, restless, and unsettled ; thought and inquiry were impossible ; doubt was unknown ; and the way was prepared for those superstitious habits, and for that deep-rooted and tenacious belief, which have always formed a principal feature in the history of the Spanish nation.*

To what extent these circumstances would, if they stood by themselves, have affected the ultimate destiny of Spain, is a question hardly possible to answer ; but there can be no doubt that their effects must always have been important, though, from the paucity of evidence, we are unable to measure them with precision. In regard, however, to the actual result, this point is of little moment, because a long chain of other and still more influential events became interwoven with those just mentioned, and, tending in precisely the same direction, produced a combination which nothing could resist, and from which we may trace with unerring certainty the steps by which the nation subsequently declined. The history of the causes of the degradation of Spain will indeed become too clear to be mistaken, if studied in reference to those general principles which I have enunciated, and which will themselves be confirmed by the light they throw on this instructive though melancholy subject.

After the subversion of the Roman Empire, the first leading fact in the history of Spain is the settlement of the Visigoths and the establishment of their opinions in the Peninsula. They, as well as the Suevi, who immediately preceded them, were Arians, and Spain during a hundred and fifty years became the rallying point of that famous heresy,[10] to which indeed most of the Gothic tribes then adhered. But at the end of the fifth century the Franks, on their conversion from Paganism, adopted the opposite and orthodox creed, and were encouraged by their clergy to make war upon their heretical neighbours. Clovis, who was

[9] See the memoir by Jovellanos, in *Laborde's Spain*, vol. iv. p. 127. This was the necessary consequence of those vindictive attacks by which, for several centuries, both Mohammedans and Christians seemed resolved to turn Spain into a desert ; ravaging each other's fields, and destroying every crop they could meet with. *Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes*, pp. 75, 188, 278, 346, 396, 417, 418, 471, 499, 500, 505, 523, 539, 544, 551, 578, 645, 651, 658. To quote one of these instances, late in the eleventh century : " La constancia de Alfonso ben Ferdeland en hacer entradas y talas en tierra de Toledo dos veces cada año, fué tanta que empobreció y apuró los pueblos ; " . . . " el tirano Alfonso taló y quemó los campos y los pueblos." *Conde*, p. 346. As such havoc, which was continued with few interruptions for about seven hundred years, has done much towards forming the national character of the Spaniards, it may be worth while to refer to *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. iii. p. 438, vol. iv. pp. 193, 314, vol. v. pp. 92, 317, 337 ; and to *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, Paris, 1846, vol. i. p. 99.

[10] The unsettled chronology of the early history of Spain appears, from the different statements of various writers respecting the duration of Arianism, a point of much more importance than the death and accession of kings. Antequera (*Historia de la Legislacion Española*, Madrid, 1849, p. 37) says, " La secta arriana, pues, segun las epocas fijadas, permanecio en España 125 años ; " Fleury (*Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. vii. p. 586, Paris, 1758) says " environ 180 ans ; " and M'Crie, generally well informed, says in his *History of the Reformation in Spain*, Edinburgh, 1829, p. 7, " Arianism was the prevailing and established creed of the country for nearly two centuries : " for this he refers to Gregory of Tours. With good reason therefore does M. Fauriel term it " une question qui souffre des difficultés." See his able work, *Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, Paris, 1836, vol. i. p. 10.

[* As habits of warfare were general in Europe up to the eleventh century, the special inference here drawn as to Spain seems unwarranted. We have already seen (above, p. 107), and shall see further, that Buckle has overrated the original religiosity of the Spaniards.—Ed.]

then king of the Franks, was regarded by the church as the champion of the faith, in whose behalf he attacked the unbelieving Visigoths.[11] His successors, moved by the same motives, pursued the same policy ;[12] and during nearly a century there was a war of opinions between France and Spain, by which the Visigothic empire was seriously endangered, and was more than once on the verge of dissolution. Hence, in Spain, a war for national independence became also a war for national religion,[13] and an intimate alliance was formed between the Arian kings and the Arian clergy. The latter class were, in those ages of ignorance, sure to gain by such a compact,[14] and they received considerable temporal advantages in return for the prayers which they offered up against the enemy, as also for the miracles which they occasionally performed. Thus early a foundation was laid for the immense influence which the Spanish priesthood have possessed ever since, and which was strengthened by subsequent events. For, late in the sixth century, the Latin clergy converted their Visigothic masters,* and the Spanish government, becoming orthodox, naturally conferred upon its

[11] In 496, the orthodox clergy looked on Clovis as "un champion qu'il peut opposer aux hérétiques visigoths et burgondes." *Fauriel, Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, vol. ii. p. 41. They also likened him to Gideon, p. 66. Compare *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. vii. pp. 89, 90. Ortiz is so enthusiastic that he forgets his patriotism, and warmly praises the ferocious barbarian who made war indeed on his country, but still whose speculative opinions were supposed to be sound. "Mientras Alarico desfogaba su encono contra los Católicos, tuvo la Iglesia Galicana el consuelo de ver Católico á su gran Rey Clodoveo. Era el único Monarca del mundo que á la sazon profesaba la Religion verdadera." *Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 96, Madrid, 1796.

[12] Thus in 531 Childebert marched against the Visigoths because they were Arians. *Fauriel, Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, vol. ii. p. 131 ; and in 542 Childebert and Clotaire made another attack, and laid siege to Saragossa, p. 142. "No advertian los Godos lo que su falsa creencia les perjudicaba, y si lo advertian, su obcecacion les hacia no poner remedio. Los reyes francos, que eran católicos, les movian guerras en las Galias por arrianos, y los obispos catolicos de la misma Galia gótica deseaban la dominacion de los francos." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 380, Madrid, 1850.

[13] "Los Francos por el amor que tenian á la Religion Cathólica, que poco ántes abrazaran, aborrecian á los Visigodos como gente inficionada de la secta Arriana." *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 43. And of one of their great battles he says, p. 46, "vulgarmente se llamo el campo Arriano por causa de la religion que los Godos seguian."

[14] "En religion et en croyance, comme en toute chose, les Visigoths se montrèrent plus sérieux, plus profonds, plus tenaces que les Burgondes. J'ai dit ailleurs comment ils étaient devenus presque en même temps chrétiens et ariens. Transplantés en Gaule et en Espagne, non-seulement ils avaient persévéré dans leur hérésie ; ils s'y étaient affermis, affectionnés, et dans le peu que l'histoire laisse apercevoir de leur clergé, on s'assure qu'il était austère, zélé, et qu'il exercait un grand empire sur les chefs comme sur la masse de la nation visigothe." . . . . "Les rois visigoths se croyaient obligés à de grandes démonstrations de respect pour leur clergé arien." *Fauriel, Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, vol. i. pp. 577, 578.

[* In the preceding note, the Visigothic clergy are represented as Arians ; and it appears that when Recared turned Catholic he had to persuade them to follow him. He seems to have abjured on grounds of statecraft, seeking to set up an "orthodox" church, as against his turbulent nobles, who were Arian. He seems to have been helped by the Catholic bishop Leander ; but from the first the mass of the Hispano-Roman population had remained anti-Arian under the Arian rule of the Visigoths. See U. R. Burke's *History of Spain*, Hume's ed., 1900, i. 85–88. The elective character of the Visigothic monarchy threw the king on the one hand into the arms of the clergy, and on the other hand set the nobles on winning the clergy to their side. Of the thirteen kings who reigned from Alaric to Athanagila, 451–544, eleven were killed by their nobles (*Id.* pp. 115, 117, text and notes).—Ed

teachers an authority equal to that wielded by the Arian hierarchy.[15] Indeed, the rulers of Spain, grateful to those who had shown them the error of their ways, were willing rather to increase the power of the church than to diminish it. The clergy took advantage of this disposition ; and the result was, that before the middle of the seventh century the spiritual classes possessed more influence in Spain than in any other part of Europe.[16] The ecclesiastical synods became not only councils of the church, but also parliaments of the realm.[17] At Toledo, which was then the capital of Spain, the power of the clergy was immense, and was so ostentatiously displayed that in a council they held there in the year 633, we find the king literally prostrating himself on the ground before the bishops ;[18] and half a century later the ecclesiastical historian mentions that this humiliating practice was repeated by another king, having become, he says, an established custom.[19] That this was not a mere meaningless ceremony is moreover evident from other and analogous facts. Exactly the same tendency is seen in their jurisprudence ; since by the Visigothic code any layman, whether plaintiff or defendant, might insist on his cause being tried not by the temporal magistrate, but by the bishop of the diocese. Nay, even if both parties to the suit were agreed in preferring the civil tribunal, the bishop still retained the power of revoking the decision, if in his opinion it was incorrect ; and it was his especial business to watch over the administration of justice, and to instruct the magistrates how to perform their duty.[20] Another and more painful proof of the

[15] The abjuration of Recared took place between the years 586 and 589. *Dunham's History of Spain and Portugal*, London, 1832, vol. i. pp. 126–128. *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 99–101. *Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 120. *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 360–363 ; and says Lafuente, p. 384, " Recaredo fué el primero que con todo el ardor de un néofito, comenzó en el tercer concilio toledano á dar á estas asambleas conocimiento y decision en negocios pertenecientes al gobierno temporal de los pueblos." Similarly, Antequera (*Historia de la Legislacion*, p. 31) is happy to observe that " Recaredo abjuró la heregía arriana, abrazó decididamente la religion de Jesu-Cristo, y *concedió á los ministros de la iglesia una influencia en el gobierno del Estado, que vino á ser en adelante, ilimitada y absoluta.*"

[16] " As for the councils held under the Visigoth kings of Spain during the seventh century, it is not easy to determine whether they are to be considered as ecclesiastical or temporal assemblies. No kingdom was so thoroughly under the bondage of the hierarchy as Spain." *Hallam's Middle Ages*, edit. 1846, vol. i. p. 511. " Les prêtres étaient les seuls qui avaient conservé et même augmenté leur influence dans la monarchie gothespagnole." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, Bordeaux, 1815, p. 19. Compare *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 368, on " la influencia y preponderancia del clero, no ya solo en los negocios eclesiásticos, sino tambien en los políticos y de estado."

[17] " But it is in Spain, after the Visigoths had cast off their Arianism, that the bishops more manifestly influence the whole character of the legislation. The synods of Toledo were not merely national councils, but parliaments of the realm." *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, London, 1854, vol. i. p. 380. See also *Antequera, Historia de la Legislacion Española*, pp. 41, 42.

[18] In 633, at a council of Toledo, the king " s'étant prosterné à terre devant les évêques." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. viii. p. 308, Paris, 1758.

[19] In 688, at a council of Toledo, " le roi Egica y étoit en personne ; et après s'être prosterné devant les évêques, *suivant la coutume*, il fit lire un mémoire où il leur demandoit conseil," etc. *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. ix. p. 89, Paris, 1758.

[20] See a short but admirable summary of this part of the Visigothic code in *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 77–78 ; perhaps the best history in the English language of a foreign modern country. " In Spain, the bishops had a special charge to keep continual watch over the administration of justice, and were summoned on all great occasions to instruct the judges to act with piety and justice." *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, 1854, vol. i. p. 386. The council of Toledo, in 633, directs bishops to admonish judges. *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. viii. p. 313 ; and a learned Spanish lawyer, Sempere, says of the bishops, " Le code du *Fuero Juzgo* fut leur ouvrage ; les juges étaient sujets à leur juridiction ; les plaideurs, grevés par la sentence des juges,

ascendency of the clergy is that the laws against heretics were harsher in Spain than in any other country; the Jews in particular being persecuted with unrelenting rigour.[21] Indeed, the desire of upholding the faith was strong enough to produce a formal declaration that no sovereign should be acknowledged unless he promised to preserve its purity; the judges of the purity being of course the bishops themselves, to whose suffrage the king owed his throne.[22]

Such were the circumstances which, in and before the seventh century, secured to the Spanish Church an influence unequalled in any other part of Europe.[23] Early in the eighth century an event occurred which apparently broke up and dispersed the hierarchy, but which in reality was extremely favourable to them. In 711 the Mohammedans sailed from Africa, landed in the south of Spain, and in the space of three years conquered the whole country, except the almost inaccessible regions of the north-west. The Spaniards, secure in their native

pouvaient se plaindre aux évêques, et ceux-ci évoquer ainsi leurs arrêts, les réformer, et châtier les magistrats. Les procureurs du roi, comme les juges, étaient obligés de se présenter aux synodes diocésains annuels, pour apprendre des ecclésiastiques l'administration de la justice; enfin le governement des Goths n'était qu'une monarchie théocratique." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, Paris, 1826, vol. i. p. 6, vol. ii. pp. 212–214.

[21] "The terrible laws against heresy, and the atrocious juridical persecutions of the Jews, already designate Spain as the throne and centre of merciless bigotry." *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 381. "Tan luego como la religion católica se halló dominando en el trono y en el pueblo, comenzaron los concilianos toledanos á dictar disposiciones canónicas y á prescribir castigos contra los idólatras, contra los judios, y contra los hereges." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. ix. pp. 199–200. See also p. 214, and vol. ii. pp. 406, 407, 451. *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. pp. 235, 236. *Johnston's Institutes of the Civil Law of Spain*, p. 262. *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 260, 261; and *Southey's Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 18. I particularly indicate these passages, on account of the extraordinary assertion of Dr. M'Crie, that "on a review of criminal proceedings in Spain anterior to the establishment of the Court of Inquisition, it appears in general that heretics were more mildly treated there than in other countries." *M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain*, p. 83, the best book on the Spanish Protestants. [M'Crie's statement is perfectly accurate, and is endorsed by the latest historian of Spain, U. R. Burke. "From the death of Roderic to the birth of Isabella, no government in western Europe was less disposed to religious persecution than that of Aragon; no Christian sovereigns were less devoted to Rome than those of Castile. From the conversion of Recared to the rout of the Guadalete—a single century of unchecked and humiliating decadence—the government of Spain had indeed been distinctly and deplorably intolerant; but from the advent of Taric to the appearance of Torquemada the religious independence and the religious toleration of kings and people compare favourably with those of any country in Europe" (*History of Spain*, Hume's ed. ii. 55). Buckle has failed to discriminate between the epochs. And Milman should have remembered that persecution of Jews went on simultaneously in the East and the West in the period of which he speaks; and for the same reason—the increase of the Jews in numbers and wealth. Cp. Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans*, ed. Tozer, i. 310, 315, 325, 326; ii. 34. It will be observed that the words of Lafuente, cited above, do not contradict M'Crie. See also *M. A. S. Hume's The Spanish People*, 1900, p. 177.—Ed.]

[22] A council of Toledo in 638 orders "qu'à l'avenir aucun roi ne montera sur le trône qu'il ne promette de conserver la foi catholique;" and at another council in 681, "le roi y présenta un écrit par lequel il prioit les évêques de lui assurer le royaume, qu'il tenoit de leurs suffrages." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. viii. p. 339, vol. ix. p. 70.

[23] Those happy times have received the warm applause of a modern theologian, because in them the church "ha opuesto un muro de bronce al error;" and because there existed "la mas estrecha concordia entre el imperio y el sacerdocio, por cuyo inestimable beneficio debemos hacer incesantes votos." *Observaciones sobre El Presente y El Porvenir de la Iglesia en España, por Domingo Costa y Borras, Obispo de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1857, pp. 73, 75.

mountains,[24] soon recovered heart, rallied their forces, and began in their turn to assail the invaders. A desperate struggle ensued, which lasted nearly eight centuries, and in which, a second time in the history of Spain, a war for independence was also a war for religion; the contest between Arabian Infidels and Spanish Christians succeeding that formerly carried on between the Trinitarians of France and the Arians of Spain. Slowly, and with infinite difficulty, the Christians fought their way. By the middle of the ninth century they reached the line of the Douro.[25] Before the close of the eleventh century they conquered as far as the Tagus, and Toledo, their ancient capital, fell into their hands in 1085.[26] Even then much remained to be done. In the south the struggle assumed its deadliest form, and there it was prolonged with such obstinacy that it was not until the capture of Malaga in 1487, and of Granada in 1492, that the Christian empire was re-established, and the old Spanish monarchy finally restored.[27]

The effect of all this on the Spanish character was most remarkable. During eight successive centuries the whole country was engaged in a religious crusade; and those holy wars which other nations occasionally waged were in Spain prolonged and continued for more than twenty generations.[28] The object being not only to regain a territory but also to re-establish a creed, it naturally happened that the expounders of that creed assumed a prominent and important position. In the camp and in the council-chamber the voice of ecclesiastics was heard and obeyed; for as the war aimed at the propagation of Christianity, it seemed right that her ministers should play a conspicuous part in a matter

[24] To which they fled with a speed which caused their great enemy, Muza, to pass upon them a somewhat ambiguous eulogy. "Dijo, son leones en sus castillos, águilas en sus caballos, y mugeres en sus escuadrones de á pié; pero si ven la ocasion la saben aprovechar, y cuando quedan vencidos son cabras en escapar á los montes, que no ven la tierra que pisan." *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes*, p. 30.

[25] *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. pp. xxxviii. 287. Lafuente (*Historia de España*, vol. iii. p. 363) marks the epoch rather indistinctly, "basta ya el Duero." Compare *Florez, Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas*, Madrid, 4to, 1761, vol. i. p. 68.

[26] There is a spirited account of its capture in *Mariana's Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 506–513; after which Ortiz (*Compendio de la Historia*, vol. iii. p. 156) and Lafuente (*Historia General*, vol. iv. pp. 236–242) are rather tame. The Mohammedan view of this, the first decisive blow to their cause, will be found in *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes*, p. 347. "Asi se perdió aquella inclita ciudad, y acabó el reino de Toledo con grave perdida del Islam." The Christian view is that "concedió Dios al Rey la conquista de aquella capital." *Florez, Reynas Catholicas*, vol. i. p. 165.

[27] *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. pp. 313, 349. *Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes*, pp. 656, 664. *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. v. pp. 509, 561. *Lafuente, Historia*, vol. ix. pp. 341, 399.

[28] "According to the magnificent style of the Spanish historians, eight centuries of almost uninterrupted warfare elapsed, and three thousand seven hundred battles were fought, before the last of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain submitted to the Christian arms." *Robertson's Charles V.* by Prescott, London, 1857, p. 65. "En nuestra misma España, en Leon y Castilla, en esta nueva Tierra Santa, donde se sostenia una cruzada perpétua y constante contra los infieles, donde se mantenia en todo su fervor el espíritu á la vez religioso y guerrero." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. v. p. 293. "Era España theatro de una continua guerra contra los enemigos de la Fe." *Florez, Reynas Catholicas*, vol. i. p. 226. "El glorioso empeño de exterminar á los enemigos de la Fe." p. 453. "Esta guerra sagrada." Vol. ii. p. 800. "Se armaron nuestros Reyes Catholicos, con zelo y animo alentado del cielo; y como la causa era de Religion para ensanchar los Dominios de la Fe, sacrificaron todas las fuerzas del Reyno, y sus mismas personas." p. 801. What was called the Indulgence of the Crusade was granted by the Popes "aux Espagnols qui combattoient contre les Mores." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xviii. p. xxi., vol. xix. pp. 158, 458, vol. xxi. p. 171.

which particularly concerned them.[29] The danger to which the country was exposed being moreover very imminent, those superstitious feelings were excited which danger is apt to provoke, and to which, as I have elsewhere shown,[30] the tropical civilizations owed some of their leading peculiarities. Scarcely were the Spanish Christians driven from their homes and forced to take refuge in the north, when this great principle began to operate. In their mountainous retreat they preserved a chest filled with relics of the saints, the possession of which they valued as their greatest security.[31] This was to them a national standard, round which they rallied, and by the aid of which they gained miraculous victories over their Infidel opponents. Looking upon themselves as soldiers of the Cross, their minds became habituated to supernatural considerations to an extent which we can now hardly believe, and which distinguished them in this respect from every other European nation.[32] Their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed dreams.[33] Strange sights were vouchsafed to them from heaven; on the eve of a battle mysterious portents appeared; and it was observed that whenever the Mohammedans violated the tomb of a Christian saint, thunder and lightning were sent to rebuke the misbelievers, and, if need be, to punish their audacious invasion.[34]

[29] "En aquellos tiempos [y duró hasta todo el siglo xv. y toma de Granada] eran los obispos los primeros capitanes de los exércitos." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. iii. p. 189. "Los prelados habian sido siempre los primeros no solo en promover la guerra contra Moros, sino á presentarse en campaña con todo su poder y esfuerzo, animando á los demas con las palabras y el exemplo." Vol. v. pp. 507, 508.

[30] Above, pp. 67, 84.

[31] "Les chrétiens avoient apporté dans les Asturies une arche ou coffre plein de reliques, qu'ils regardèrent depuis comme la sauve-garde de leur état." . . . "Elle fut emportée et mise enfin à Oviedo, comme le lieu le plus sûr entre ces montagnes, l'ère 773, l'an 775." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. ix. p. 190. This "arca llena de reliquias" was taken to the Asturias in 714. *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 227; and, according to Ortiz (*Compendio*, vol. ii. p. 182), it was "un tesoro inestimable de sagradas reliquias." See also *Geddes' Tracts concerning Spain*, vol. ii. p. 237, London, 1730; and *Ford's Spain*, 1847, p. 388. [Such relics were similarly esteemed in all other Christian countries at that period, and for centuries afterwards.—Ed.]

[32] "But no people ever felt themselves to be so absolutely soldiers of the Cross as the Spaniards did, from the time of their Moorish wars; no people ever trusted so constantly to the recurrence of miracles in the affairs of their daily life; and therefore no people ever talked of Divine things as of matters in their nature so familiar and commonplace. Traces of this state of feeling and character are to be found in Spanish literature on all sides." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. p. 333. Compare *Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 105, 106; and the account of the battle of las Navas in *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. i. p. 153: "On voulait trouver partout des miracles." Some of the most startling of these miracles may be found in *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. v. p. 227; in *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 378, 395, vol. iii. p. 338; and in *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. iii. p. 248, vol. iv. p. 22.

[33] One of the most curious of these prophetic dreams is preserved in *Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes*, pp. 378, 379, with its interpretation by the theologians. They were for the most part fulfilled. In 844 "El Apóstol Santiago, segun que lo prometiera al Rey, fué visto en un caballo blanco, y con una bandera blanca y en medio della una cruz roxa, que capitaneaba nuestra gente." *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 310, 311. In 957 "El Apóstol Santiago fué visto entre las haces dar la victoria á los fieles," p. 382. In 1236 "Publicóse por cierto que San Jorge ayudó á los Christianos, y que se halló en la pelea." Vol. iii. p. 323. On the dreams which foreshadowed these appearances, see *Mariana*, vol. ii. pp. 309, 446, vol. iii. pp. 15, 108. [Dreams, visions, and miracles, such as are above described, were common to all Christendom at the same period.—Ed.]

[34] "Priests mingled in the council and the camp, and, arrayed in their sacerdotal robes, not unfrequently led the armies to battle. They interpreted the will of Heaven as mysteriously revealed in dreams and visions. Miracles were a familiar occurrence. The violated tombs of the saints sent forth thunders and lightnings to consume the invaders." *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. xxxix. In the middle

Under circumstances like these the clergy could not fail to extend their influence; or, we may rather say, the course of events extended it for them. The Spanish Christians, pent up for a considerable time in the mountains of Asturias, and deprived of their former resources, quickly degenerated, and soon lost the scanty civilization to which they had attained. Stripped of all their wealth, and confined to what was comparatively a barren region, they relapsed into barbarism, and remained for at least a century without arts, or commerce, or literature.[35] As their ignorance increased, so also did their superstition; while this last, in its turn, strengthened the authority of their priests. The order of affairs, therefore, was very natural. The Mohammedan invasion made the Christians poor; poverty caused ignorance; ignorance caused credulity, and credulity, depriving men both of the power and of the desire to investigate for themselves, encouraged a reverential spirit, and confirmed those submissive habits, and that blind obedience to the Church, which form the leading and most unfortunate peculiarity of Spanish history.*

From this it appears that there were three ways in which the Mohammedan invasion strengthened the devotional feelings of the Spanish people. The first way was by promoting a long and obstinate religious war; the second was by the presence of constant and imminent dangers; and the third way was by the poverty, and therefore the ignorance, which it produced among the Christians.†

of the ninth century, there happened the following event: "En lo mas cruel de los tormentos" [to which the Christians were exposed] "subió Abderramen un dia á las azuteas ó galerias de su Palacio. Descubrió desde alli los cuerpos de los Santos martirizados en los patíbulos y atravesados con los palos, mandó los quemasen todos para que no quedase reliquia. Cumplióse luego la orden: pero aquel impio probó bien presto los rigores de la venganza divina que volvía por la sangre derramada de sus Santos. Improvisamente se le pegó la lengua al paladar y fauces; cerrósele la boca, y no pudo pronunciar una palabra, ni dar un gemido. Conduxeronle sus criados á la cama, murió aquella misma noche, y antes de apagarse las hogueras en que ardian los santos cuerpos, entró la infeliz alma de Abderramen en los eternos fuegos del infierno." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. iii. p. 52.

[35] Circourt (*Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. p. 5) says, "Les chrétiens qui ne voulurent pas se soumettre furent rejetés dans les incultes ravins des Pyrénées, où ils purent se maintenir

[* The same characteristics have been above specified as well established *before* the Moslem invasion. The present argument is thus on the face of the case supererogatory, and, being deductive, cannot avail against the historical testimonies of McCrie and Burke, before cited.—Ed.]

[† It is here taken for granted that "wars of religion" always deepen or develop religious faith. In point of fact, nearly all religious wars are found to be followed by a growth of scepticism, though in some of the combatants and onlookers they may deepen fanaticism. Thus growths of scepticism certainly followed on the Crusades, the wars of Catholics and Protestants in France, the Thirty Years' War, and the Great Rebellion in England, in which religious feeling was largely involved. Buckle, in positing "scepticism" as a vital factor in progress, failed to note that this is one of the ways in which scepticism is most effectively generated in a previously uncritical community. Of course the spectacle of mere self-seeking in churchmen, apart from civil war, may act in the same way—as in the intellectual life of Renaissance Italy, and the England of the Reformation period. Taking the Spanish case inductively, we find that the period of racial strife is positively *not* one of religious earnestness or fanaticism. The wars were in general rather tribal than religious: Christians often fought with Christians, and Moslems with Moslems: pretenders of each religion sometimes found shelter and help with rulers of the other: and the Cid, in particular, was simply a free lance, who often fought for Moslems against Christians (*Burke's History*, Hume's ed., i. 185–193). Thus on neither side was there any predominant fanaticism, though both tended to be ferocious. Among the Moors, we know, there was much scepticism up to the period of decline, when fanaticism won the upper hand. Altogether, the case is much more complex than Buckle here recognises.—Ed.]

These events being preceded by the great Arian war, and being accompanied and perpetually reinforced by those physical phenomena which I have indicated as tending in the same direction, worked with such combined and accumulated energy that in Spain the theological element became not so much a component of the national character, but rather the character itself.* The ablest and most ambitious of the Spanish kings were compelled to follow in the general wake ;† and despots though they were, they succumbed to that pressure of opinions which they believed they were controlling. The war with Granada, late in the fifteenth century, was theological far more than temporal ; and Isabella, who made the greatest sacrifices in order to conduct it, and who in capacity as well as in honesty was superior to Ferdinand, had for her object not so much the acquisition of territory as the propagation of the Christian faith.[36] Indeed, any doubts which could be entertained respecting the purpose of the contest must have been dissipated by subsequent events. For scarcely was the war brought to a close, when Ferdinand and Isabella issued a decree expelling from the country every Jew who refused to deny his faith ; so that the soil of Spain might be no longer polluted by the presence of unbelievers.[37] To make them Christians, or, failing

comme les bêtes fauves se maintiennent dans les forêts." But the most curious account of the state of the Spanish Christians in the last half of the eighth century, and in the first half of the ninth, will be found in *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion*, pp. 95, 125. " Referian de estos pueblos de Galicia que son cristianos, y de los mas bravos de Afranc ; pero que viven como fieras, que nunca lavan sus cuerpos ni vestidos, que no se los mudan, y los llevan puestos hasta que se los caen despedazados en andrajos, que entran unos en las casas de otros sin pedir licencia." . . . In A.D. 815, " no habia guerra sino contra cristianos por mantener frontera, y no con deseo de ampliar y extender los limites del reino, ni por esperanza de sacar grandes riquezas, por ser los cristianos gente pobre de montaña, sin saber nada de comercio ni de buenas artes."

[36] " Isabella may be regarded as the soul of this war. She engaged in it with the most exalted views, less to acquire territory than to re-establish the empire of the Cross over the ancient domain of Christendom." *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 392. Compare *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxiii. p. 583, " bannir de toute l'Espagne la secte de Mahomet ; " and *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 99, 109, " pour elle une seule chose avait de l'importance ; extirper de ses royaumes le nom et la secte de Mahomet." . . . " Sa vie fut presque exclusivement consacrée à faire triompher la croix sur le croissant." Mariana (*Historia de España*, vol. v. p. 344, and vol. ii. pp. 51, 52) has warmly eulogized her character, which indeed, from the Spanish point of view, was perfect. See also *Florez, Reynas Catholicas*, vol. ii. pp. 774, 788, 829. [This is an express admission that Isabella followed her *own* bent, and was *not* coerced by a national tendency.—Ed.]

[37] " En España los Reyes Don Fernando y Doña Isabel luego que se viéron desembarazados de la guerra de los Moros, acordáron de echar de todo su reyno á los Judíos." *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. vi. p. 303. A Spanish historian, writing less than seventy years ago, expresses his approbation in the following terms : " Arrancado de nuestra peninsula el imperio Mahometano, quedaba todavía la secta Judayca, peste acaso mas perniciosa, y sin duda mas peligrosa y extendida, por estar los Judíos establecidos en todos los pueblos de ella. Pero los Catolicos Monarcas, cuyo mayor afan era desarraigar de sus reynos toda planta y raiz infecta y contraria á la fé de Jesu-Cristo, dieron decreto en Granada dia 30 de Marzo del año mismo de 1492, mandando saliesen de sus dominios los Judíos, que no se bautizasen dentro de 4 meses." *Ortiz, Compendio*, Madrid, 1798, vol. v. p. 564. The importance of knowing how these and similar events are judged by Spaniards, induces me to give their own words at a length which otherwise would

[* On this view, a nation's " character " can change again and again ; in which case the phrase loses all specific meaning.—Ed.]

[† This is a begging of the question. The historical evidence, as noted above, p. 536, goes to show that before Ferdinand and Isabella Spain was not a specially fanatical country ; and these rulers certainly imposed the Inquisition on a resisting people. See *Burke's History*, ch. xl.—Ed.]

in that, to exterminate them, was the business of the Inquisition, which was established in the same reign, and which before the end of the fifteenth century was in full operation.[38] During the sixteenth century the throne was occupied by two princes of eminent ability, who pursued a similar course. Charles V., who succeeded Ferdinand in 1516, governed Spain for forty years, and the general character of his administration was the same as that of his predecessors.* In regard to his foreign policy, his three principal wars were against France, against the German princes, and against Turkey. Of these the first was secular; but the two last were essentially religious. In the German war he defended the church against innovation; and at the battle of Muhlberg he so completely humbled the Protestant princes as to retard for some time the progress of the Reformation.[39] In his other great war he, as the champion of Christianity against Mohammedanism, consummated what his grandfather Ferdinand had begun. Charles defeated and dislodged the Mohammedans in the East, just as Ferdinand had done in the West; the repulse of the Turks before Vienna being to the sixteenth century what the conquest of the Arabs of Granada was to the fifteenth.[40] It was therefore with reason that Charles, at the close of his career, could boast that he had always preferred his creed to his country, and that the first object of his ambition had been to maintain the interests of Christianity.[41]

be needlessly prolix. Historians, generally, are too apt to pay more attention to public transactions than to the opinions which those transactions evoke; though in point of fact the opinions form the most valuable part of history, since they are the result of more general causes, while political actions are often due to the peculiarities of powerful individuals.

Of the number of Jews actually expelled I can find no trustworthy account. They are differently estimated at from 160,000 to 800,000. *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 148. *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. vi. p. 304. *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. v. p. 564. *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. ix. pp. 412, 413. *Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition*, Paris, 1817, vol. i. p. 261. *Mata, Dos Discursos*, Madrid, 1794, pp. 64, 65. *Castro, Decadencia de España*, Cadiz, 1852, p. 19.

[38] It had been introduced into Aragon in 1242; but, according to M. Tapia, "sin embargo, la persecucion se limitó entonces á la secta de los albigenses; y como de ellos hubo tan pocos en Castilla, no se consideró sin duda necesario en ella el establecimiento de aquel tribunal." *Tapia, Historia de la Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. ii. p. 302. Indeed, Llorente says (*Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, Paris, 1817, vol. i. p. 88), "Il est incertain si au commencement du 15e siècle l'Inquisition existait en Castille." In the recent work by M. Lafuente, 1232 is given as its earliest date; but "á fines del siglo xiv. y principios del xv. apenas puede saberse si existia tribunal de Inquisicion en Castilla." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. ix. pp. 204–206, Madrid, 1852. It seems therefore with good reason that Mariana (*Historia*, vol. vi. p. 171) terms the Inquisition of Ferdinand and Isabella "un *nuevo* y santo tribunal." See also *Florez, Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas*, vol. ii. p. 799. [This virtually concedes the proposition of McCrie, scouted above in *note* 21.—Ed.]

[39] *Prescott's History of Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 23, London, 1857. *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. i. p. 447, London, 1841. On the religious character of his German policy, compare *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. vii. p. 330; *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vi. pp. 195, 196. [Charles's anti-Lutheran policy was certainly ruled by political no less than by religious motives, as was that of Francis I.—Ed.]

[40] *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 3; and the continuation of *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxvii. p. 280. Robertson, though praising Charles V. for this achievement, seems rather inclined to underrate its magnitude; *History of Charles V.*, p. 246.

[41] In the speech he made at his abdication, he said that "he had been ever mindful of the interests of the dear land of his birth, but above all of the great interests of Christianity. His first object had been to maintain these inviolate against the infidel." *Prescott's*

[* Charles, be it observed, was a *Teuton* by descent, by education, and by physiological type; and as emperor of Germany he lay open to Teutonic as well as to Spanish influences. The argument as to Spanish bias is thus not made out.—Ed.]

The zeal with which he struggled for the faith also appears in his exertions against heresy in the Low Countries. According to contemporary and competent authorities, from fifty thousand to a hundred thousand persons were put to death in the Netherlands during his reign on account of their religious opinions.[42] Later inquirers have doubted the accuracy of this statement,[43] which is probably exaggerated; but we know that between 1520 and 1550 he published a series of laws to the effect that those who were convicted of heresy should be beheaded, or burned alive, or buried alive. The penalties were thus various, to meet the circumstances of each case. Capital punishment, however, was always to be inflicted on whoever bought an heretical book, or sold it, or even copied it for his own use.[44] His last advice to his son well accorded with these measures. Only a few days before his death he signed a codicil to his will, recommending that no favour should ever be shown to heretics; that they should all be put to death; and that care should be taken to uphold the Inquisition, as the best means of accomplishing so desirable an end.[45]

Philip II., vol. i. p. 8. Miñana boasts that "el César con piadoso y noble ánimo exponia su vida á los peligros para extender los limites del Imperio Christiano." *Continuacion de Mariana*, vol. viii. p. 352. Compare the continuation of *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxxi. p. 19. [Charles's claim at the close of his life, when he retired to the cloister, is not good evidence for his real motives in earlier life. His sack of Rome cannot possibly be reconciled with his final pretences. And Motley includes "fanaticism for the faith" among the qualities which Charles "not only lacked but despised" (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 1–vol. ed. 1863, p. 63). Compare Prescott, *Philip II.*, Kirk's ed. 1894, p. 124. —Ed.]

[42] Grotius says 100,000; Bor, Meteren, and Paul say 50,000. *Watson's History of Philip II.*, London, 1839, pp. 45, 51. *Davies' History of Holland*, London, 1841, vol. i. pp. 498, 499. *Motley's Dutch Republic*, London, 1858, vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

[43] It is doubted, if I rightly remember, by Mr. Prescott. But the opinion of that able historian is entitled to less weight from his want of acquaintance with Dutch literature, where the principal evidence must be sought for. On this, as on many other matters, the valuable work of Mr. Motley leaves little to desire. [Motley not only gives no new evidence whatever from Dutch literature for the statement in question, but admits that the figures of the Venetian Navigero, who estimated the victims at thirty thousand in 1546, are "doubtless inaccurate." As Buckle admits the common statement to be "probably exaggerated," his remark on Prescott is beside the case. The latter had good grounds for his doubt, for which he gives his reasons (*Hist. of Philip II.*, Kirk's ed. 1894 pp. 149–50.—Ed.]

[44] *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197. In 1523 the first persons were burned. *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. i. p. 69. The mode of burying alive is described in *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. i. p. 383, vol. ii. pp. 311, 312.

[45] He died on the 21st September; and on the 9th he signed a codicil, in which he "enjoined upon his son to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions, and this without exception, and without favour or mercy to any one. He conjured Philip to cherish the holy Inquisition as the best means of accomplishing this good work." *Prescott's Additions to Robertson's Charles V.*, p. 576. See also his instructions to Philip in *Raumer's History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. i. p. 91; and on his opinion of the Inquisition, see his conversation with Sir Thomas Wyatt, printed from the State Papers in *Froude's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 456, London, 1858. This may have been mere declamation; but in *Tapia's Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iii. pp. 76, 77, will be found a deliberate and official letter, in which Charles does not hesitate to say, "La santa inquisicion como oficio santo y puesto por los reyes católicos nuestros señores y abuelos á honra de Dios nuestro senor y de nuestra santa fé católica, tengo firme é entrañablemente asentado y fijado en mi corazon, para la mandar favorecer y honrar, como principe justo y temeroso de Dios es obligado y debe hacer."

The codicil to the will of Charles still exists, or did very recently, among the archives at Simancas. *Ford's Spain*, 1847, p. 334. In M. Lafuente's great work, *Historia de España*, vol. xii. pp. 494, 495, Madrid, 1853, it is referred to in language which, in more

This barbarous policy is to be ascribed not to the vices nor to the temperament of the individual ruler, but to the operation of large general causes, which acted upon the individual and impelled him to the course he pursued. Charles was by no means a vindictive man ; his natural disposition was to mercy rather than to rigour ; his sincerity is unquestionable ; he performed what he believed to be his duty ; and he was so kind a friend that those who knew him best were precisely those who loved him most.[46] Little, however, could all that avail in shaping his public conduct. He was obliged to obey the tendencies of the age and country in which he lived.* And what those tendencies were, appeared still more clearly after his death, when the throne of Spain was occupied upwards of forty years by a prince who inherited it in the prime of life, and whose reign is particularly interesting as a symptom and a consequence of the disposition of the people over whom he ruled.

Philip II., who succeeded Charles V. in 1555, was indeed eminently a creature of the time, and the ablest of his biographers aptly terms him the most perfect type of the national character.[47] His favourite maxim, which forms the key to his policy, was, " That it is better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics." [48] Armed with supreme power, he bent all his energies towards carrying this principle

senses than one, is perfectly Spanish : " Su testamento y codicilo respiran las ideas cristiansa y religiosas en que habia vivido y la piedad que señaló su muerte." . . . " Es muy de notar su primera cláusula [i.e. of the codicil] por la cual deja muy encarecidamente recomendado al rey don Felipe que use de todo rigor en el castigo de los hereges luteranos que habian sido presos y se hubieren de prender en España." . . . " ' Sin escepcion de persona alguna, ni admitir ruegos, ni tener respeto á persona alguna ; porque para el efecto de ello favorezca y mande favorecer al Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion,' " etc.

[46] Native testimony may perhaps be accused of being partial ; but on the other hand Raumer, in his valuable *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. i. p. 22, justly observes that his character has been misrepresented " by reason that historians have availed themselves by preference of the inimical narratives of French and Protestant writers." To steer between these extremes, I will transcribe the summing up of Charles's reign as it is given by a learned and singularly unprejudiced writer. " Tortuous as was sometimes the policy of the emperor, he never, like Francis, acted with treachery ; his mind had too much of native grandeur for such baseness. Sincere in religion and friendship, faithful to his word, clement beyond example, liberal towards his servants, indefatigable in his regal duties, anxious for the welfare of his subjects, and generally blameless in private life, his character will not suffer by a comparison with that of any monarch of his times." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 41. " Clemency was the basis of his character," p. 30. [After praising Motley as in note 43, Buckle should here have noted *his* opinion on Charles: " He was as false as water " (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 1-vol. ed. 1863, p. 63). The same authority pronounces Charles grossly niggardly towards his servants, treacherous, fraudulent, and regardless of the welfare of his subjects ; and as to his private habits says : " He was addicted to vulgar and miscellaneous incontinence " (p. 64). What Dunham meant by his eulogy on that score it is hard to guess. Motley founds on a *Spanish* authority.—Ed.]

[47] " The Spaniards, as he grew in years, beheld with pride and satisfaction, in their future sovereign, the most perfect type of the national character." *Prescott's History of Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 39. So, too, in *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. i. p. 128, " he was entirely a Spaniard ; " and in *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. i. p. 155, " pero el reinado de Felipe fué todo Español." [Buckle omits to note that Motley tells (1-vol. ed. 1863, p. 76) how " many good Catholics thought Philip much more religious than was becoming to his rank and age." Cp. Prescott, *Philip II.*, Kirk's ed. p. 656.—Ed.]

[48] *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. pp. 68, 210, vol. ii. p. 26. *Watson's Philip II.*, p. 55. Compare *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxxiv. p. 273.

[* In the time of Charles, Henry VIII. of England overthrew the Catholic hierarchy in defiance of his " age " and of the bias of his people. The formula " obliged to obey " will not bear examination, nor will the account of Charles' character given in the text.—Ed.]

into effect. Directly that he heard that the Protestants were making converts in Spain, he strained every nerve to stifle the heresy ;[49] and so admirably was he seconded by the general temper of the people * that he was able without risk to suppress opinions which convulsed every other part of Europe. In Spain, the Reformation, after a short struggle, died completely away, and in about ten years the last vestige of it disappeared.[50] The Dutch † wished to adopt, and in many instances did adopt, the reformed doctrine ; therefore Philip waged against them a cruel war, which lasted thirty years, and which he continued till his death, because he was resolved to extirpate the new creed.[51] He ordered that every heretic who refused to recant should be burned. If the heretic did recant, some indulgence was granted ; but having once been tainted, he must die. Instead of being burned, he was therefore to be executed.[52] Of the number of those who actually suffered in the Low Countries we have no precise information ;[53] but Alva triumphantly boasted that, in the five or six years of his administration, he had put to death in cold blood more than eighteen thousand, besides a still greater number whom he had slain on the field of battle.[54] This, even during

[49] " Como era tan zeloso en la extirpacion de la heregía, uno de sus primeros cuidados fué el castigo de los Luteranos ; y á presencia suya, se executó en Valladolid el dia ocho de Octubre el suplicio de muchos reos de este delito." *Miñana, Continuacion de Mariana*, vol. ix. p. 212.

[50] " The contest with Protestantism in Spain, under such auspices, was short. It began in earnest and in blood about 1559, and was substantially ended in 1570." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 425. See also *M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain*, pp. 336, 346. Thus it was that " España se preservó del contagio. Hízolo con las armas Carlos V., y con las hogueras los inquisidores. España se aislo del movimiento europeo." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. i. p. 144, Madrid, 1850. M. Lafuente adds that in his opinion all Christendom is about to follow the good example set by Spain of rejecting Protestantism. " Si no nos equivocamos, en nuestra misma edad se notan síntomas de ir marchando este problema hácia su resolucion. El catolicismo gana prosélitos ; los protestantes de hoy no son lo que antes fueron, y creemos que la unidad católica se realizará."

[51] Before the arrival of Alva, " Philip's commands to Margaret were imperative, to use her utmost efforts to extirpate the heretics." *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. i. p. 551; and in 1563 he wrote, " The example and calamities of France prove how wholesome it is to punish heretics with rigour." *Raumer's History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. i. p. 171. The Spaniards deemed the Dutch guilty of a double crime ; being rebels against God and the king : " Rebeldes á Dios por la heregía, y á su Principe á quien debian obedecer." *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. vii. p. 410. " Tratauan de secreto de quitar la obediencia á Dios y á su Principe." *Vanderhammen's Don Filipe el Prudente Segundo deste Nombre*, Madrid, 1632, p. 44 rev. Or, as Miñana phrases it, Philip " tenia los mismos enemigos que Dios." *Continuacion de Mariana*, vol. x. p. 139.

[52] *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. i. p. 229. *Watson's Philip II.*, pp. 51, 52, 177.

[53] Mr. Motley, under the year 1566, says, " The Prince of Orange estimated that up to this period fifty thousand persons in the provinces had been put to death in obedience to the edicts. He was a moderate man, and accustomed to weigh his words." *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. i. pp. 424, 425.

[54] *Watson's Philip II.*, pp. 248, 249. Tapia (*Civilizacion Española*, vol. iii. p. 95) says,

[* It should be remembered that the persecution and expulsion of Protestants in Spain under Philip was on all fours with the procedure of his wife in England, where also the " general temper of the people " was clearly in favour of Catholicism. Thousands of Protestants left Spain; and many left England; but under Elizabeth they were able to return. That was the determining difference.—Ed.]

[† This loose phrasing obscures the facts. Protestant heresy in Holland was long confined to the " lower orders," and was cruelly persecuted with the full acquiescence of the upper for a whole generation before the nobles, become impoverished and seeing a chance of retrieving their fortunes by getting the Church lands, began a movement of armed resistance. See the editor's *Introd. to English Politics*, pp. 307 seq.—Ed.]

his short tenure of power, would make about forty thousand victims ; an estimate probably not far from the truth, since we know from other sources that in one year more than eight thousand were either executed or burned.[55] Such measures were the result of instructions issued by Philip, and formed a necessary part of his general scheme.[56] The desire paramount in his mind, and to which he sacrificed all other considerations, was to put down the new creed, and to re-instate the old one. To this, even his immense ambition and his inordinate love of power were subordinate. He aimed at the empire of Europe, because he longed to restore the authority of the Church.[57] All his policy, all his negotiations, all his wars, pointed to this one end. Soon after his accession he concluded an ignominious treaty with the Pope, that it might not be said that he bore arms against the head of the Christian world.[58] And his last great enterprise, in some respects the most important of all, was to fit out, at an incredible cost, that famous Armada with which he hoped to humble England, and to nip the heresy of Europe in its bud, by depriving the Protestants of their principal support, and of the only asylum where they were sure to find safe and honourable refuge.[59]

" quitó la vida á mas de diez y ocho mil protestantes con diversos géneros de suplicios." Compare *Motley's Dutch Republic.* vol. ii. p. 423, and *Davies' History of Holland,* vol. i. p. 608.

[55] *Davies' History of Holland,* vol. i. p. 567. Vanderhammen (*Don Filipe el Prudente,* Madrid, 1632, p. 52 rev.), with tranquil pleasure, assures us that " muriessen mil y setecientas personas en pocos dias con fuego, cordel y cuchillo en diuersos lugares."

[56] " El duque de Alba, obrando en conformidad á las instrucciones de su soberano, y apoyado en la aprobacion que merecian al rey todas sus medidas." *Lafuente, Historia de España,* vol. xiii. p. 221.

[57] " It was to restore the Catholic Church that he desired to obtain the empire of Europe." *Davies' History of Holland,* vol. ii. p. 329. " El protestó siempre ' que sus desinios en la guerra, y sus exercitos no se encaminauan á otra cosa, que al ensalçamiento de la Religion Christiana.' " *Vanderhammen's Don Filipe el Prudente,* p. 125. " El que aspiraba á someter todas las naciones de la tierra á su credo religioso." *Lafuente, Historia de España,* vol. xv. p. 203. The Bishop of Salamanca in 1563 openly boasted " que son roi ne s'étoit marié avec la reine d'Angleterre que pour ramener cette isle à l'obéissance de l'église." *Continuation de Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique,* vol. xxxiii. p. 331. Compare *Ortiz, Compendio,* vol. vi. p. 204. " Este casamiento no debió de tener otras miras que el de la religion."

[58] On this treaty, the only humiliating one which he ever concluded, see *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 104. His dying advice to his son was, " Siempre estareis en la obediencia de la Santa Iglesia Romana, y del Sumo Pontifice, teniendole por vuestro Padre espiritual." *Davila, Historia de la Vida de Felipe Tercero,* Madrid, 1771, folio, lib. i. p. 29. According to another writer, " La ultima palabra que le salió con el espiritu, fue : ' Yo muero como Catolico Christiano en la Fe y obediencia de la Iglesia Romana, y respeto al Papa, como á quien trae en sus manos las llaues del Cielo, como á Principe de la Iglesia, y Teniente de Dios sobre el imperio de las almas.' " *Vanderhammen, Don Filipe el Prudente,* p. 124.

[59] Elizabeth, uniting the three terrible qualities of heresy, power, and ability, was obnoxious to the Spaniards to an almost incredible degree, and there never was a more thoroughly national enterprise than the fitting out of the Armada against her. One or two passages from a grave historian will illustrate the feelings with which she was regarded even after her death, and will assist the reader in forming an opinion respecting the state of the Spanish mind. " Isabel, ó Jezabel, Reyna de Inglaterra, heretica Calvinista, y la mayor perseguidora que ha tenido la sangre de Jesu-Christo y los hijos de la Iglesia." *Davila, Historia de Felipe Tercero,* p. 74. " Los sucesos de fuera causaron admiracion ; y el mayor y muy esperado de toda la Christiandad fue la muerte de Isabela, Reyna de Inglaterra, heretica Calvinista, que hizo su nombre famoso con la infamia de su vida, y perseguir á la Iglesia, derramando la sangre de los Santos, que defendian la verdadera Religion Catolica, dexando registradas sus maldades en las historias públicas del mundo, pasando su alma á coger el desdichado fruto de su obstinada soberbia en las penas del Infierno, donde conoce con el castigo perpetuo el engaño de su vida," pp. 83, 84.

While Philip, following the course of his predecessors, was wasting the blood and treasure of Spain in order to propagate religious opinions,[60] the people, instead of rebelling against so monstrous a system, acquiesced in it, and cordially sanctioned it. Indeed, they not only sanctioned it, but they almost worshipped the man by whom it was enforced. There probably never lived a prince who, during so long a period, and amid so many vicissitudes of fortune, was adored by his subjects as Philip II. was. In evil report and in good report, the Spaniards clung to him with unshaken loyalty.* Their affection was not lessened, either by his reverses, or by his forbidding deportment, or by his cruelty, or by his grievous exactions. In spite of all, they loved him to the last. Such was his absurd arrogance, that he allowed none, not even the most powerful nobles, to address him except on their knees, and in return he only spoke in half sentences, leaving them to guess the rest, and to fulfil his commands as best they might.[61] And ready enough they were to obey his slightest wishes. A contemporary of Philip, struck by the universal homage which he received, says that the Spanish did "not merely love, not merely reverence, but absolutely adore him, and deem his commands so sacred, that they could not be violated without offence to God."[62]

That a man like Philip II., who never possessed a friend, and whose usual

[60] One of the most eminent of living historians well says, "It was Philip's enthusiasm to embody the wrath of God against heretics." *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. ii. p. 155. "Philip lived but to enforce what he chose to consider the will of God." p. 285.

[61] "Personne vivante ne parloit à lui qu'à genoux, et disoit pour son excuse à cela qu'estant petit de corps, chacun eust paru plus eslevé que lui, outre qu'il sçavoit que les Espagnols estoient d'humeur si altiere et hautaine, qu'il estoit besoin qu'il les traittast de cette façon ; et pour ce mesme ne se laissoit voir que peu souvent du peuple, n'y mesme des grands, sinon aux jours solemnels, et action necessaire, en cette façon ; il faisoit ses commandemens à demy mot, et falloit que l'on devinast le reste, et que l'on ne manquast à bien accomplir toutes ses intentions ; mesmes les gentilshommes de sa chambre, et autres qui approchoient plus près de sa personne, n'eussent osé parler devant luy s'il en leur eust commandé, se tenant un tout seul à la fois près de la porte du lieu où il estoit, et demeurant nud teste incessamment, et appuyé contre une tapisserie, pour attendre et recevoir ses commandemens." *Mémoires de Cheverny*, pp. 352, 353, in *Petitot's Collection des Mémoires*, vol. xxxvi. Paris, 1823.

[62] These are the words of Contarini, as given in *Ranke's Ottoman and Spanish Empires*, London, 1843, p. 33. Sismondi, though unacquainted with this passage, observes in his *Literature of the South of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 273, London, 1846, that Philip, though "little entitled to praise, has yet been always regarded with enthusiasm by the Spaniards." About half a century after his death, Sommerdyck visited Spain, and in his curious account of that country he tells us that Philip was called "le Salomon de son siècle." *Aarsens de Sommerdyck, Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1665, 4to, pp. 63, 95. See also *Yañez, Memorias para la Historia de Felipe III.*, Madrid, 1723, p. 294. "El gran Felipe, aquel Sabio Salomon." Another writer likens him to Numa. "Hacia grandes progresos la piedad, á la qual se dedicaba tanto el Rey Don Felipe, que parecia su reynado en España lo que en Roma el de Numa, despues de Rómulo." *Miñana, Continuacion de Mariana*, vol. ix. p. 241. When he died, "celebradas sus exêquias entre lágrimas y gemidos." vol. x. pp. 259, 260. We further learn from *Vanderhammen's Filipe Segundo*, Madrid, 1632, p. 120 rev., that the people ascribed to him "una grandeza adorable, y alguna cosa mas que las ordinarias á los demas hombres." [We have already seen that "the French mind" was similarly prostrated before Louis XIV. a century later ; and the dedication of the authorised version of the English Bible remains to show the tone towards the crown even in England, a few years after Philip's death. It is necessary to realise how far Spanish practice was on normal European lines.—Ed.]

[* Buckle has omitted to note the violent and repeated resistance of the Aragonese to Philip's illegal treatment of Antonio Perez (Dunham, v. 84–85). The habit of regarding the Spaniards as one homogeneous community, with one opinion, obscures many facts in Spanish history.—Ed.]

demeanour was of the most repulsive kind, a harsh master, a brutal parent, a bloody and remorseless ruler,—that he should be thus reverenced by a nation among whom he lived, and who had their eyes constantly on his actions ; that this should have happened is surely one of the most surprising and, at first sight, one of the most inexplicable facts in modern history. Here we have a king who though afflicted by every quality most calculated to excite terror and disgust, is loved far more than he is feared, and is the idol of a very great people during a very long reign. This is so remarkable as to deserve our serious attention ; and in order to clear up the difficulty, it will be necessary to inquire into the causes of that spirit of loyalty which, during several centuries, has distinguished the Spaniards above every other European people.

One of the leading causes was undoubtedly the immense influence possessed by the clergy. For the maxims inculcated by that powerful body have a natural tendency to make the people reverence their princes more than they would otherwise do. And that there is a real and practical connexion between loyalty and superstition, appears from the historical fact that the two feelings have nearly always flourished together and decayed together. Indeed, this is what we should expect on mere speculative grounds, seeing that both feelings are the product of those habits of veneration which make men submissive in their conduct and credulous in their belief.[63] Experience, therefore, as well as reason, points to this as a general law of the mind, which in its operation may be occasionally disturbed, but which holds good in a large majority of cases. Probably the only instance in which the principle fails is when a despotic government so misunderstands its own interests as to offend the clergy, and separate itself from them. Whenever this is done, a struggle will arise between loyalty and superstition ; the first being upheld by the political classes, the other by the spiritual classes. Such a warfare was exhibited in Scotland ; but history does not afford many examples of it, and certainly it never took place in Spain, where, on the contrary, several circumstances occurred to cement the union between the Crown and the Church, and to accustom the people to look up to both with almost equal reverence.

By far the most important of these circumstances was the great Arab invasion, which drove the Christians into a corner of Spain, and reduced them to such extremities that nothing but the strictest discipline and the most unhesitating obedience to their leaders could have enabled them to make head against their enemies. Loyalty to their princes became not merely expedient but necessary ; for if the Spaniards had been disunited, they would, in the face of the fearful odds against which they fought, have had no chance of preserving their national existence.* The long war which ensued, being both political and religious, caused an intimate alliance between the political and religious classes, since the kings and the clergy had an equal interest in driving the Mohammedans from Spain. During nearly eight centuries this compact between Church and State was a necessity forced upon the Spaniards by the peculiarities of their position ; and after the necessity had subsided, it naturally happened that the association of ideas survived the original danger, and that an impression had been made upon the popular mind which it was hardly possible to efface.

Evidence of this impression, and of the unrivalled loyalty it produced, crowds

[63] " Habits of reverence which, if carried into religion, cause superstition, and if carried into politics, cause despotism." Above, p. 384.

[* The Spaniards in this period *were* often disunited, as were the Moors ; and on neither side was loyalty prevalent. In describing the attempt to depose Henry IV. in 1465, U. R. Burke remarks (Hume's ed. ii. 28) on the " rich store of precedents " for such procedure in the history of Spain. For details see his first vol. pp. 153, 157, 160, 162, 178 (referring to " the usual rebellion "), 179, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 195, 214, 218, 233, 236, 237, 256, 258, 259, 266, 267, 369, etc. Compare Prescott, *Philip II.*, Kirk's ed. 1894, p. 658, as to the nobles' " privilege, so highly prized, of renouncing their allegiance and declaring war upon their sovereign."—Ed.]

upon us at every turn. In no other country are the old ballads so numerous and so intimately connected with the national history. It has however been observed that their leading characteristic is the zeal with which they inculcate obedience and devotion to princes, and that from this source, even more than from military achievements, they draw their most favourite examples of virtue.[64] In literature the first great manifestation of the Spanish mind was the poem of *The Cid*, written at the end of the twelfth century, in which we find fresh proof of that extraordinary loyalty which circumstances had forced upon the people.[65] The ecclesiastical councils display a similar tendency; for, notwithstanding a few exceptions, no other church has been equally eager in upholding the rights of kings.[66] In civil legislation we see the same principle at work; it being asserted, on high authority, that in no system of laws is loyalty carried to such extreme height as in the Spanish codes.[67] Even their dramatic writers were unwilling to represent

[64] "More ballads are connected with Spanish history than with any other, and in general they are better. The most striking peculiarity of the whole mass is perhaps to be found in the degree in which it expresses the national character. Loyalty is constantly prominent. The Lord of Butrago sacrifices his own life to save that of his sovereign," &c. *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 133. "In the implicit obedience of the old Spanish knight, the order of the king was paramount to every consideration, even in the case of friendship and love. This code of obedience has passed into a proverb—'mas pesa el Rey que la sangre.'" *Ford's Spain*, p. 183. Compare the admirable little work of Mr. Lewes, *The Spanish Drama*, London, 1846, p. 120, "ballads full of war, loyalty, and love."

[65] See some interesting remarks in M. Tapia's *Civilizacion Española*, vol. i. He observes that, though cruelly persecuted by Alfonso, the first thing done by the Cid, after gaining a great victory, was to order one of his captains "para que lleve al rey Alfonso treinta caballos árabes bien ensillados, con sendas espadas pendientes de los arzones en señal de homenage, á *pesar del agravio que habia recibido*." p. 274. And at p. 280, "comedido y obediente subdito á un rey que tan mal le habia tratado." Southey (*Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 268) notices with surprise that the Cid is represented in the old chronicles as "offering to kiss the feet of the king." [The view here given of the character of the Cid is unduly restricted. When exiled by Alfonso, he fought against him on the Moslem side. The old poem, which probably belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century (Cp. H. Lucas, *Documents relatifs à l'hist. du Cid*, 1860, p. 4; Ormsby, *The Poem of the Cid*, 1879, Introd. pp. 7–11), is not a trustworthy narrative; and the story of the Cid's giving his daughters to the Infantes of Carrion, whereat is given the detail of the offer to kiss the king's feet (Lucas, p. 13), is "undoubtedly an invention of the Castilian minstrels" (Burke, *Hist. of Spain*, Major Hume's ed. i. 193). For the rest, many of the ballads characterized by Ticknor as full of loyalty are late: for instance, the great majority of the Cid ballads are held by Huber and Dozy to be no older than the sixteenth century (Burke, as cited, p. 197). On the other hand, as Mr. Ormsby has noted, there is a considerable *anti*-royalist element in many of them. They have even been described as "a pæan of triumphant democracy." (Burke, p. 195; Ormsby, p. 41).—Ed.]

[66] "Le xvi^e^ Concile de Tolède appelait les rois 'vicaires de Dieu et du Christ;' et rien n'est plus fréquent dans les conciles de cette époque que leurs exhortations aux peuples pour l'observation du serment de fidélité à leur roi, et leurs anathèmes contre les séditieux." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. i. p. 41. "Aparte de los asuntos de derecho civil y canonico y de otros varios que dicen relacion al gobierno de la iglesia, sobre los cuales se contienen en todos ellos disposicoines muy útiles y acertadas, la mayor parte de las leyes dictadas en estas asambleas tuvieron por objeto dar fuerza y estabilidad al poder real, proclamando su inviolabilidad y estableciendo graves penas contra los infractores; condenar las heregías," &c. *Antequera, Historia de la Legislacion Española*, p. 47. [This alliance of church and crown was normal in Christendom in the Middle Ages, and prevailed in France and England as well as in Spain in the eighteenth century.—Ed.]

[67] "Loyalty to a superior is carried to a more atrocious length by the Spanish law than I have seen it elsewhere." . . . "The *Partidas* (P. 2, T. 13, L. 1) speaks of an old law whereby any man who openly wished to see the King dead, was condemned to death, and the loss of all that he had. The utmost mercy to be shown him was to spare his life

an act of rebellion on the stage, lest they should appear to countenance what in the eyes of every good Spaniard was one of the most heinous of all offences.[68] Whatever the king came in contact with was in some degree hallowed by his touch. No one might mount a horse which he had ridden ;[69] no one might marry a mistress whom he had deserted.[70] Horse and mistress alike were sacred, and it would have been impious for any subject to meddle with what had been honoured by the Lord's anointed. Nor were such rules confined to the prince actually reigning. On the contrary, they survived him, and, working with a sort of posthumous force, forbade any woman whom he had taken as a wife, to marry, even after he was dead. She had been chosen by the king ; such choice had already raised her above the rest of mortals ; and the least she could do was to retire to a convent and spend her life mourning over her irreparable loss. These regulations were enforced by custom rather than by law.[71] They were upheld by the popular will,

and pluck out his eyes, that he might never see with them what he had desired. To defame the King is declared as great a crime as to kill him, and in like manner to be punished. The utmost mercy that could be allowed was to cut out the offender's tongue. P. 2, T. 13. L. 4." *Southey's Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 442. Compare *Johnston's Civil Law of Spain*, London, 1825, p. 269, on " Blasphemers of the King."

[68] Thus Montalvan, the eminent poet and dramatist, who was born in 1602, avoided, we are told, representing rebellion on the stage, lest he should seem to encourage it. *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. p. 283. A similar spirit is exhibited in the plays of Calderon and of Lope de Vega. On the " Castilian loyalty " evinced in one of Calderon's comedies, see *Hallam's Literature of Europe*, 2nd edit. London, 1843, vol. iii. p. 63 ; and as to Lope, see *Lewes on the Spanish Drama*, p. 78. [The exhibition of rebellion on the stage under Elizabeth in 1601, in a revival of Shakespeare's *Richard II.*, excited the royal displeasure. *Lee's Life of Shakespeare*, pp. 175–6.—Ed.]

[69] " His Majesty's horses could never be used by any other person. One day, while Philip IV. was going in procession to the church of Our Lady of Atocha, the Duke of Medina-de-las-Torres offered to present him with a beautiful steed which belonged to him, and which was accounted the finest in Madrid ; but the King declined the gift, because he should regret to render so noble an animal ever after useless." *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 372. Madame d'Aulnoy, who travelled in Spain in 1679, and who, from her position, had access to the best sources of information, was told of this piece of etiquette. " L'on m'a dit que lors que le Roy s'est servy d'un cheval, personne par respect ne le monte jamais." *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. p. 40. In the middle of the eighteenth century, I find another notice of this loyal custom, which, likely enough, is still a tradition in the Spanish stables. " If the king has once honoured a Pad so much as to cross his back, it is never to be used again by anybody else." *A Tour through Spain, by Udal ap Rhys*, 2nd edit. London, 1760, p. 15.

[70] Madame d'Aulnoy, who was very inquisitive respecting these matters, says (*Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 411), " Il y a une autre étiquette, c'est qu'après que le Roi a eu une Maitresse, s'il vient à la quitter, il faut qu'elle se fasse Religieuse, comme je vous l'ai déja écrit ; et l'on m'a conté que le feu Roi s'estant amoureux d'une Dame du Palais, il fut un soir fraper doucement à la porte de sa chambre. Comme elle comprit que c'estoit lui, elle ne voulut pas lui ouvrir, et elle se contenta de lui dire au travers de la porte, *Baya, baya, con Dios, no quiero ser monja* ; c'est à dire, 'Allez, allez, Dieu vous conduise, je n'ai pas envie d'estre Religieuse.' " So too Henry IV. of Castile, who came to the throne in the year 1454, made one of his mistresses "abbess of a convent in Toledo ; " in this case to the general scandal, because, says Mr. Prescott, he first expelled " her predecessor, a lady of noble rank and irreproachable character." *Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 68.

[71] There is, however, one very remarkable old law, in the form of a canon enacted by the third Council of Saragossa, which orders that the royal widows " seront obligées à prendre l'habit de religieuses, et à s'enfermer dans un monastère pour le reste de leur vie." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. ix. p. 104. In 1065 Ferdinand I. died ; and, says the biographer of the Spanish Queens, " La Reyna sobrevivió : y parece, que muerto su marido entró en algun Monasterio ; lo que expressamos no tanto por *la costumbre antigua*, quanto por constar en la Memoria referida de la Iglesia de Leon, el dictado d 'Consagrada

and were the result of the excessive loyalty of the Spanish nation. Of that loyalty their writers often boast, and with good reason, since it was certainly matchless, and nothing seemed able to shake it. To bad kings and to good kings it equally applied. It was in full strength amid the glory of Spain in the sixteenth century; it was conspicuous when the nation was decaying in the seventeenth century; and it survived the shock of civil wars early in the eighteenth.[72] Indeed, the feeling had so worked itself into the traditions of the country as to become not only a national passion but almost an article of national faith. Clarendon, in his History of that great English Rebellion, the like of which, as he well knew, could never have happened in Spain, makes on this subject a just and pertinent remark. He says that a want of respect for kings is regarded by the Spaniards as a "monstrous crime;" "submissive reverence to their princes being a vital part of their religion."[73]

These, then, were the two great elements of which the Spanish character was compounded. Loyalty and superstition; reverence for their kings and reverence for their clergy were the leading principles which influenced the Spanish mind, and governed the march of Spanish history.* The peculiar and unexampled

a Dios,' frasse que denota estado Religioso." *Florez, Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas*, Madrid, 1761, 4to, vol. i. p. 148. In 1667 it was a settled principle that "les reines d'Espagne n'en sortent point. Le couvent de *las Señoras descalças reales* est fondé afin que les reines veuves s'y enferment." *Discours du Comte de Castrillo à la Reine d'Espagne*, in *Mignet's Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 604, Paris, 1835, 4to. This valuable work consists for the most part of documents previously unpublished, many of which are taken from the Archives at Simancas. To the critical historian it would have been more useful if the original Spanish had been given.

[72] See some good remarks on San Phelipe, in *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. pp. 213, 214, which might easily be corroborated by other testimony; as, for instance, Lafuente, under the year 1710: "Ni el abandono de la Francia, ni la prolongacion y los azares de la guerra, ni los sacrificios pecuniarios y personales de tantos años, nada bastaba á entibiar el amor de los castellanos á su rey Felipe V." (*Historia de España* vol. xviii. p. 258); and Berwick (*Mémoires*, vol. ii. p. 114, edit. Paris, 1778): "La fidélité inouie des Espagnols;" and, nine years earlier, a letter from Louville to Torcy: "Le mot révolte, pris dans une acception rigoureuse, n'a pas de sens en Espagne." *Louville, Mémoires sur l'établissement de la Maison de Bourbon en Espagne*, edit. Paris,, 1818, vol. i. p. 128. See also *Memoirs of Ripperda*, London, 1740, p. 58; and *Mémoires de Gramont*, vol. ii. p. 77, edit. Petitot, Paris, 1827. All these passages illustrate Spanish loyalty in the eighteenth century, except the reference to Gramont, which concerns the seventeenth, and which should be compared with the following observations of Madame d'Aulnoy, who writes from Madrid in 1679: "Quelques richesses qu'ayent les grands Seigneurs, quelque grande que soit leur fierté ou leur présomption, ils obéïssent aux moindres ordres du Roy, avec une exactitude et un respect que l'on ne peut assez loüer. Sur le premier ordre ils partent, ils reviennent, ils vont en prison, ou en exil, sans se plaindre. Il ne se peut trouver une soûmission, et une obéïssance plus parfaite, ni un amour plus sincère, que celui des Espagnols pour leur Roi. Ce nom leur est sacré, et pour réduire le peuple à tout ce que l'on souhaite, il suffit de dire, 'Le Roi le veut.'" *D'Aulnoy, Voyage*, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257.

[73] "And Olivarez had been heard to censure very severely the duke's (Buckingham's)

[* Once more this generalization must be qualified. The instances given belong to the period when the Inquisition and despotism had eliminated all the independent minds from Spain. Ferdinand, as an Aragonese, was disrespectfully treated by the Castilians; Charles V. was slighted after his retirement; and even in the reign of Philip II. the Cortes petitioned against the Burgundian and un-Spanish mode of the upbringing of Don Carlos (*M.A.S. Hume's Spain, 1479-1788*, p. 127; *Armstrong's* introd. thereto, pp. 5, 31; *Robertson's Charles V.* B. xii. [Works, edit. 1821, v. 417]; and Burke, *History*, as cited, ii. 45, 238). In the words of Bishop Stubbs: "To a German race of sovereigns Spain finally owed the subversion of her national system and ancient freedom" (*Const. Hist.* 4th ed. i. 5).—Ed.]

circumstances under which they arose have been just indicated; and having seen their origin, we will now endeavour to trace their consequences. Such an examination of results will be the more important, not only because nowhere else in Europe have these feelings been so strong, so permanent, and so unmixed, but also because Spain, being seated at the further extremity of the Continent, from which it is cut off by the Pyrenees, has from physical causes as well as from moral ones, come little into contact with other nations.[74] The course of affairs being therefore undisturbed by foreign habits, it becomes easier to discover the pure and natural consequences of superstition and loyalty, two of the most powerful and disinterested feelings which have ever occupied the human heart, and to whose united action we may clearly trace the leading events in the history of Spain.

The results of this combination were, during a considerable period, apparently beneficial, and certainly magnificent. For the church and the crown making common cause with each other, and being inspirited by the cordial support of the people, threw their whole soul into their enterprises, and displayed an ardour which could hardly fail to insure success. Gradually advancing from the north of Spain, the Christians, fighting their way inch by inch, pressed on till they reached the southern extremity, completely subdued the Mohammedans, and brought the whole country under one rule and one creed. This great result was achieved late in the fifteenth century, and it cast an extraordinary lustre on the Spanish name.[75] Spain, long occupied by her own religious wars, had hitherto been little noticed by foreign powers, and had possessed little leisure to notice them. Now, however, she formed a compact and undivided monarchy, and at once assumed an important position in European affairs.[76] During the next hundred years, her power advanced with a speed of which the world had seen no example since the days of the Roman Empire. So late as 1478 Spain was still

familiarity and want of respect towards the prince, a crime monstrous to the Spaniard." . . . "Their submissive reverence to their princes being a vital part of their religion." *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, ed. Oxford, 1843, p. 15. For the religion of loyalty, in an earlier period, see *Florez, Reynas Catholicas*, vol. i. p. 421: "La persona del Rey fue mirada de sus fieles vassallos con respeto tan sagrado," that resistance was "una especie de sacrilegio."

[74] These impediments to intercourse were once deemed almost invincible. Fontenay-Mareuil, who visited Spain in 1612, and was not a little proud of the achievement, says, "Au reste, parcequ'on ne va pas aussy ordinairement en Espagne qu'en France, en Italie et ailleurs; et qu'estant comme en un coin, et séparée du reste du monde par la mer ou par les Pyrénées, on n'en a, ce me semble, guere de connoissance, j'ay pensé que je devois faire icy une petite digression pour dire ce que j'en ay appris dans ce voyage et despuis." *Mémoires de Fontenay-Mareuil*, in *Collection des Mémoires par Petitot*, vol L. p. 169, 1e Série, Paris, 1826. Seventy years later, another writer on Spain says of the Pyrenees, "Ces montagnes sont à nos voyageurs modernes, ce qu'étoit aux anciens mariniers le *Non plus ultra* et les colomnes du grand Hercule." *L'Estat de l'Espagne*, Geneve, 1681, Epistre, p. ii. This work, little known, and not much worth knowing, forms the third volume of *Le Prudent Voyageur*.

[75] "Con razon se miró la conquista de Granada, no como un acontecimiento puramente español, sino como un suceso que interesaba al mundo. Con razon tambien se regocijó toda la cristiandad. Hacia medio siglo que otros mahometanos se habian apoderado de Constantinopla; la caida de la capital y del imperio bizantino en poder de los turcos habia llenado de terror á la Europa; pero la Europa se consoló al saber que en España habia concluido la dominacion de los musulmanes." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xi. p. 15.

[76] "L'Espagne, long-temps partagée en plusieurs états, et comme étrangère au reste de l'Europe, devint tout-á-coup une puissance redoutable, faisant pencher pour elle la balance de la politique." *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe*, Paris, 1823, vol. i. p. 362. On the relation between this and some changes in literature which corresponded to it, see *Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 148–152, where there are some ingenious, though perhaps scarcely tenable, speculations.

broken up into independent and often hostile states ; Granada was possessed by the Mohammedans ; the throne of Castile was occupied by one prince, the throne of Aragon by another. Before the year 1590 not only were these fragments firmly consolidated into one kingdom, but acquisitions were made abroad so rapidly as to endanger the independence of Europe. The history of Spain during this period is the history of one long and uninterrupted success. That country, recently torn by civil wars, and distracted by hostile creeds, was able in three generations to annex to her territory the whole of Portugal, Navarre, and Roussillon. By diplomacy, or by force of arms, she acquired Artois and Franche Comté, and the Netherlands * ; also the Milanese, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and the Canaries. One of her kings was emperor of Germany ; while his son influenced the councils of England, whose queen he married. The Turkish power, then one of the most formidable in the world, was broken and beaten back on every side. The French monarchy was humbled. French armies were constantly worsted ; Paris was once in imminent jeopardy ; and a king of France, after being defeated on the field, was taken captive, and led prisoner to Madrid. Out of Europe, the deeds of Spain were equally wonderful. In America the Spaniards became possessed of territories which covered sixty degrees of latitude, and included both the tropics. Besides Mexico, Central America, Venezuela, New Granada, Peru, and Chili, they conquered Cuba, San Domingo, Jamaica, and other islands. In Africa, they obtained Ceuta, Melilla, Oran, Bougiah, and Tunis, and overawed the whole coast of Barbary. In Asia, they had settlements on each side of the Deccan ; they held part of Malacca ; and they established themselves in the Spice Islands. Finally, by the conquest of the noble archipelago of the Philippines they connected their most distant acquisitions, and secured a communication between every part of that enormous empire which girdled the world.

In connexion with this a great military spirit arose, such as no other modern nation has ever exhibited. All the intellect of the country which was not employed in the service of the Church was devoted to the profession of arms. Indeed, the two pursuits were often united ; and it is said that the custom of ecclesiastics going to war was practised in Spain long after it was abandoned in other parts of Europe.[77] At all events, the general tendency is obvious. A mere list of successful battles and sieges in the sixteenth and part of the fifteenth century would prove the vast superiority of the Spaniards in this respect over their contemporaries, and would show how much genius they had expended in maturing the arts of destruction. Another illustration, if another were required, might be drawn from the singular fact that since the time of ancient Greece, no country has produced so many eminent literary men who were also soldiers. Calderon, Cervantes, and Lope de Vega risked their lives in fighting for their country. The military profession was also adopted by many other celebrated authors, among whom may be mentioned Argote de Molina, Acuña, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Boscan, Carrillo, Cetina, Ercilla, Espinel, Francisco de Figueroa, Garcilasso de la Vega, Guillen de Castro, Hita, Hurtado de Mendoza, Marmol Carvajal, Perez de Guzman, Pulgar, Rebolledo, Roxas, and Virues ; all of whom bore, in this manner, unconscious testimony to the spirit by which Spain was universally pervaded.

Here, then, we have a combination which many readers will still consider with

[77] "The holy war with the infidels" (Mohammedans) "perpetuated the unbecoming spectacle of militant ecclesiastics among the Spaniards to a still later period, and long after it had disappeared from the rest of civilized Europe." *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 162.

* "Diplomacy" must here be defined as including royal marriages. Franche Comté and the Netherlands were joined to Spain through the marriage of Philip (son of the Austrian archduke Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy) to Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. One emperor, Charles V., was their son, and succeeded to the Spanish throne.—Ed.]

favour, and which, at the time it occurred, excited the admiration, albeit the terror, of Europe. We have a great people glowing with military, patriotic, and religious ardour, whose fiery zeal was heightened, rather than softened, by a respectful obedience to their clergy, and by a chivalrous devotion to their kings. The energy of Spain, being thus both animated and controlled, became wary as well as eager; and to this rare union of conflicting qualities we must ascribe the great deeds which have just been related. But the unsound part of a progress of this sort is that it depends too much upon individuals, and therefore cannot be permanent. Such a movement can only last as long as it is headed by able men. When, however, competent leaders are succeeded by incompetent ones, the system immediately falls to the ground, simply because the people have been accustomed to supply to every undertaking the necessary zeal, but have not been accustomed to supply the skill by which the zeal is guided. A country in this state, if governed by hereditary princes, is sure to decay; inasmuch as, in the ordinary course of affairs, incapable rulers must sometimes arise. Directly this happens the deterioration begins; for the people, habituated to indiscriminate loyalty, will follow wherever they are led, and will yield to foolish counsels the same obedience that they had before paid to wise ones. This leads us to perceive the essential difference between the civilization of Spain and the civilization of England. We in England are a critical, dissatisfied, and captious people, constantly complaining of our rulers, suspecting their schemes, discussing their measures in a hostile spirit, allowing very little power either to the Church or to the Crown, managing our own affairs in our own way, and ready, on the slightest provocation, to renounce that conventional, lip-deep loyalty which, having never really touched our hearts, is a habit lying on the surface, but not a passion rooted in the mind. The loyalty of Englishmen is not of that sort which would induce them to sacrifice their liberties to please their prince, nor does it ever for a moment blind them to a keen sense of their own interests. The consequence is that our progress is uninterrupted, whether our kings are good or whether they are bad. Under either condition the great movement goes on. Our sovereigns have had their full share of imbecility and of crime. Still, even men like Henry III. and Charles II. were unable to do us harm. In the same way, during the eighteenth and many years of the nineteenth century, when our improvement was very conspicuous, our rulers were very incompetent. Anne and the first two Georges were grossly ignorant; they were wretchedly educated, and nature had made them at once weak and obstinate. Their united reigns lasted nearly sixty years; and after they had passed away we, for another period of sixty years, were governed by a prince who was long incapacitated by disease, but of whom we must honestly say that, looking at his general policy, he was least mischievous when he was most incapable. This is not the place to expose the monstrous principles advocated by George III., and to which posterity will do that justice from which contemporary writers are apt to shrink; but it is certain that neither his contracted understanding, nor his despotic temper, nor his miserable superstition, nor the incredible baseness of that ignoble voluptuary who succeeded him on the throne, could do aught to stop the march of English civilization, or to stem the tide of English prosperity. We went on our way rejoicing, caring for none of these things. We were not to be turned aside from our path by the folly of our rulers, because we know full well that we hold our own fate in our own hands, and that the English people possess within themselves those resources and that fertility of contrivance by which alone men can be made great, and happy, and wise.*

[* It is hard to know what Buckle meant by the "we" of this declamatory passage. Thus to speak of a nation which has always contained many reactionaries, and undergone many reactions, is to darken the facts of social evolution and to reduce sociology to rhetoric. The "tide of English prosperity" has been "stemmed" a score of times, sometimes by the acts of kings, as in the case of the American policy of George III.; sometimes by the policy of both kings and statesmen, as when extreme misery followed the victory of Waterloo, and when the Corn Laws created artificial famine. If Buckle's picture in the above passage be true, there can be no need for any struggle towards any

In Spain, however, directly the government slackened its hold, the nation fell to pieces.[78] During that prosperous career which has just been noticed, the Spanish throne was invariably filled by very able and intelligent princes. Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V. and Philip II., formed a line of sovereigns not to be matched in any other country for a period of equal length. By them the great things were effected, and by their care Spain apparently flourished. But what followed when they were withdrawn from the scene showed how artificial all this was, and how rotten, even to the core, is that system of government which must be fostered before it can thrive, and which, being based on the loyalty and reverence of the people, depends for success not on the ability of the nation, but on the skill of those to whom the interests of the nation are intrusted.*

[78] A learned Spanish lawyer has made some remarks which are worth quoting, and which contain a curious mixture of truth and error : " Comment la monarchie espagnole

reform, inasmuch as " we " are all wise to political salvation. But what he describes in the next paragraph as a " falling to pieces " of Spain was only an unchecked continuance of such mismanagement as permitted the Dutch to enter the Medway under Charles II., and lost the American colonies in the next century. He has thus partly missed setting forth the main cause of Spanish decadence, which was the acquisition of " empire " in both the New World and the Old.—Ed.]

[* In thus crediting despots with the power of making as well as marring the fortunes of a nation, Buckle seems to have forgotten his earlier arguments as to their impotence, and as to the utter nullity of " protection." In point of fact, he has given undue credit for " success " to both Charles V. and Philip II. Industrial decadence began on one side as soon as the bullion delusion was enthroned by the possession of the mines of the New World, though the connexion with the Low-Countries set up a healthy commerce under Charles V. (Armstrong's Introd. to M. A. S. Hume's *Spain*, 1898, pp. 83–4 ; Grattan, *The Netherlands*, 1830, pp. 66, 88.) But the policy of Charles depended largely on his northern possessions, the whole Low Countries yielding him two-fifths of his revenues ; Spain and the Indies only another fifth between them ; and Milan and Sicily the rest (Motley, 1 vol. ed. p. 59). Of Charles as a ruler the best English authority writes :—" He was not great enough to give unity to circumstances of extraordinary perplexity. Far from taking the lead, he was from first to last put upon the defensive " (E. Armstrong, *The Emperor Charles V.*, 1902, pref.). When Philip succeeded " Spain was already wellnigh ruined by the drain of the Emperor's wars " (M. A. S. Hume, *Spain*, p. 194). Thus even in 1561 his revenues were mortgaged past recovery, and his deficits irremediable (Motley, p. 149 ; Hume, p. 195), so that at length, in 1597, he had to get from the Pope an absolution from payment of the interest he owed to Spanish and Genoese merchants, thus ruining his credit (Davies, *History of Holland*, 1841, ii. 304; cp. Watson, *Hist. of the Reign of Philip II.*, ed. 1839, p. 527). The loss of his first Armada, in 1588, was the greatest naval and financial disaster that had ever befallen any modern power, and when that was followed by the loss of the second, the finances of Spain must have been hopelessly crippled. As Buckle admits, further, there is no reason to doubt that Philip had been in favour of the fatal project of expelling the Moriscoes, carried out by his successor (See below, *note* 132). But in his own day ruin was in sight. When, not long before his death, he asked the Cortès for a vote of five hundred million maravedis, they answered : " No one has either money or credit ; and the country is utterly ruined. Commerce is killed by the *alcabala*. Where 30,000 *arrobas* of wool were manufactured, there are not now 5,000 ; and in the principal cities most of the houses are closed and deserted " (M. A. S. Hume's *Spain*, pp. 198–9). In short, " Philip II. had nearly ruined Spain " (*Id.* p. 196. See p. 195 as to his fiscal methods, and compare Prescott, *Hist. of Philip II.* Kirk's ed. 1894, p. 659, and M. A. S. Hume's *The Spanish People*, 1901, pp. 350-403, and *Philip II.*, 1897, pp. 252, 256-7). As Montesquieu said of him (*Esprit des Lois*, xxi. 22), " no prince suffered more than he from the insolence and mutiny of his troops, always ill-paid." Buckle relied unduly, at this stage, on the inadequate History of Dunham, which he over praises, and on the uncritical Spanish writers he quotes. His account of the reign of Louis XIV. should have suggested to him the probability of a parallel development in Spain.—Ed.]

Philip II., the last of the great kings of Spain, died in 1598, and after his death the decline was portentously rapid.[79] From 1598 to 1700 the throne was occupied by Philip III., Philip IV., and Charles II. The contrast between them and their predecessors was most striking.[80] Philip III. and Philip IV. were idle, ignorant, infirm of purpose, and passed their lives in the lowest and most sordid pleasures. Charles II., the last of that Austrian dynasty which had formerly been so distinguished, possessed nearly every defect which can make a man ridiculous and contemptible. His mind and his person were such as, in any nation less loyal than Spain, would have exposed him to universal derision. Although his death took place while he was still in the prime of life, he looked like an old and worn-out debauchee. At the age of thirty-five he was completely bald; he had lost his eyebrows; he was paralyzed; he was epileptic;

fut-elle déchue de tant de grandeur et de gloire? Comment perdit-elle les Pays-Bas et le Portugal dans le dix-septième siècle, et s'y trouva-t-elle réduite à n'être qu'un squelette de ce qu'elle avait été auparavant? Comment vit-elle disparaître plus d'une moitié de sa population? Comment, possédant les mines inépuisables du Nouveau Monde, les revenus de l'état n'étaient à peine que de six millions de ducats sous le règne de Philippe III? Comment son agriculture et son industrie furent-elles ruinées? et comment presque tout son commerce passa-t-il dans les mains de ses plus grands ennemis? Ce n'est point ici le lieu d'examiner les véritables causes d'une métamorphose si triste; il suffira d'indiquer *que tous les grands empires contiennent en eux-memes le germe de leur dissolution*," &c. "D'ailleurs les successeurs de ces deux Monarques" (Charles V. and Philip II.) "n'eurent point les mêmes talens, ni les ducs de Lerme et d'Olivarès, leurs ministres, ceux du cardinal Cisneros; et il est difficile de calculer l'influence de la bonne ou de la mauvaise direction des affaires sur la prospérité ou les malheurs des nations. Sous une même forme de gouvernement, quel qu'il puisse être, *elles tombent ou se relèvent suivant la capacité des hommes qui les dirigent*, et d'après les circonstances où ils agissent." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès*, Bordeaux, 1815, pp. 265–267. Of the two passages which I have marked with italics, the first is a clumsy, though common, attempt to explain complicated phenomena by a metaphor which saves the trouble of generalizing their laws. The other passage, though perfectly true as regards Spain, does not admit of that universal application which M. Sempere supposes; inasmuch as in England, and in the United States of America, national prosperity has steadily advanced, even when the rulers have been very incapable men. [If this were true, it would be hard to show why rulers are ever to be denounced. But English prosperity has *not* steadily advanced irrespective of the wisdom of rulers. *E.g.* the effect of the Corn Laws.—Ed.]

[79] "With Philip II. ends the greatness of the kingdom, which from that period declined with fearful rapidity." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 87. And Ortiz (*Compendio*, vol. vii., Prologo, p. 6) classes together "la muerte de Felipe II. y principios de nuestra decadencia." The same judicious historian elsewhere observes (vol. vi. p. 211), that if Philip III. had been equal to his father, Spain would have continued to flourish. Several of the more recent Spanish writers, looking at the heavy expenses caused by the policy of Philip II., and at the debts which he incurred, have supposed that the decline of the country began in the latter years of his reign. But the truth is, that no great nation ever was, or ever will be, ruined by the prodigality of its government. Such extravagance causes general discomfort, and therefore ought not to be tolerated; but, if this were the place for so long an argument, I could easily show that its other and more permanent inconveniences are nothing like what they are commonly supposed to be. [The leap in the second last sentence from the proposition "the decline *began*" to "no nation was ever *ruined*" amounts to an *ignoratio elenchi*. Philip lost the Netherlands, and had to let Flanders pass from Spain. This was part of the decadence as commonly regarded. But when Buckle asserts that the system was "rotten to the core" even when "prosperous," it is hard to check his reasoning. Enough to say that under Philip commerce and industry were already disappearing.—Ed.]

[80] "Abstraido Felipe III. en devociones, amante Felipe IV. de regocijos, mortificado Carlos II. por padecimientos, cuidáronse poco ó nada de la gobernacion del Estado, y confiáronla á validos altaneros, codiciosos, incapaces, y de muy funesta memoria." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. i. p. 33.

and he was notoriously impotent.[81] His general appearance was absolutely revolting, and was that of a drivelling idiot. To an enormous mouth, he added a nether jaw protruding so hideously that his teeth could never meet, and he was unable to masticate his food.[82] His ignorance would be incredible, if it were not substantiated by unimpeachable evidence. He did not know the names of the large towns, or even of the provinces, in his dominions ; and during the war with France he was heard to pity England for losing cities which in fact formed part of his own territory.[83] Finally, he was immersed in the most grovelling superstition ; he believed himself to be constantly tempted by the devil ; he allowed himself to be exorcised as one possessed by evil spirits ; and he would not retire to rest except with his confessor and two friars, who had to lie by his side during the night.[84]

Now it was that men might clearly see on how sandy a foundation the grandeur of Spain was built. When there were able sovereigns the country prospered ; when there were weak ones it declined. Nearly everything that had been done by the great princes of the sixteenth century was undone by the little princes of the seventeenth. So rapid was the fall of Spain, that in only three reigns after the death of Philip II. the most powerful monarchy existing in the world was depressed to the lowest point of debasement, was insulted with impunity

[81] "Sans espérance de posterité." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. i. p. 419. "Incapaz de tener hijos." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vi. p. 560. See also *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. i. p. 82 ; and the allusions in *Lettres de Madame de Villars*, edit. Amsterdam, 1759, pp. 53, 120, 164. She was ambassadress in Spain in the reign of Charles II. M. Lafuente, who, if I rightly remember, never quotes these interesting letters, and who, indeed, with very few exceptions, has used none but Spanish authorities, ventures nevertheless to observe that "La circunstancia de no haber tenido sucesion, falta que en general se achabaca mas al rey que á la reina," &c. *Historia de España*, vol. xvii. pp. 198, 199, Madrid, 1856. According to the biographer of the Spanish Queens, some persons imputed this to sorcery, "y aun se dijo si intervenia maleficio." *Florez, Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas*, vol. ii. p. 973, Madrid, 1761, 4to.

[82] In 1696, Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, writes : "He has a ravenous stomach, and swallows all he eats whole, for his nether jaw stands so much out, that his two rows of teeth cannot meet ; to compensate which he has a prodigious wide throat, so that a gizzard or liver of a hen passes down whole, and, his weak stomach not being able to digest it, he voids it in the same manner." *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, London, 1840, p. 79 ; a very valuable collection of original documents, utterly unknown to any Spanish historian I have met with. Some curious notices of the appearance of Charles II. in his childhood may be seen, published for the first time, in *Mignet's Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, Paris, 1835–1842, 4to, vol. i. pp. 294, 295, 310, 396, 404, 410, vol. ii. p. 130, vol. iii. pp. 418, 419, 423. See also vol. iv. p. 636, for an instance of his taciturnity, which was almost the only mark of sense he ever gave. "Le roi l'écouta, et ne lui répondit rien."

[83] "Le Roy demeuroit dans une profonde ignorance et de ses affaires, et même des Etats de sa couronne ; à peine connoissoit-il quelles étoient les places qui lui appartenoient hors du continent d'Espagne." . . . "La perte de Barcelone lui fut plus sensible qu'aucune autre, parce que cette ville, capitale de la Catalogne, et située dans le continent de l'Espagne, lui étoit plus connue que les villes de Flandre, dont il ignoroit l'importance au point de croire que Mons appartenoit au roi d'Angleterre, et de le plaindre lorsque le Roi fit la conquête de cette province." *Mémoires du Marquis de Torcy*, vol. i. pp. 19, 23, edit. Petitot, Paris, 1828.

[84] "Fancying everything that is said or done to be a temptation of the devil, and never thinking himself safe but with his confessor and two friars by his side, whom he makes lie in his chamber every night." *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, p. 102. On account, no doubt, of this affection for monks, he is declared by a Spanish historian to have possessed a "corazon pio y religioso." *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. p. 20. The best notice of the exorcism will be found in *Lafuente's Historia de España*, vol. xvii. pp. 294–309, where there is an entire chapter, headed "Los Hechizos del Rey."

by foreign nations, was reduced more than once to bankruptcy, was stripped of her fairest possessions,* was held up to public opprobrium, was made a theme on which schoolboys and moralists loved to declaim respecting the uncertainty of human affairs, and at length was exposed to the bitter humiliation of seeing her territories mapped out and divided by a treaty in which she took no share, but the provisions of which she was unable to resent.[85] Then truly did she drink to the dregs the cup of her own shame. Her glory had departed from her, she was smitten down and humbled. Well might a Spaniard of that time who compared the present with the past, mourn over his country, the chosen abode of chivalry and romance, of valour and of loyalty. The mistress of the world, the queen of the ocean, the terror of nations, was gone ; her power was gone, no more to return. To her might be applied that bitter lamentation, which, on a much slighter occasion, the greatest of the sons of men has put into the mouth of a dying statesman. Good reason, indeed, had the sorrowing patriot to weep, as one who refused to be comforted, for the fate of his earth, his realm, his land of dear souls, his dear, dear land, long dear for her reputation through the world, but now leased out like to a tenement or pelting farm.[86]

It would be a weary and unprofitable task to relate the losses and disasters of Spain during the seventeenth century. The immediate cause of them was undoubtedly bad government and unskilful rulers ; but the real and overriding cause, which determined the whole march and tone of affairs, was the existence of that loyal and reverential spirit which made the people submit to what any other country would have spurned, and, by accustoming them to place extreme confidence in individual men, reduced the nation to that precarious position in which a succession of incompetent princes was sure to overthrow the edifice which competent ones had built up.[87]

[85] " La foiblesse de l'Espagne ne permettoit pas à son roi de se ressentir du traitement dont il croyoit à propos de se plaindre." *Mémoires de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 81. Or, as an eminent native writer bitterly says, " Las naciones estrangeras disponiendo de la monarquia española como de bienes sin dueño." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iii. p. 167.

[86] " This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise ;
This fortress, built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war ;
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands ;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Fear'd by their breed, and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's son :
This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leas'd out, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting farm."

[87] The Spanish theory of government is well stated in the following passage in Davila's

[* *Before* the death of Philip II., as already noted, Spain was bankrupt, had lost Holland and given up Flanders, and was insulted with impunity by England. The two Armadas were undertaken to punish insults, and both failed. Finally, the English fleet under Essex sacked Cadiz for fifteen days, unmolested. " This was the last blow to the naval supremacy of Spain, and showed to the whole world that, under Philip's system, his country had become effete " (*M. A. S. Hume's Spain*, p. 193).—Ed.]

The increasing influence of the Spanish Church was the first and most conspicuous consequence of the declining energy of the Spanish government. For, loyalty and superstition being the main ingredients of the national character,* and both of them being the result of habits of reverence, it was to be expected that, unless the reverence could be weakened, what was taken from one ingredient would be given to the other. As, therefore, the Spanish government during the seventeenth century did, owing to its extreme imbecility, undoubtedly lose some part of the hold it possessed over the affections of the people, it naturally happened that the Church stepped in, and, occupying the vacant place, received what the crown had forfeited. Besides this, the weakness of the executive government encouraged the pretensions of the priesthood, and emboldened the clergy to acts of usurpation which the Spanish sovereigns of the sixteenth century, superstitious though they were, would not have allowed for a single moment.[88] Hence the very striking fact that while in every other great country, Scotland alone excepted, the power of the Church diminished during the seventeenth century, it in Spain actually increased. The results of this are well worth the attention not only of philosophic students of history, but also of every one who cares for the welfare of his own country, or feels an interest in the practical management of public affairs.

For twenty-three years after the death of Philip II. the throne was occupied by Philip III., a prince as distinguished by his weakness as his predecessors had been by their ability. During more than a century the Spaniards had been accustomed to be entirely ruled by their kings, who, with indefatigable industry, personally superintended the most important transactions, and in other matters exercised the strictest supervision over their ministers. But Philip III., whose listlessness almost amounted to fatuity, was unequal to such labour, and delegated the powers of government to Lerma, who wielded supreme authority for twenty years.[89] Among a people so loyal as the Spaniards this unusual proceeding

Life of Philip III. The remarks apply to Philip II. "Que solo havia gobernado sin Validos ni Privados, tomando para sí solo, como primera causa de su gobierno, el mandar, prohibir, premiar, castigar, hacer mercedes, conocer sugetos, elegir Ministros, dar oficios, y tener como espiritu, que andaba sobre las aguas, ciencia y providencia de todo, para que nada se hiciese sin su saber y querer; no sirviendo los Ministros mas que de poner por obra (obedeciendo) lo que su Señor mandaba, velando sobre cada uno, como pastor de sus ovejas, para ver la verdad con que executan sus Mandamientos y Acuerdos." *Davila, Historia de Felipe Tercero*, lib. i. pp. 22, 23.

[88] Even Philip II. always retained a certain ascendency over the ecclesiastical hierarchy, though he was completely subjugated by ecclesiastical prejudices. "While Philip was thus willing to exalt the religious order, already far too powerful, he was careful that it should never gain such a height as would enable it to overtop the royal authority." *Prescott's History of Philip II.*, vol. iii. p. 235. "Pero este monarca tan afecto á la Inquisicion mientras le servia para sus fines sabía bien tener á raya al Santo Oficio cuando intentaba invadir o usurpar las preeminencias de la autoridad real, ó arrogarse un poder desmedido." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. p. 114.

[89] "Por cuyo absoluto poderio se executaba todo." *Yañez, Memorias para la Historia de Felipe III.*, Prologo, p. 150. "An absoluteness in power over king and kingdom." Letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Lords of the Council in England, dated Valladolid, May 31, 1605, in *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 73, London, 1725, folio. "Porque no era fácil imaginar entonces, ni por fortuna se ha repetido el ejemplo después, que hubiera un monarca tan pródigo de autoridad, y al propio tiempo tan indolente, que por no tomarse siquiera el trabajo de firmar los documentos de Estado, quisiera dar á la firma de un vasallo suyo la misma autoridad que á la suya propia, y que advirtiera y ordenára, como ordenó Felipe III. á todos sus consejos, tribunales, y súbditos, que dieran a los despachos firmados por el duque de Lerma el mismo cumplimiento y obediencia, y los ejecutáran y guardáran con el mismo respeto que si fueran firmados

[* Both are broadly forms of opinion, and results of education, not parts of "character."—Ed.]

could not fail to weaken the executive ; since in their eyes the immediate and irresistible interference of the sovereign was essential to the management of affairs, and to the well-being of the nation. Lerma, well aware of this feeling, and conscious that his own position was very precarious, naturally desired to strengthen himself by additional support, so that he might not entirely depend on the favour of the king. He therefore formed a strict alliance with the clergy, and from the beginning to the end of his long administration did everything in his power to increase their authority.[90] Thus the influence lost by the crown was gained by the Church, to whose advice a deference was paid even greater than had been accorded by the superstitious princes of the sixteenth century. In this arrangement the interests of the people were of course unheeded. Their welfare formed no part of the general scheme. On the contrary, the clergy, grateful to a government so sensible of their merits, and so religiously disposed, used all their influence in its favour ; and the yoke of a double despotism was rivetted more firmly than ever upon the neck of that miserable nation, which was now about to reap the bitter fruit of a long and ignominious submission.[91]

The increasing power of the Spanish Church during the seventeenth century may be proved by nearly every description of evidence. The convents and churches multiplied with such alarming speed, and their wealth became so prodigious, that even the Cortes, broken and humbled though they were, ventured on a public remonstrance. In 1626, only five years after the death of Philip III., they requested that some means might be taken to prevent what they described as a constant invasion on the part of the Church. In this remarkable document, the Cortes, assembled at Madrid, declared that never a day passed in which laymen were not deprived of their property to enrich ecclesiastics ; and the evil, they said, had grown to such a height that there were then in Spain upwards of nine

por él." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. pp. 449, 450. " El duque de Lerma, su valido, era el que gobernaba el reino solo." vol. xvii. p. 332. His power lasted from 1598 to 1618. *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vi. pp. 290, 325.

[90] Davila (*Historia de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. p. 41), after eulogizing the personal qualities of Lerma, adds, " Y sin estas grandes partes tuvo demostraciones christianas, manifestandolo en los conventos, iglesias, colegiatas, hospitales, ermitas y catedras, que dejo fundadas, en que gastó, como me consta de los libros de su Contaduría, un millon ciento cincuenta y dos mil doscientos ochenta y tres ducados." After such monstrous prodigality, Watson might well say, in his rather superficial but on the whole well-executed History, that Lerma showed " the most devoted attachment to the church," and " conciliated the favour of ecclesiastics." *Watson's History of Philip III.*, London, 1839, pp. 4, 8, 46, 224.

[91] The only energy Philip III. ever displayed was in seconding the efforts of his minister to extend the influence of the Church ; and hence, according to a Spanish historian, he was " monarque le plus pieux parmi tous ceux qui ont occupé le trône d'Espagne depuis saint Ferdinand." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. i. p. 245. " El principal cuidado de nuestro Rey era tener á Dios por amigo, grangear y beneficiar su gracia, para que le asistiese propicio en quanto obrase y dixese. De aqui tuvieron principio tantos dones ofrecidos á Dios, tanta fundacion de Conventos, y favores hechos á Iglesias y Religiones." *Davila, Historia de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. p. 170. His wife, Margaret, was equally active. See *Florez, Reynas Catholicas*, vol. ii. pp. 915, 916. " Demas de los frutos que dió para el Cielo y para la tierra nuestra Reyna, tuvo otros de ambas lineas en fundaciones de Templos y obras de piedad para bien del Reyno y de la Iglesia. En Valladolid fundó el Convento de las Franciscas Descalzas. En Madrid trasladó á las Agustinas Recoletas de Santa Isabel desde la calle del Principe al sitio en que hoy estan. Protegió con sus limosnas la fundacion de la Iglesia de Carmelitas Descalzas de Santa Ana ; y empezó á fundar el Real Convento de las Agustinas Recoletas con titulo de la Encarnacion en este misma Corte, cuya primera piedra se puso á 10 de Junio del 1611. En la parroquia de S. Gil junto al Palacio introdujo los Religiosos Franciscos, cuyo Convento persevera hoy con la misma advocacion." How the country fared, while all this was going on, we shall presently see.

thousand monasteries, besides nunneries.[92] This extraordinary statement has, I believe, never been contradicted, and its probability is enhanced by several other circumstances. Davila, who lived in the reign of Philip III., affirms that in 1623 the two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans alone amounted to thirty-two thousand.[93] The other clergy increased in proportion. Before the death of Philip III. the number of ministers performing in the Cathedral of Seville had swelled to one hundred ; and in the diocese of Seville there were fourteen thousand chaplains ; in the diocese of Calahorra, eighteen thousand.[94] Nor did there seem any prospect of remedying this frightful condition. The richer the Church became the greater was the inducement for laymen to enter it ; so that there appeared to be no limit to the extent to which the sacrifice of temporal interests might be carried.[95] Indeed, the movement, notwithstanding its sudden-

[92] The burden of the petition was, "Que se tratasse con mas veras de poner limite á los bienes, que se sacauan cada dia del braço Seglar al Eclesiastico, enflaqueciendo no tan solo el patrimonio Real, mas el comun, pues siendo aquel libre de pechos, contribuciones, y gauelas, alojamientos, huespedes, y otros grauamenes mayores, presidios, guerras, y soldados." . . . "Que las Religiones eran muchas, las Mendicantes en excesso, y el Clero en grande multitud. Que auia en España 9088 monasterios, aun no cõtando los de Monjas. Que yuan metiẽdo poco á poco, con dotaciones, cofradias, capellanias, o con cõpras, á todo el Reyno en su poder. Que se atajasse tanto mal. Que huuiesse numero en los frayles, moderacion en los Cõuentos, y aun en los Clerigos seglares." *Cespedes. Historia de Don Felipe IV.*, Barcelona, 1634, folio, lib. vii. cap. 9, p. 272 rev. This is the only noticeable passage in an unusually dull chronicle, which, though professing to be a history of Philip IV., is confined to the first few years of his reign.

[93] "En este año, que iba escribiendo esta Historia, tenian las Ordenes de Santo Domingo, y S. Francisco en España, treinta y dos mil Religiosos, y los Obispados de Calahorra y Pamplona veinte y quatro mil clerigos: pues qué tendran las demas Religiones, y los demas Obispados ?" *Davila, Historia de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. p. 215. See also cap. xcvii. pp. 248, 249 ; and, on the increase of convents, see *Yañez, Memorias para la Historia de Felipe III.*, pp. 240, 268, 304, 305.

[94] "The reign of Philip III., surnamed from his piety the Good, was the golden age of Churchmen. Though religious foundations were already too numerous, great additions were made to them ; and in those which already existed, new altars or chancels were erected. Thus the Duke of Lerma founded seven monasteries and two collegiate churches ; thus, also, the diocese of Calahorra numbered 18,000 chaplains, Seville 14,000. How uselessly the ministers of religion were multiplied, will appear still more clearly from the fact that the cathedral of Seville alone had a hundred when half-a-dozen would assuredly have been sufficient for the public offices of devotion." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 274. According to the passage quoted in note 93, from Davila, there were twenty-four thousand "clerigos" in the two dioceses of Calahorra and Pamplona.

[95] "Entre tanto crecia por instantes y se aumentaba prodigiosamente el poder y la autoridad de la iglesia. Sus pingües riquezas desmembraban de una manera considerable las rentas de la corona ; y el estado eclesiástico, que muchos abrazaron en un principio á consecuencia de las desgracias y calamidades de la época, fué despues el mas solicitado por las inmensas ventajas que ofrecia su condicion comparada con la de las clases restantes." *Antequera, Historia de la Legislacion*, pp. 223, 224. See also in *Campomanes, Apéndice á la Educacion*, Madrid, 1775–1777, vol. i. p. 465, and vol. iv. p. 219, a statement made by the University of Toledo in 1619 or 1620, that "hay doblados religiosos, clerigos y estudiantes ; porque ya *no hallan otro modo de vivir, ni de poder sustentarse.*" If the eye of M. Lafuente had lighted upon this and other passages, which I shall shortly quote from contemporary observers, he would, I think, have expressed himself much more strongly than he has done respecting this period, in his recent brilliant but unsatisfactory History of Spain. On the great wealth of the convents in 1679, when the rest of the country was steeped in poverty, see a letter dated Madrid, July 25, 1679, in *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. p. 251. But the earliest evidence I have met with is in a letter written in 1609 to Prince Henry of England, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English ambassador at Madrid. "The furniture of their churches here, and the riches and lustre of their sepulchures made in every monasterie (the general

ness, was perfectly regular, and was facilitated by a long train of preceding circumstances. Since the fifth century the course of events, as we have already seen, invariably tended in this direction, and insured to the clergy a dominion which no other nation would have tolerated. The minds of the people being thus prepared, the people themselves looked on in silence at what it would have been impious to oppose ; for, as a Spanish historian observes, every proposition was deemed heretical which tended to lessen the amount, or even to check the growth of that enormous wealth which was now possessed by the Spanish Church.[96]

How natural all this was appears also from another fact of considerable interest. In Europe generally the seventeenth century was distinguished by the rise of a secular literature in which ecclesiastical theories were disregarded ; the most influential writers, such as Bacon and Descartes, being laymen, rather hostile to the Church than friendly to it, and composing their works with views purely temporal. But in Spain no change of this sort occurred.[97] In that country the Church retained her hold over the highest as well as over the lowest intellects. Such was the pressure of public opinion, that authors of every grade were proud to count themselves members of the ecclesiastical profession, the interests of which they advocated with a zeal worthy of the Dark Ages. Cervantes, three years before his death, became a Franciscan monk.[98] Lope de

povertye of this kingdome considered), are almost incredible. The laity of this nation may say with Davyde (though in another sense), 'Zelus domus tuæ comedit me' : for, assuredly, the riches of the Temporall hath in a manner all fallen into the mouthes and devouring throates of the Spiritual." *Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. iii. p. 10, London, 1725, folio.

[96] "Deux millions de ducats, que le clergé possédait sous le règne de Charles V., étaient réputés comme un revenu exorbitant ; et, un demi-siècle plus tard, lorsque ces revenus s'élevaient à huit millions, on qualifiait d'hérétique toute proposition tendante à opérer quelque modification dans leur accroissement." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 16.

[97] In a work on Spanish literature which was published about seventy years ago, and which at the time of its appearance made considerable noise, this peculiarity is frankly admitted, but is deemed rather an honour to Spain than otherwise, inasmuch as that country, we are told, has produced philosophers who have gone much deeper into things than Bacon, Descartes, and Newton, who, no doubt, were clever men, but were nowise comparable to the great thinkers of the Peninsula. Such assertions, proceeding, not from some ignorant despiser of physical science, who contemns what he has never been at the pains to study, but from a really able and in some respects competent judge, are important for the history of opinion ; and as the book is not very common, I will give two or three extracts. "Confiesan los Franceses con ingenuidad que Descartes fué un novelista ; y con todo eso quieren hacerle pasar por el promotor de la filosofía en Europa, como si su filosofía se desemejase mucho de la que dominaba en las sectas de la antigüedad. Su tratado 'Del método' es nada en comparacion de los libros 'De la corrupcion de las artes' de Juan Luis Vives, que le antecedió buen número de años." *Oracion Apologética por la España y su Mérito Literario por D. J. P. Forner*, Madrid, 1786, p. xi. "No hemos tenido en los efectos un Cartesio, no un Neuton : démoslo de barato : pero hemos tenido justísimos legisladores y excelentes filósofos prácticos, que han preferido el inefable gusto de trabajar en beneficio de la humanidad á la ociosa ocupacion de edificar mundos imaginarios en la soledad y silencio de un gabinete." p. 12. "Nada se disputaba en España." p. 61. At p. 143 a comparison between Bacon and Vives ; and the final decision, p. 146, that Vives enjoys "una gloriosa superioridad sobre todos los sabios de todos los siglos."

[98] The final profession was not made till 1616 ; but he began to wear the clothes in 1613. "Tal era su situacion el sábado santo 2 de abril" [1616] "que por no poder salir de su casa hubieron de darle en ella la profesion de la venerable órden tercera de San Francisco, cuyo hábito habia tomado en Alcalá, el dia 2 de julio de 1613." *Navarrete, Vida de Cervantes*, p. cii., prefixed to *Don Quijote*, Barcelona, 1839. Even in 1609, says Navarrete (p. lxii.), "Se ha creido que entonces se incorporó tambien Cervantes, como lo

Vega was a priest; he was an officer of the Inquisition; and in 1623 he assisted at an auto da fé, in which, amid an immense concourse of people, a heretic was burned outside the gate of Alcalá at Madrid.[99] Moreto, one of the three greatest dramatists Spain has produced, assumed the monastic habit during the last twelve years of his life.[100] Montalvan, whose plays are still remembered, was a priest, and held office in the Inquisition.[101] Tarrega, Mira de Mescua, and Tirso de Molina were all successful writers for the stage, and were all clergymen.[102] Solis, the celebrated historian of Mexico, was also a clergyman.[103] Sandoval, whom Philip III. appointed historiographer, and who is the principal authority for the reign of Charles V., was at first a Benedictine monk, afterwards became Bishop of Tuy, and later still was raised to the see of Pampeluna.[104] Davila, the biographer of Philip III., was a priest.[105] Mariana was a Jesuit;[106] and Miñana, who continued his History, was superior of a convent in Valencia.[107] Martin Carrillo was a jurisconsult as well as an historian, but, not satisfied with his double employment, he too entered the Church, and became canon of Saragossa.[108] Antonio, the most learned bibliographer Spain ever possessed, was a canon of Seville.[109] Gracian, whose prose works have been much read, and who was formerly deemed a great writer, was a Jesuit.[110] Among the poets the same tendency was exhibited. Paravicino was for sixteen years a popular preacher at the courts of Philip III. and Philip IV.[111] Zamora was a monk.[112] Argensola was a canon of Saragossa.[113] Gongora was a priest;[114] and Rioja received a high post in the Inquisition.[115] Calderon was chaplain to Philip IV.;[116] and so fanatical are the sentiments which tarnish his brilliant genius that he has been termed the poet of the Inquisition.[117] His love for the Church was a passion, and he scrupled at nothing which could advance its interests. In Spain such

hizo Lope de Vega, en la congregacion del oratorio del Caballero de Gracia, mientras que su muger y su hermana doña Andréa se dedicaban á semejantes ejercicios de piedad en la venerable órden tercera de San Francisco, cuyo hábito recibieron en 8 de junio del mismo año."

99 *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126, 137, 147, 148.

100 *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 374. *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxx. pp. 149, 150.

101 *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 276, 327.

102 *Ticknor*, vol. ii. p. 327.

103 *Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 525. But the best account is that given by his biographer, who assures us of two facts; that he received "todas las ordenes sagradas," and that he was "devotísimo de María santísima." *Vida de Solis*, p. 15, prefixed to *Solis, Historia de la Conquista de Mejico*, edit. Paris, 1844.

104 *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xl. p. 319.

105 "Sacerdote soy." *Davila, Historia de la Vida de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. p. 215.

106 *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxvii. p. 42.

107 *Ibid.* vol. xxix. p. 80.

108 *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 219.

109 *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 293.

110 *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 177.

111 *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 491, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118.

112 *Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 348, London, 1846.

113 "Pero en fin murio Don Andres Martinez, y sucediole en la Canongia nuestro Bartholome." *Pellicer, Ensayo de una Bibliotheca*, Madrid, 1778, 4to, p. 94. This was the younger Argensola.

114 *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. p. 486.

115 "Occupied a high place in the Inquisition." *Ticknor*, vol. ii. p. 507. "Prit les ordres, et obtint un canonicat." *Biographie Univ.* vol. xxxviii. p. 120.

116 In 1663, Philip IV. "le honró con otra Capellania de honor en su real Capilla." *Vida de Calderon*, p. iv. prefixed to *Las Comedias de Calderon*, edit. Keil, Leipsique, 1827.

117 "Calderon is in fact the true poet of the Inquisition. Animated by a religious feeling which is too visible in all his pieces, he inspires me only with horror for the faith which he professes." *Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 379. Compare *Lewes on the Spanish Drama*, pp. 176–179.

feelings were natural; though to other nations they seem so strange that an eminent critic has declared that it is hardly possible to read his works without indignation.[118] If this be so, the indignation should be extended to nearly all his contemporary countrymen, great or small. There was hardly a Spaniard of that period who did not entertain similar sentiments. Even Villaviciosa, author of one of the very best mock-heroic poems Spain has produced, was not only an officer in the Inquisition, but, in his last will, he strongly urged upon his family and all his descendants, that they too should, if possible, enter the service of that noble institution, taking whatever place in it they could obtain, since all its offices were, he said, worthy of veneration.[119] In such a state of society anything approaching to a secular or scientific spirit was, of course, impossible. Every one believed; no one inquired. Among the better classes all were engaged in war or theology, and most were occupied with both. Those who made literature a profession ministered, as professional men too often do, to the prevailing prejudice. Whatever concerned the Church was treated not only with respect, but with timid veneration. Skill and industry worthy of a far better cause were expended in eulogizing every folly which superstition had invented. The more cruel and preposterous a custom was the greater the number of persons who wrote in its favour, albeit no one had ventured to assail it. The quantity of Spanish works to prove the necessity of religious persecution is incalculable; and this took place in a country where not one man in a thousand doubted the propriety of burning heretics. As to miracles, which form the other capital resource of theologians, they, in the seventeenth century, were constantly happening, and as constantly being recorded. All literary men were anxious to say something on that important subject. Saints, too, being in great repute, their biographies were written in profusion, and with an indifference to truth which usually characterizes that species of composition. With these and kindred topics the mind of Spain was chiefly busied. Monasteries, nunneries, religious orders, and cathedrals received equal attention, and huge books were written about them, in order that every particular might be preserved. Indeed, it often happened that a single convent, or a single cathedral, would have more than one historian, each seeking to distance his immediate competitor, and all striving which could do most to honour the Church and to uphold the interests of which the Church was the guardian.[120]

Such was the preponderance of the ecclesiastical profession, and such was the homage paid to ecclesiastical interests by the Spaniards during the seventeenth

[118] Salfi says, "Calderon de la Barca excite encore plus une sorte d'indignation, malgré son génie dramatique, qui le mit au-dessus de Vega, son prédécesseur. En lisant ses drames sans prévention, vous diriez qu'il a voulu faire servir son talent uniquement à confirmer les préjugés et les superstitions les plus ridicules de sa nation." *Ginguené, Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, vol. xii. p. 499, Paris, 1834.

[119] "Entró en el año de 1622 á ser *Relator del Consejo de la General Inquisicion*, cuyo empleo sirvió y desempeñó con todo honor muchos años." And he declared, "en esta clausula de su Testamento: 'Y por quanto yo y mis hermanos y toda nuestra familia nos hemos sustentado, autorizado y puesto en estado con las honras y mercedes, que nos ha hecho el santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, á quien hemos servido como nuestros antepassados; encargo afectuosissimamente á todos mis sucessores le sean para siempre los mas respetuosos servidores y criados, viviendo en ocupacion de su santo servicio, procurando adelantarse y señalarse en él, quanto les fuere possible, en qualquiera de sus ministerios; pues todos son tan dignos de estimacion y veneracion.'" *La Mosquea, por Villaviciosa*, Prólogo, pp. x.-xii., edit. Madrid, 1777.

[120] "Hardly a convent or a saint of any note in Spain, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, failed of especial commemoration; and each of the religious orders and great cathedrals had at least one historian, and most of them several. The number of books on Spanish ecclesiastical history is therefore one that may well be called enormous." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 132. Forner assures us, somewhat needlessly, of what no one ever doubted, that "los estudios sagrados jamas decayéron en España." *Forner, Oracion Apologética*, Madrid, 1786, p. 141.

century.[121] They did everything to strengthen the Church in that very age when other nations first set themselves in earnest to weaken it. This unhappy peculiarity was undoubtedly the effect of preceding events; but it was the immediate cause of the decline of Spain, since, whatever may have been the case in former periods, it is certain that in modern times the prosperity of nations depends on principles to which the clergy as a body are invariably opposed. Under Philip III. they gained an immense accession of strength; and in that very reign they signalized this new epoch of their power by obtaining, with circumstances of horrible barbarity, the expulsion of the whole Moorish nation. This was an act so atrocious in itself,[122] and so terrible in its consequences, that some writers have ascribed to it alone the subsequent ruin of Spain; forgetting that other causes, far more potent, were also at work, and that this stupendous crime* could never have been perpetrated except in a country which, being long accustomed to regard heresy as the most heinous of all offences, was ready, at any cost, to purge the land and to free itself from men whose mere presence was regarded as an insult to the Christian faith.

After the reduction, late in the fifteenth century, of the last Mohammedan kingdom in Spain, the great object of the Spaniards became to convert those whom they had conquered.[123] They believed that the future welfare of a whole people was at stake; and finding that the exhortations of their clergy had no effect, they had recourse to other means, and persecuted the men they were unable to persuade. By torturing some, by burning others, and by threatening all, they at length succeeded; and we are assured that after the year 1526 there was no Mohammedan in Spain who had not been converted to Christianity.[124] Immense numbers of them were baptized by force; but being

[121] In 1623, Howell writes from Madrid: "Such is the reverence they bear to the church here, and so holy a conceit they have of all ecclesiastics, that the greatest Don in Spain will tremble to offer the meanest of them any outrage or affront." *Howell's Letters*, edit. London, 1754, p. 138. "The reverence they show to the holy function of the church is wonderful; Princes and Queens will not disdain to kiss a Capuchin's sleeve, or the surplice of a priest." . . . "There are no such sceptics and cavillers there, as in other places." p. 496. In 1669, another observer writes: "En Espagne les Religieux sont les maîtres, et l'emportent par tout où ils se trouvent." *Voyages faits en divers Temps en Espagne*, Amsterdam, 1700, p. 35. And, to quote one more authority, the following picture is given of Spanish society in the reign of Philip IV: "No habia familia con quien no estuvieran entroncados los frailes por amistad ó parentesco; ni casa que les cerrara sus puertas; ni conversacion en que no se les cediera la palabra; ni mesa en que no se les obligara á ocupar la primera silla; ni resolucion grave entre ricos ó pobres que se adoptara sin su consejo; y si no tomaban parte en elles, las satisfacciones domésticas no eran cabales." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 94.

[122] "Le cardinal de Richelieu, qui n'étoit pas très susceptible de pitié, l'appelle 'le plus hardi et le plus barbare conseil dont l'histoire de tous les siècles précédens fasse mention.'" *Sismondi, Histoire des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 163, Paris, 1839.

[123] "Porque los Reyes queriendo, que en todo el Reino fuesen Christianos, embiaron á Frai Francisco Ximenez, que fue Arzobispo de Toledo i Cardenal, para que los persuadiese. Mas ellos, gente dura, pertinaz, nuevamente conquistada, estuvier onrecios." *Mendoza, Guerra de Granada que hizo Felipe II. contra los Moriscos*, Valencia, 1776, 4to, p. 10. The author of this book was born early in the sixteenth century, at Granada, where he lived for a considerable period.

[124] "L'année 1526 vit donc disparaître dans toutes les parties de l'Espagne les signes extérieurs de l'islamisme." *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, Paris, 1846, vol. ii. p. 220. M. Lafuente (*Historia de España*, vol. x. p. 132) says of 1502, that "desde entonces, por primera vez al cabo de ocho siglos, no quedó un solo habitante en España

[* Causes "far more potent" than a "stupendous" act must have been potent indeed. As is fully shown below, the expulsion of the Moriscoes did for the industrial life of Spain what the other work of the Inquisition had done for the intellectual. It was thus a main factor in the decay of Spain.—ED.]

baptized, it was held that they belonged to the Church, and were amenable to her discipline.[125] That discipline was administered by the Inquisition, which, during the rest of the sixteenth century, subjected these new Christians, or Moriscoes, as they were now called,[126] to the most barbarous treatment. The genuineness of their forced conversion was doubted ; it therefore became the business of the Church to inquire into their sincerity.[127] The civil government lent its aid ; and among other enactments an edict was issued by Philip II. in 1566, ordering the Moriscoes to abandon everything which by the slightest possibility could remind them of their former religion. They were commanded, under severe penalties, to learn Spanish, and to give up all their Arabic books. They were forbidden to read their native language, or to write it, or even to speak it in their own houses. Their ceremonies and their very games were strictly prohibited. They were to indulge in no amusements which had been practised by their fathers ; neither were they to wear such clothes as they had been accustomed to. Their women were to go unveiled ; and as bathing was a heathenish custom, all public baths were to be destroyed, and even all baths in private houses.[128]

By these and similar measures[129] these unhappy people were at length goaded

que esteriormente diera culto á Mahoma : " but in vol. xi. p. 447, he says that, in 1524, " volvieron inmediatamente á sus ritos y ceremonias muslímicas." As M. de Circourt was well acquainted with all the materials used by M. Lafuente, and is, moreover, a much more critical writer, it seems likely that his statement is the correct one.

[125] " Ces malheureux auraient tous été exterminés, s'ils n'avaient consenti à recevoir le baptême. Au milieu des décombres de leurs maisons, sur les cadavres fumans de leurs femmes, ils s'agenouillèrent. Les germanos, ivres de sang, firent l'office de prêtres ; l'un d'eux prit un balai, aspergea la foule des musulmans, en prononçant les paroles sacramentelles, et crut avoir fait des chrétiens. L'armée des germanos se répandit ensuite dans le pays environnant, saccageant d'abord, baptisant après." *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 175. See also p. 202.

[126] That was their general name ; but, in Aragon, they were termed " ' tornadizos,' en lenguage insultante." *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos de España*, Madrid, 1857, p. 26.

[127] " Recibieron el Sacramento por comodidad, no de voluntad, y asi encubrian todo lo possible el viuir y morir en la secta de Mahoma, siendo infieles apostatas." *Vanderhammen's Filipe Segundo*, p. 12. " Porque la Inquisicion los comenzó á apretar mas de lo ordinario." *Mendoza, Guerra de Granada*, p. 20. " Poner nuevo cuidado i diligencia en descubrir los motivos destos hombres." p. 26. And yet this very writer has the impudence to declaim against Mohammedanism as a cruel religion. " Cruel i abominable religion aplacar á Dios con vida i sangre inocente ! " pp. 107, 108.

[128] Vanderhammen (*Filipe Segundo*, p. 12, Madrid, 1632) merely tells us that " Por cedula el año sesenta y seis les mandó dexassen el habito, lengua y costumbres de Moros, y fuessen Christianos y lo pareciessen." But the exact provisions were, "Que dentro de tres años aprendiesen los moriscos á hablar la lengua castellana, ye de allí adelante ninguno pudiese hablar, leer ni escribir arábigo en publico ni en secreto: que todos los contratos que se hiciesen en arábigo fuesen nulos : que todos los libros así escritos los llevasen en término de treinta dias al presidente de la audiencia de Granada para que los mandase examinar, devolviendoseles aquellos queno ofriecieran inconveniente para que los pudiesen guardar solo durante los tres años : que no se hicieran de nuevo marlotas, almalafas, calzas ni otra suerte de vestidos de los que se usaban en tiempos de moros ; que durante este tiempo, las mujeres vestidas á la morisca llevarian la cara descubier ta ; que no usasen de las ceremonias ni de los regocijos moros en las bodas, sino conforme al uso de la Santa Madre Iglesia, abriendo las puertas de sus casas en tales dias, y tambien en los de fiesta, no haciendo zambras ni leylas con instrumentos ni cantares moriscos, aunque no dijesen en ellos cosas contraria á la religion cristiana," &c. *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, pp. 31, 32, where other particulars will be found, which should be compared with *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 278, 283, 459-463.

[129] Some of the other steps which were taken before 1566 to affront the Moriscoes are enumerated in *Prescott's History of Philip II.*, vol. iii. p. 10, and elsewhere. In the reign of Charles V. there were many acts of local tyranny which escape the general his-

into rebellion ; and in 1568 they took the desperate step of measuring their force against that of the whole Spanish monarchy. The result could hardly be doubted ; but the Moriscoes, maddened by their sufferings, and fighting for their all, protracted the contest till 1571, when the insurrection was finally put down.[130] By this unsuccessful effort they were greatly reduced in numbers and in strength ; and during the remaining twenty-seven years of the reign of Philip II. we hear comparatively little of them. Notwithstanding an occasional outbreak, the old animosities were subsiding, and in the course of time would probably have disappeared. At all events, there was no pretence for violence on the part of the Spaniards, since it was absurd to suppose that the Moriscoes, weakened in every way, humbled, broken, and scattered through the kingdom, could, even if they desired it, effect anything against the resources of the executive government.

But after the death of Philip II. that movement began which I have just described, and which, contrary to the course of affairs in other nations, secured to the Spanish clergy in the seventeenth century more power than they had possessed in the sixteenth. The consequences of this were immediately apparent. The clergy did not think that the steps taken by Philip II. against the Moriscoes were sufficiently decisive ; and even during his lifetime they looked forward to a new reign, in which these Christians of doubtful sincerity should be either destroyed or driven from Spain.[131] While he was on the throne the prudence of the government restrained in some degree the eagerness of the Church ; and the king, following the advice of his ablest ministers, refused to adopt the measures to which he was urged, and to which his own disposition prompted him.[132] But under his successor the clergy, as we have already seen, gained fresh

torian. One of them, on the part of the Bishop of Guadix, is worth quoting. "On le vit pousser l'intolérance jusqu'à faire raser les femmes et les obliger à racler leurs ongles pour en faire disparaître les traces du henné, cosmétique inoffensif dont il abhorrait l'usage, en raison de ce que les Arabes l'avaient introduit." *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 226.

130 Its concluding scene, in March, 1571, is skilfully depicted in *Prescott's History of Philip III.*, vol. iii. pp. 148–151. The splendid courage of the Moriscoes is attested by Mendoza in his contemporary history of the war ; but, in narrating the horrible outrages which they undoubtedly committed, he makes no allowance for the long-continued and insufferable provocations which they had received from the Spanish Christians. What he mentions of one of the battles is curious, and I do not remember to have seen it elsewhere recorded. "Fue porfiado por ambas partes el combate hasta venir á las espadas, de que los Moros se aprovechan menos que nosotros, por tener las suyas un filo i no herir ellos de punta." *Mendoza, Guerra de Granada*, edit. 4to, Valencia, 1776, p. 168.

131 An instance of this was exhibited in 1578, on the very day in which Philip III. was born. "Predicando en un lugar de Aragon, todo de Moriscos, llamado Ricla, ó Torrellas, un religioso, llamado Vargas, el mismo dia que nació su Magestad, viendo el poco fruto que hacia con sus sermones, dixo, como en Profecia, á aquella gente rebelde : Pues no quereis despedir de vuestros pechos esta infernal secta, sabed, que ha nacido en Castilla vn Principe que os ha de echar de España." *Porreño, Dichos y Hechos de Phelipe III.*, in *Yañez, Memorias*, Madrid, 1723, p. 224 : and nearly the same words in *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, p. 60. Mr. Prescott, in his *History of Philip II.*, vol. iii. p. 139, quotes a MS. letter from Don John of Austria to Philip II., written in 1570, and stating that the Spanish monks were openly preaching against the leniency with which the king treated the Moriscoes. "Predicando en los pulpitos publicamente contra la benignidad y clemencia que V. M. ha mandado usar con esta gente."

132 In a recent work of considerable authority, it is denied that Philip II. entertained the desire of expelling the Moriscoes. "El cáracter austero y la severidad de Felipe II. redundaban en favor de los moriscos, porque no daba oidos á las instigaciones de algunos personajes que señalaban la expulsion general como único remedio eficaz para los males que ofrecia al pais aquella desventurada raza. Acababa el monarca de tocar los tristes resultados de una emigracion por las funestas consecuencias de la despoblacion del reino granadino, y preferia continuar en la *senda de la conciliacion*, procurando de nuevo la

strength, and they soon felt themselves sufficiently powerful to begin another and final crusade against the miserable remains of the Moorish nation.[133]

The Archbishop of Valencia was the first to take the field. In 1602 this eminent prelate presented a memorial to Philip III. against the Moriscoes; and finding that his views were cordially supported by the clergy, and not discouraged by the crown, he followed up the blow by another memorial having the same object.[134] The Archbishop, who spoke as one having authority, and who from his rank and position was a natural representative of the Spanish Church, assured the king that all the disasters which had befallen the monarchy had been caused by the presence of these unbelievers, whom it was now necessary to root out, even as David had done to the Philistines, and Saul to the Amalekites.[135] He declared that the Armada which Philip II. sent against England in

enseñanza de los conversos." *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1857, p. 59. But, to say nothing of the fact that this is contrary to all we know of the character of Philip, we have on the other side of the question the testimony of Archbishop Ribera, who had often communicated with the king on the subject, and who distinctly states that Philip desired the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. "El hechar los Moros deste Reyno, ha sido cosa muy desseada, y procurada por los Reyes Predecessores del Rey nuestro Señor, aunque no executada." . . . "El Rey Don Felipe Segundo, nuestro Señor, despues de suceder en estos Reynos, *tuvo el mismo desseo*; y assi mandó, que se juntassen los Prelados deste Reyno para buscar remedio el año de 1568; siendo Arçobispo desta Metropoli el Reverendissimo Don Hernando de Lloazes. Hizieronse en aquella Junta álgunas Constituciones de consideracion. Visto que no aprovechaban, mando el año 1587 que se hiziesse ortra Junta, *en la qual me hallé yo*: añadimos tambien algunas nuevas Constituciones. Y constando á su Magestad que no eran bastantes las diligencias passadas, y que siempre perseveraban en su heregia, se resolvió de mandarlos hechar del Reyno, ó por lo menos meterlos dentro de la tierra." *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, Roma, 1734, 4to, pp. 419, 420. This important passage is decisive as to the real feelings of Philip, unless we assume that Ribera has stated a deliberate falsehood. But, strange to say, even the book in which so remarkable a passage is contained appears to be unknown either to M. Janer or to M. Lafuente.

133 "El rey Felipe III., hombre de rudo ingenio, se dejaba gobernar con facilidad por aquellos que sabiendo los temores de su conciencia, se aprovechaban de su imbecilidad para conseguir cuanto querian. Muchos eclesiásticos, recordando las espulsiones de judios y moros ejecutadas de órden de Fernando é Isabel, y conociendo que á Felipe III. seria agradable imitar á estos monarcas, le aconsejaron que condenase al destierro á todos los moriscos que vivian en sus reynos; pues no solo se obstinaban en seguir la ley mahometana, sino que tenian tratos con los turcos y entre sí para buscar suslibertades por medio del rigor de las armas." *Castro, Decadencia de España*, Cadiz, 1852, pp. 101, 102.

134 These memorials are printed in the Appendix to his Life by Ximenez. See the very curious book entitled *Vida y Virtudes del Venerable Siervo de Dios D. Juan de Ribera, por el R. P. Fr. Juan Ximenez*, Roma, 1734, 4to, pp. 367–374, 376–393. This work is, I believe, extremely rare; at all events I endeavoured in vain to obtain a copy from Spain or Italy, and after some years' unsuccessful search I met with the one I now have, on a London book-stall. M. de Circourt, in his learned History of the Spanish Arabs, does not appear to have been aware of its existence, and he complains that he could not procure the works of Ribera, whose Memorials he consequently quotes second-hand. *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, Paris, 1846, vol. iii. pp. 168, 351. Nor does Watson seem to have known it: though both he and M. de Circourt refer to Escriva's Life of Ribera. *Watson's Philip III.*, London, 1839, pp. 214–221. An abstract of these Memorials is given by Geddes, who, though a learned and accurate writer, had the mischievous habit of not indicating the sources of his information. *Geddes' Tracts*, London, 1730, vol. i. pp. 60–71.

135 "Por lo qual se puede creer, que nuestro Señor ha querido reservar esta obra tan digna de pecho Real para Vuestra Magestad, como reservó la libertad de su pueblo para Moyses, la entrada de la Tierra de Promission para Josue, la vengança de la injuria antigua de los Amalequitas para Saul, y la victoria de los Filisteos para David."

1588 had been destroyed because God would not allow even that pious enterprise to succeed while those who undertook it left heretics undisturbed at home. For the same reason the late expedition to Algiers had failed; it being evidently the will of Heaven that nothing should prosper while Spain was inhabited by apostates.[136] He, therefore, exhorted the king to exile all the Moriscoes, except some whom he might condemn to work in the galleys, and others who could become slaves, and labour in the mines of America.[137] This, he added, would make the reign of Philip glorious to all posterity, and would raise his fame far above that of his predecessors, who in this matter had neglected their obvious duty.[138]

These remonstrances, besides being in accordance with the known views of

Ximenez, Vida de Ribera, p. 370. Again, p. 377: "Y al primer Rey que tuvo el Mundo, en siendo elegido por Dios, y confirmado en su Reyno, le embia á mandar por un Propheta que destruya á los Amalequitas, sin dexar hombres, ni mugeres, ni niños, aunque sean de leche, en fin que no quede rastro de ellos, ni de sus haziendas. Y porque no cumplio exactamente su mandamiento, cayó en indignacion de Dios, y fue privado del Reyno. Al segundo Rey, que fue David, le mandó Dios en siendo jurado, que destruyesse los Philisteos, como lo hizo."

[136] "El año quando se perdio la poderosa Armada, que iba á Inglaterra, confiado de la benignidad del Rey nuestro Señor, que está en el Cielo, me atrevi con el zelo de fiel vassallo y Capellan, á dezir á Su Magestad; que aviendo gastado mucho tiempo en discurrir, que causa podia aver para que Dios, nuestro Señor, permitiesse aquel mal sucesso, se me havia ofrecido una cosa de mucha consideracion, y era, querer dezir la Magestad Divina á Su Magestad Catolica; que mientras no ponia remedio en estas Heregias de España, cuyos Reynos le avia encomendado, no se debia ocupar en remediar las de los Reynos agenos. Y ahora confiando en la misma benignidad, y clemencia de Vuestra Magestad, me atrevo tambien á dezir, que aviendo considerado la causa, porque Dios nos ha quitado de las manos la toma de Argel, aviendose dispuesto todas las prevenciones para ella con la mayor prudencia, y sagacidad, que hemos visto en nuestros tiempos, y sirviendonos el mar, y los ayres, y las ocasiones, de la manera, que podiamos dessear, tengo por sin duda, que ha sido, querer nuestro Señor dar á Vuestra Magestad el ultimo recuerdo de la obligacion, que tiene, de resolver esta platica." *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, p. 373. It would be a pity if such admirable specimens of theological reasoning were to remain buried in an old Roman quarto. I congratulate myself and the reader on my acquisition of this volume, which is a vast repertory of powerful though obsolete weapons.

[137] "Todas estas cosas, y otras muchas, que dexo de dezir, por no ser prolixo, me hazen evidencia, de que conviene para el servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, y que Vuestra Magestad está obligado en conciencia, como Rey, y Supremo Señor, á quien toca de justicia defender, y conservar sus Reynos, mandar desterrar de España todos estos Moriscos, sin que quede hombre, ni muger grande, ni pequeño; reservando tan solamente los niños, y niñas, que no llegaren á siete años, para que se guarden entre nosotros, repartiendolos por las casas particulares de Christianos viejos. Y aun hay opinion de personas doctas, que estos tales niños y niñas, los puede Vuestra Magestad dar por esclavos, y lo fundan con razones probables." *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, pp. 379, 380. "Destos que se han de desterrar, podrá Vuestra Magestad tomarlos que fuere servido por esclavos, para proveer sus Galeras, ó para embiar á las minas de las Indias, sin escrupulo alguno de conciencia, lo que tambien será de no poca utilidad." p. 384. To do this was to be merciful; for they all deserved capital punishment, "merecian pena capital." p. 381.

[138] "Aora, Catolica Magestad, vemos que Dios nuestro Señor ha reservado para Vuestra Magestad, y para su Real Corona, el nombre, y hechos de Rey Catholico: permitiendo por sus secretos juizios, que los que han sido siempre enemigos de su Iglesia se conserven, y que los que antes eran Catholicos, ayan degenerado, y apostatado de su santa ley y assi va la honra de Dios nuestro Señor, y el exemplo, y confusion de los otros Reyes, en que Vuestra Magestad tenga sus Reynos limpios de Hereges, y principalmente á España. Y quando esto huviesse de costar grandes trabajos, y todo el oro, y plata, que hay en las Indias, estaria muy bien empleado: pues se atraviessa la honra de Dios, la de su Santa Iglesia, el antiguo renombre desta Corona," &c. *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, p. 382. And on the neglect of duty by Charles V. and Philip II., see p. 370.

the Spanish Church, were warmly supported by the personal influence of the Archbishop of Toledo, the primate of Spain. In only one respect did he differ from the views advocated by the Archbishop of Valencia. The Archbishop of Valencia thought that children under seven years of age need not share in the general banishment, but might, without danger to the faith, be separated from their parents, and kept in Spain. To this the Archbishop of Toledo strongly objected. He was unwilling, he said, to run the risk of pure Christian blood being polluted by infidels ; and he declared that sooner than leave one of these unbelievers to corrupt the land, he would have the whole of them, men, women, and children, at once put to the sword.[139]

That they should all be slain, instead of being banished, was the desire of a powerful party in the Church, who thought that such signal punishment would work good by striking terror into the heretics of every nation. Bleda, the celebrated Dominican, one of the most influential men of his time, wished this to be done, and to be done thoroughly. He said that for the sake of example every Morisco in Spain should have his throat cut, because it was impossible to tell which of them were Christians at heart, and it was enough to leave the matter to God, who knew his own, and who would reward in the next world those who were really Catholics.[140]

It was evident that the fate of the wretched remnant of a once splendid nation was now sealed. The religious scruples of Philip III. forbade him to struggle with the Church ; and his minister Lerma would not risk his own authority by even the show of opposition. In 1609 he announced to the king that the expulsion of the Moriscoes had become necessary. "The resolution," replied Philip, "is a great one ; let it be executed."[141] And executed it was, with unflinching barbarity. About one million of the most industrious inhabitants of Spain were hunted out like wild beasts, because the sincerity of their religious

[139] "The most powerful promoter of their expulsion was Don Bernardo de Roias y Sandoval, Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and Inquisitor-General and Chancellor of Spain. This great prelate, who was brother to the Duke of Lerma, by whom the king for some years before and for some years after the expulsion was absolutely governed, was so zealous to have the whole race of the Moriscoes extinguished, that he opposed the detaining of their children who were under seven years of age ; affirming that of the two he judged it more advisable to cut the throats of all the Moriscoes, men, women, and children, than to have any of their children left in Spain, to defile the true Spanish blood with a mixture of the Moorish." *Geddes' Tracts*, vol. i. pp. 85, 86. Navarrete has pronounced a glowing eulogy upon the piety and other noble qualities of this prelate ; and says that "llenando de esplendor con su virtud tres sillas episcopales, mereció que Clemente VIII. le honrase con el capelo, y fué elevado á la primada de Toledo, y al empleo de inquisidor general." *Vida de Cervantes*, pp. xcvii. xcviii., Barcelona, 1839.

[140] "He did assure all the old Christian laity that whenever the king should give the word, they might, without any scruple of conscience, cut the throats of all the Moriscoes, and not spare any of them upon their professing themselves Christians ; but to follow the holy and laudable example of the Croisado that was raised against the Albigenses, who, upon their having made themselves masters of the city of Bezeir, wherein were two hundred thousand Catholics and hereticks, did ask Father Arnold, a Cistercian monk, who was their chief preacher, 'Whether they should put any to the sword that pretended to be Catholics ;' and were answered by the holy Abbot, 'That they should kill all without distinction, and leave it to God, who knew his own, to reward them for being true Catholicks in the next world ;' which was accordingly executed." *Geddes*, vol. i. p. 84.

[141] "'Grande resolucion !' contesto el débil monarca al ministro favorito : 'hacedlo vos, duque.'" *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. p. 375. But this reply, so far from being a mark of weakness on the part of Philip, was a strictly logical application of the principles which he entertained, and which indeed were almost universal in Spain. We know from his contemporary biographer that "Determinó el Rey en los principios de su Reynado, como Rey tan poderoso y Catolico, de consagrar y dedicar á Dios la potencia de sus Consejos y Armas para extinguir y acabar los enemigos de la Iglesia Santa." *Davila, Historia de la Vida de Felipe Tercero*, lib. i. p. 44.

opinions was doubtful.[142] Many were slain as they approached the coast; others were beaten and plundered; and the majority, in the most wretched plight, sailed for Africa. During the passage, the crew, in many of the ships, rose upon them, butchered the men, ravished the women, and threw the children into the sea. Those who escaped this fate landed on the coast of Barbary, where they were attacked by the Bedouins and many of them put to the sword. Others made their way into the desert, and perished from famine. Of the number of lives actually sacrificed we have no authentic account; but it is said, on very good authority, that in one expedition, in which 140,000 were carried to Africa, upwards of 100,000 suffered death in its most frightful forms within a few months after their expulsion from Spain.[143]

Now, for the first time, the Church was really triumphant.[144] For the first time there was not a heretic to be seen between the Pyrenees and the Straits of Gibraltar. All were orthodox, and all were loyal. Every inhabitant of that great country obeyed the Church, and feared the king. And from this happy combination it was believed that the prosperity and grandeur of Spain were sure to follow. The name of Philip III. was to be immortal, and posterity would never weary of admiring that heroic act by which the last remains of an infidel race were cast out from the land. Those who had even remotely participated in the glorious consummation were to be rewarded by the choicest blessings. Themselves and their families were under the immediate protection of Heaven. The earth should bear more fruit, and the trees should clap their hands. Instead of the thorn should come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier, the myrtle. A new era was now inaugurated, in which Spain, purged of her heresy, was to be at ease, and men, living in safety, were to sleep under the shade of their own

[142] This is the average estimate. Some authors make it less, and some more; while one writer says, "The numbers expelled have been estimated at four hundred thousand families, or two millions of souls." *Clarke's Internal State of Spain*, London, 1818, p. 33. But this is incredible. M. Castro (*Decadencia de España*, Cadiz, 1852, p. 105) says, "España perdió en los moriscos un millon de habitantes;" and M. Janer (*Condicion de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1857, p. 93), "Sin entrar en cálculos sobre los que habia cuando se expidió el edicto de Valencia en 1609, ni sobre los que fenecieron en las rebeliones, de mano armada, de sed, de hambre ó ahogados, creemos poder fijar, aproximadamente, en novecientos mil los que llegaron á poner el pie fuera de la península, despidiéndose para siempre de las costas y fronteras de España, cuya cifra deducimos del exámen y contexto de unos y otros escritores, de las listas que nos han quedado de los expulsos, de los datos de diversas relaciones, estados y documentos examinados con este solo intento;" and further on, p. 105, "la expulsion de un millon, ó novecientos mil de sus habitantes." Llorente (*Histoire de l'Inquisition*, vol. iii. p. 430, Paris, 1818) says, "un million d'habitans utiles et laborieux;" Ximenez (*Vida de Ribera*, Roma, 1734, 4to, p. 70), "novecientos mil;" and Boisel, who was in Spain fifty years after the expulsion, and collected the traditionary evidence, says, "Il sortit neuf cens tant de mille hommes de compte fait, de Valence, d'Andalousie, et de Castille." *Boisel, Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1669, 4to, p. 275.

[143] *Watson's Philip III.*, pp. 234, 235. *Davila, Vida de Felipe III.*, p. 146. *Yanez, Memorias para la Historia de Felipe III.*, pp. 281, 290. *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, pp. 83, 84, 90. Some particulars respecting their expulsion may also be seen in Cottington's Letters from Madrid, which were written in 1609, but are of very little value. *Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. iii. pp. 73, 91, 103, 118, London, folio, 1725.

[144] In a contemporary sermon in commemoration of their expulsion, the preacher joyfully exclaims, "Pues, que mayor honra podemos tener en este Reyno, que ser todos los que vivimos en el, fieles á Dios, y al Rey, sin compañia de estos Hereges y traydores?" *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, p. 423. Another clergyman cries out, "Al fin salieron estos, y quedó la tierra libre de la infamia de esta gente." *Davila, Vida de Felipe Tercero*, p. 149. See also p. 151. "Y es digno de poner en consideracion el zelo que los Reyes de España tuvieron en todo tiempo de sustentar la Fé Catolica; pues en diferentes expulsiones que han hecho, han sacado de sus Reynos tres millones de Moros, y dos millones de Judios, enemigos de nuestra Iglesia."

vineyards, sow their gardens in peace, and eat of the fruit of the trees they had planted.[145]

These were the promises held out by the Church, and believed by the people. It is our business to inquire how far the expectations were fulfilled, and what the consequences were of an act which was instigated by the clergy, welcomed by the nation, and eagerly applauded by some of the greatest men of genius Spain has produced.[146]

[145] See the sermon by the Archbishop of Valencia, printed at length in the Appendix to *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, pp. 411–428. I would fain quote it all; but the reader must be content with part of the peroration, pp. 426, 427. "Entre las felizidades, que cuenta el Espiritu Santo que tuvieron los hijos de Israel en el govierno del Rey Salomon, es una; que vivian los hombres seguros, durmiendo á la sombra de su parra, y de su higuera, sin tener de quien temer. *Assi estarémos en este Reyno de aqui adelante*, por la misericordia de nuestro Señor, y paternal providencia de Su Magestad, todo nos sobrará, y la misma tierra se fertilizará y dará fruto de bendicion. Brocardico es, de que todos usabades, diziendo que despues, que estos se bautizaron, no se avia visto un año fertil; *aora todos lo seran*, porque las heregias y blasfemias de estos tenian esterilizada, abrasada, y inficionada la tierra, como dixo el Real Propheta David, con tantos pecados y abominaciones." . . . "Y edificarán en las tierras, que antes eran desiertas, plantando viñas, y bebiendo el vino de ellas, y sembrarán huertas, y comeran del fruto de los arboles, que han plantado, y nunca seran hechados de sus casas, dize Dios. Todo esto promete nuestro Señor por dos Prophetas suyos. *Todo (digo otra vez) nos sobrará.*" All this was to happen to the people; while, as to the king, he, in the same sermon, p. 416, is likened to David; and it was declared by another high authority that his expulsion of the Moriscoes was so great an exploit ("hazaña"), that "durára su memoria por los venideros siglos." *Porreño*, in *Yanez, Memorias para Felipe III.*, p. 281.

[146] "Amidst the devout exultation of the whole kingdom,—Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and others of the principal men of genius then alive, joining in the general jubilee." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i, pp. 428, 429. Compare *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 16. Porreño says that it may be placed among the seven wonders of the world; "la podemos poner entre las siete maravillas del mundo." *Yañez, Memorias*, p. 297: and Davila (*Vida de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. cap. 41, p. 139) pronounces it to be the most glorious achievement which had been seen since the days of Pelayo. All this is natural enough; but what is really curious is to trace the modern remains of this feeling. Campomanes (*Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iv. p. 130, Madrid, 1777), a very able man, and far more liberal than most of his countrymen, is not ashamed to speak of "la justa expulsion de los moriscos desde 1610 á 1613." Ortiz, in 1801, expresses himself with more hesitation, but is evidently in favour of a measure which liberated Spain from "la perniciosa semilla de Mahoma que restaba en ella." *Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. vi. pp. 304, 305. Nay, even in 1856, the great modern historian of Spain, while admitting the serious material injury which this horrible crime inflicted on the country, assures us that it had the "immense advantage" of producing religious unity; unable to perceive that the very unity of which he boasts, generates an acquiescence and stagnation of mind fatal to all real improvement, because it prevents that play and collision of opinions by which the wits of men are sharpened and made ready for use. "Con la expulsion se completó el principio de la unidad religiosa en España, que fué un bien inmenso, pero se consumó la ruina de la agricultura, que fué un inmenso mal." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xvii. p. 340, Madrid, 1856. And, the year after this sagacious sentiment had been given to the world, another eminent Spaniard, in a work crowned by the Royal Academy of History, went still further, and declared, that not only did the expulsion of the Moriscoes cause great benefit by securing unity of creed, but that such unity was "necessary on the Spanish soil." "Y si bajo el aspecto económico reprobamos semejante medida por la influencia perniciosa que tuvo desde el momento de dictarse, la imparcialidad de historiadores nos obliga á respetarla por los inmensos bienes que produjo en el órden religioso y en el órden político." . . . "La unidad religiosa era necesaria en el suelo español." *Janer, Condicion Social de los Moriscos de España*, Madrid, 1857, pp. 110, 114. What are we to think of a country in which these opinions are expressed, not by some obscure fanatic, from the platform or

The effects upon the material prosperity of Spain may be stated in a few words. From nearly every part of the country large bodies of industrious agriculturists and expert artificers were suddenly withdrawn. The best systems of husbandry then known were practised by the Moriscoes, who tilled and irrigated with indefatigable labour.[147] The cultivation of rice, cotton, and sugar, and the manufacture of silk and paper, were almost confined to them.[148] By their expulsion all this was destroyed at a blow, and most of it was destroyed for ever. For the Spanish Christians considered such pursuits beneath their dignity. In their judgment war and religion were the only two avocations worthy of being followed. To fight for the king, or to enter the Church, was honourable; but everything else was mean and sordid.[149] When, therefore, the Moriscoes were thrust out of Spain there was no one else to fill their place; arts and manufactures either degenerated or were entirely lost, and immense regions of arable land were left uncultivated. Some of the richest parts of Valencia and Granada were so neglected that means were wanting to feed even the scanty population which remained there.[150] Whole districts were suddenly deserted, and down to the present day have never been repeopled. These

the pulpit, but by able and learned men, who promulgate them with all the authority of their position, being themselves deemed, if anything, rather too bold and too liberal for the people to whom they address their works?

[147] "Los moros eran muy diestros en todo lo que mira á obras de agua." *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iii. p. cvii. "The Moors were the most intelligent agriculturists Spain ever had." *Laborde's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 216. Even Jovellános admits that "except in the parts occupied by the Moors, the Spaniards were almost totally unacquainted with the art of irrigation." *Clarke's Internal State of Spain*, p. 116. See also *Circourt, Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. i. p. 255, vol. ii. p. 12, vol. iii. pp. 162, 222; *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171; and *Townsend's Spain*, vol. iii. p. 74. Remains of their splendid aqueducts still exist. *Hoskins' Spain*, vol. i. pp. 120, 125, 291, 292. Compare *Spain by an American*, vol. ii. p. 112, with *L'Estat de l'Espagne*, Geneve, 1681, p. 399.

[148] Compare *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, pp. 47, 48, with *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iii. p. xxii., and *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 13.

[149] The more sensible among the Spaniards notice, with regret, this national contempt for every form of useful industry. See *Campomanes, Educacion Popular*, p. 128, and *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. pp. 277, 278. A traveller in Spain in 1669, says of the people, "ils méprisent tellement le travail, que la plûpart des artisans sont étrangers." *Voyages faits en divers Temps par M. M*****, Amsterdam, 1700, p. 80. Another traveller, between 1693 and 1695, says, they "think it below the dignity of a Spaniard to labour and provide for the future." *Travels by a Gentleman* (by Bromley?), London, 1702, p. 35. A third observer, in 1679, assures us that "ils souffrent plus aisément la faim et les autres necessitez de la vie, que de travailler, disent-ils, comme des mercenaires, ce qui n'appartient qu'à des Esclaves." *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. pp. 369, 370. For further illustrations of this, see *Labat, Voyages en Espagne*, Paris, 1730, vol. i. pp. 285, 286. *Capmany, Qüestiones Criticas*, pp. 43, 49, 50. *Laborde's Spain*, vol. i. p. l. *Ranke's Spanish Empire*, p. 103. *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 240, 241.

[150] "Pudo, pues, decirse con razon de nuestra patria, que de Arabia Felíz se habia convertido en Arabia Desierta, y de Valencia en particular, que el bello jardin de España se habia convertido en páramo seco y deslucido. Dejóse en breve sentir en todas partes el azote del hambre; y al alegre bullicio de las poblaciones sucedio el melancolico silencio de los despoblados, y al frecuente cruzar de los labradores y trajineros por los caminos siguió el peligroso encuentro de los salteadores que los infestaban, abrigándose en las ruinas de los pueblos desiertos." *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, p. 100. See also *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 16. Campomanes says, "El gran número de artesanos, que salieron con la expulsion de los moriscos, causó un golpe mortal á las manufacturas, y á la labranza." *Apendice a la Educacion Popular*, vol. i. p. 13. And p. 268, "El punto de decadencia de nuestras manufacturas, puede fixarse desde el año de 1609, en que tubo principio la expulsion de los Moriscos."

solitudes gave refuge to smugglers and brigands, who succeeded the industrious inhabitants formerly occupying them; and it is said that from the expulsion of the Moriscoes is to be dated the existence of those organized bands of robbers which after this period became the scourge of Spain, and which no subsequent government has been able entirely to extirpate.[151]

To these disastrous consequences others were added, of a different, and if possible of a still more serious kind. The victory gained by the Church increased both her power and her reputation. During the rest of the seventeenth century, not only were the interests of the clergy deemed superior to the interests of laymen, but the interests of laymen were scarcely thought of. The greatest men, with hardly an exception, became ecclesiastics, and all temporal considerations, all views of earthly policy, were despised and set at nought. No one inquired; no one doubted; no one presumed to ask if all this was right. The minds of men succumbed and were prostrate. While every other country was advancing, Spain alone was receding.* Every other country was making some addition to knowledge, creating some art, or enlarging some science. Spain, numbed into a death-like torpor, spell-bound and entranced by the accursed superstition which preyed on her strength, presented to Europe a solitary instance of constant decay. For her no hope remained; and before the close of the seventeenth century the only question was by whose hands the blow should be struck which would dismember that once mighty empire, whose shadow had covered the world, and whose vast remains were imposing even in their ruin.

To indicate the different steps which mark the decline of Spain would be hardly possible, since even the Spaniards, who, when it was too late, were stung with shame, have abstained from writing what would only be the history of their own humiliation; so that there is no detailed account of the wretched reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II., which together comprise a period of nearly eighty years.[152] Some facts, however, I have been able to collect, and they

[151] "Sur la carte d'Espagne, en mille endroits est inscrit ce funeste mot, *despoblado*; en mille endroits la nature sauvage a repris la place des cultures. Etudiez la direction des despoblados, et consultez les registres des commissaires de l'expulsion, vous verrez presque toujours que les familles morisques couvraient ces solitudes. Leur patrimoine abandonné forma le domaine des voleurs, qui établirent avec une sorte de sécurité leurs correspondances effrontées à travers toute l'Espagne. Le brigandage s'organisa comme une profession ordinaire; et la contrebande, sa compagne, leva le front avec autant d'audace, autant de succès." *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. iii. pp. 227, 228.

[152] "Declinó pues muy sensiblemente la vasta monarquía, y callaron atonitos los historiadores, como huyendo la necesidad de traer á la memoria lo que veian y apenas creian. Enmudeció pues la historia de España en los dos reynados de Felipe IV. y Carlos II. viendo continuaba nuestra decadencia, hasta quedar España al nivel de los menos poderosos Estados de Europa. Este silencio nos ha privado de saber no solo las causas de nuestra decadencia, sino tambien de los acontecimientos civiles y militares del siglo xvii." *Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. vi., Prologo, p. i. No attempt was made to supply the deficiency complained of by Ortiz until 1856, when M. Lafuente published, in Madrid, the sixteenth and seventeenth volumes of his History of Spain, which contain the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II. Of this work I have no desire to speak disrespectfully; on the contrary, it is impossible to read it without interest, on account of the admirable clearness with which the different topics are arranged, and also on account of its beautiful style, which reminds us of the best days of Castilian prose. But I feel constrained to say that as a history, and especially as a history which undertakes to investigate the causes of the decline of Spain, it is a complete failure. In the first place, M. Lafuente has not emancipated himself from those very prejudices to which the decline of his country is owing. And in the second place he has, particularly in the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II., not used sufficient diligence

[* This is contradicted by the account previously given of the state of France under Louis XIV. And Germany, of course, "receded" in the Thirty Years' War.—Ed.]

are very significant. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the population of Madrid was estimated to be 400,000 ; at the beginning of the eighteenth century less than 200,000.[153] Seville, one of the richest cities in Spain, possessed in the sixteenth century upwards of sixteen thousand looms, which gave employment to a hundred and thirty thousand persons.[154] By the reign of Philip V. these sixteen thousand looms had dwindled away to less than three hundred ; [155] and in a report which the Cortes made to Philip IV., in 1662, it is stated that the city contained only a quarter of its former number of inhabitants, and that even the vines and olives cultivated in its neighbourhood, and which comprised a considerable part of its wealth, were almost entirely neglected.[156] Toledo, in the middle of the sixteenth century, had upwards of fifty woollen manufactories ; in 1665 it had only thirteen, almost the whole of the trade having been carried away by the Moriscoes, and established at Tunis.[157] Owing to the same cause the art of manufacturing silk, for which Toledo was celebrated, was entirely lost, and nearly forty thousand persons who depended on it were deprived of their means of support.[158] Other branches

in searching for materials for studying the economical changes through which Spain has passed. Looking too intently at the surface, he mistakes symptoms for causes ; so that the real history of the Spanish people everywhere escapes his grasp. As the object to which my studies are directed compels me to contemplate affairs from a larger and more general point of view than he has done, it naturally happens that the conclusions at which we arrive are very different ; but I wish to bear my testimony, whatever it may be worth, to the great merit of his book as a work of art, though as a work of science it appears to me that he has effected nothing, and has thrown no new light on the real history of that unfortunate albeit once splendid nation, of which his eloquence, his learning, and his taste, make him one of the chiefest ornaments.

153 See *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 320; and the interesting calculations in *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, Madrid, 1757, folio, pp. 35, 36. Owing to the ignorance which formerly prevailed respecting statistics, such estimates are necessarily imperfect ; but after the desolation of Spain in the seventeenth century, an extraordinary diminution in the population of the capital was inevitable. Indeed, a contemporary of Charles II. states that in 1699, Madrid had only 150,000 inhabitants. *Mémoires de Louville*, Paris, 1818, vol. i. p. 72. This account is taken from "un mémoire manuscrit, en langue espagnole, trouvé dans les papiers du marquis de Louville," p. 67.

154 Capmany (*Qüestiones Criticas*, p. 30), who seems to have written his able but not very accurate work for the express purpose of concealing the decline of his country, has given these figures erroneously. My information is derived from an official report made in 1701 by the trade-corporations ("gremios") of Seville. "Fijan la época de la ruina de nuestras fábricas desde el reynado de Felipe II. y añaden 'haber llegado á tener solo en esta ciudad el arte mayor, y menor de la sede, el número de mas de diez y seis mil telares, ye s ocupaban en los exercicios adherentes á él, mas de ciento treinta mil personas de ambos sexos.'" *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. i. p. 473, Madrid, 1775. See also *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, p. 14, "diez y seis mil telares ;" where, however, no authority is quoted.

155 "El principal origen y causa de que los 16,000 telares de seda, lana, oro y plata, que se contaban en Sevilla, se hallen oy reducidos á menos de 300." *Uztariz, Theorica de Comercio*, p. 243.

156 *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 52, who refers to the report of the Cortes published by Alonso Nunez de Castro.

157 *Laborde's Spain*, vol. iv. p. 338, where it is also said that Tunis became, in consequence of the expulsion of the Moriscoes, famous for the manufacture of caps, which "were subsequently imitated at Orleans." Compare, on the cap-manufactories of Tunis, a note in *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iv. p. 249.

158 "Tolède où se mettaient en œuvre 435,000 livres de soie, avait déjà perdu ce travail, qui suffisait autrefois à l'existence de 38,484 personnes. La population de cette ville avait éprouvé un tiers de diminution, et vingt-cinq maisons de ses familles les plus illustres étaient passées dans le domaine de divers couvens." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 50.

of industry shared the same fate. In the sixteenth century, and early in the seventeenth, Spain enjoyed great repute for the manufacture of gloves, which were made in enormous quantities, and shipped to many parts, being particularly valued in England and France, and being also exported to the Indies. But Martinez de Mata, who wrote in the year 1655, assures us that at that time this source of wealth had disappeared; the manufacture of gloves having quite ceased, though formerly, he says, it had existed in every city in Spain.[159] In the once-flourishing province of Castile everything was going to ruin. Even Segovia lost its manufactures, and retained nothing but the memory of its former wealth.[160] The decay of Burgos was equally rapid; the trade of that famous city perished; and the deserted streets and empty houses formed such a picture of desolation, that a contemporary, struck by the havoc, emphatically declared that Burgos had lost everything except its name.[161] In other districts the results were equally fatal. The beautiful provinces of the south, richly endowed by nature, had formerly been so wealthy that their contributions alone sufficed, in time of need, to replenish the imperial treasury; but they now deteriorated with such rapidity, that, by the year 1640, it was found hardly possible to impose a tax on them which would be productive.[162] During the latter half of the

[159] See his interesting essay, reprinted in the appendix to *Campomanes*, vol. iv. p. 251. He says, "La fábrica de los guantes, que tenian pocos años ha todas las ciudades de estos reynos para el consumo de Espana y las Indias, era muy considerable; y se ha destruido, despues que se dió entrada al consumo de guantes estrangeros." Such a statement, made by a contemporary, is unimpeachable; but the reason he assigns is inadequate.

[160] Segovia, as it appeared in 1659, is thus described in *Boisel, Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1669, 4to, p. 186: "Autresfois, cette ville qui paroist assez grande, estoit fort riche, tant à cause que les rois de Castille y demeuroient, qu'à cause du grand commerce des laines et des beaux draps qui s'y faisoient; mais à present le trafic n'y est plus, et on n'y fait plus que fort peu de draps, de sorte que la ville est presque desert et fort pauvre. Une marque de sa pauvreté, du mauvais ordre d'Espagne, et du peu de prévoyance des Espagnols (quoy qu'on dise de leur flegme) c'est que le jour que j'y arrivay jusques à deux heures après midy il n'y avoit point eu de pain en toute la ville, et ils ne s'en étonnoient point." The decline of the silk and wool manufactures of Segovia is also noticed by Martinez de la Mata, who wrote in 1650. See his *Dos Discursos*, edited by Canga, Madrid, 1794, p. 8. Saint Simon, who was there in 1722 says, "A l'égard de leurs laines, j'en vis les manufactures à Ségovie qui me parurent peu de chose et fort tombées de leur ancienne réputation." *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. xxxvii. p. 230, Paris, 1841. Segovia used to be famous for the beautiful colour of its cloth, the dye of which was taken from a shell-fish found in the West Indies, and is supposed to be the same as the purpura of the ancients. See a note in *Dillon's Spain*, Dublin, 1781, pp. 19, 20.

[161] Such is the language of a Spaniard in the middle of the seventeenth century. "Porque á la ciudad de Burgos, cabeza de Castilla, no le ha quedado sino el nombre, ni aun vestigios de sus ruinas; reducida la grandeza de sus tratos, Prior, y Cónsules, y ordenanzas para la conservacion de ellos, á 600 vecinos, que conservan el nombre, y lustre de aquella antigua y noble ciudad, que encerró en sí mas de seis mil, sin la gente suelta, natural, y forastera." *Campomanes, Apendice a la Educacion*, vol. i. p. 453, Madrid, 1775. An intelligent Dutchman, who visited Spain in 1655, says of Burgos, "elle a esté autrefois fort marchande, mais depuis peu, elle a presque perdu tout son commerce." *Aarsens de Sommerdyck, Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1665, 4to, p. 16. To me it certainly appears that facts of this sort have more to do with the real history of Spain than the details of kings, and treaties, and battles, which the Spanish historians love to accumulate.

[162] "Could contribute little to the exigencies of the state." *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 285. Compare *Lamentos Apologéticos*, in *Dos Discursos*, edit. Canga, Madrid, 1794, p. 82, on the state of things in "lo mas fértil de Andalucía." The government first became alive to all this when it found that no more money could be wrung from the people. In May, 1667, a council of state, convoked by the queen, reported that "quant aux ressources qu'on voudrait tirer de l'Espagne, sous forme de dons volontaires ou

seventeenth century matters became still worse, and the poverty and wretchedness of the people surpass all description. In the villages near Madrid the inhabitants were literally famishing; and those farmers who had a stock of food refused to sell it, because, much as they needed money, they were apprehensive of seeing their families perish around them. The consequence was that the capital was in danger of being starved; and ordinary threats producing no effect, it was found necessary in 1664 that the President of Castile, with an armed force, and accompanied by the public executioner, should visit the adjacent villages, and compel the inhabitants to bring their supplies to the markets of Madrid.[163] All over Spain the same destitution prevailed. That once rich and prosperous country was covered with a rabble of monks and clergy, whose insatiate rapacity absorbed the little wealth yet to be found. Hence it happened that the government, though almost penniless, could obtain no supplies. The tax-gatherers, urged to make up the deficiency, adopted the most desperate expedients. They not only seized the beds and all the furniture, but they unroofed the houses, and sold the materials of the roof for whatever they would fetch. The inhabitants were forced to fly; the fields were left uncultivated; vast multitudes died from want and exposure; entire villages were deserted; and in many of the towns upwards of two-thirds of the houses were, by the end of the seventeenth century, utterly destroyed.[164]

autrement, le conseil estime qu'il est bien difficile d'imposer aux peuples des charges nouvelles;" and in November of that same year, at another meeting of the council, a memoir was drawn up stating that "depuis le règne de Don Ferdinand le Catholique jusqu'à ce jour, la monarchie d'Espagne ne s'est pas encore vue si près de sa ruine, si épuisée, si dénuée des ressources nécessaires pour faire face à un grand péril." See extracts from the proceedings of the Councils, published for, I believe, the first time, by M. Mignet, in his *Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 124, 601, Paris, 1835, 4to. See also, in the same valuable work, vol. ii. p. 127, a letter to Louis XIV. from his ambassador at Madrid, dated 2nd June, 1667, and stating that "l'extrémité est ici si grande qu'il se fait une contribution volontaire de tous les particuliers que l'on appelle *donativo*, pour fournir quelque argent présent pour les nécessités publiques."

[163] In 1664, Sir Richard Fanshawe writes from Madrid to Secretary Bennet, "Since my last to you, of yesterday, the President of Castile, having, by the king's special and angry command, gone forth to the neighbouring villages, attended with the hangman, and whatsoever else of terror incident to his place and derogatory to his person, the markets in this town begin to be furnished again plentifully enough." *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, written by herself*, edit. London, 1830, p. 291.

[164] Nothing but the precise and uncontradicted evidence of a contemporary witness could make such things credible. In 1686, Alvarez Osorio y Redin wrote his *Discursos*. They were published in 1687 and 1688; they were reprinted at Madrid in 1775; and from the reprint, pp. 345–348, I extract the following particulars: "Es preciso decir con la mayor brevedad, que pide el asunto, en la forma que los comisionantes continuamente están saqueando todos los lugares, con capa de servir á V. M. Entran en ellos, intiman sus comisiones á las justicias, y ellas les suplican, tengan misericordia de los moradores, que están con mucha necesidad. Y luego que toman el uso, dicen: que á ellos no les toca dispensar en hacer gracias: que traen orden de cobrar con todo rigor las cantidades, que deben los lugares; y tambien dicen han de cobrar sus salarios. Y se van entrando por las casas de los pobres labradores, y demás vecinos; y con mucha cuenta y razon, les quitan el poco dinero, que tienen: y á los que no tienen, les sacan prendas: y donde no las hallan, les quitan las pobres camas, en que duermen: y se detienen en vender las prendas, todo el tiempo que pueden." . . . "Los saquéos referidos van continuando, obligando á los mas vecinos de los lugares, á que se vayan huyendo de sus casas, dexando baldías sus haciendas de campo; y los cobradores no tienen lástima de todas estas miserias, y asolaciones, como si entráran en lugares de enemigos. Las casas, que hallan vacías, si hay quien se las compre, las venden: y quando no pueden venderlas, las quitan los texados; y venden la texa, y madera por qualquier dinero. Con esta destruicion general, no han quedado en pie en los lugares la tercera parte de casas, y se han muerto de necesidad gran multitud de personas. Con lo qual los lugares

In the midst of these calamities the spirit and energy of Spain were extinguished. In every department all power and life disappeared. The Spanish troops were defeated at Rocroy in 1643, and several writers ascribe to that battle the destruction of the military reputation of Spain.[165] This, however, was only one of many symptoms.[166] In 1656 it was proposed to fit out a small fleet; but the fisheries on the coast had so declined that it was found impossible to procure sailors enough to man even the few ships which were required.[167]

no tienen la mitad de familias, que antiguamente habia en España. Y si no se pone remedio á todo referido, será preciso, que la vengan á poblar de otros Reynos."

[165] "Allí acabó aquella antigua milicia española que desde el tiempo de los reyes catolicos habia ganadó tan gloriosos triunfos, siendo el terror de sus enemigos." *Tapia, Civilizacion Espanola*, vol. iii. p. 150, Madrid, 1840. "La batalla de Rocroy, en que el jóven Condé recogió los laureles con que engalanó la dorada cuna del niño Luis XIV., acabó con la reputacion que aun habian podido ir conservando los viejos tercios españoles de Flandres." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xvii. p. 368, Madrid, 1856.

[166] In the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. i. p. 275, Oxford, 1767, folio, I find a letter written by Hopton to Secretary Windebank, dated Madrid, 31st May, 1635. The author of this official communication gives an account of the Spanish troops just raised, and says, "I have observed these levies, and I find the horses are so weak, as the most of them will never be able to go to the rendezvous, and those very hardly gotten, the infantry so unwilling to serve, as they are carried, like galley-slaves, in chains, which serves not the turn, and so far short of the number that was proposed, as they come not to one of three." This was eight years before the battle of Rocroy; after it matters became rapidly worse. A letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, dated Madrid, 18th March, 1649–50, states, that Spanish "affairs are really in huge disorder, and capable of being rendered almost desperate;" and another letter, on 14th April, 1650, "if some miracle do not preserve them, this crown must be speedily destroyed." *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 13, 17, Oxford, 1786. An official Report on the Netherlands presented to Louis XIV. in 1655, declares that the Dutch "considered Spain so weakened as to be out of condition to renew the war within the next one hundred years." *Raumer's History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, illustrated by Original Documents*, London, 1835, vol. i. p. 237. See also *Mignet, Négociations Relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, Paris, 1835–1842, 4to, vol. i. pp. 37, 38, 314, 315, vol. iii. p. 684, vol. iv. p. 218; and *L'Estat de l'Espagne*, Geneve, 1681, pp. 83, 271. "L'Espagne faisant en nos jours plus de pitié que de peur à ceux qu'elle a tenus long-tems dans une crainte perpetuelle, et dans une respectueuse veneration." . . . "Aussi peut-on dire que les Espagnols qui étoient autrefois des lions, ou des véritables hommes et incomparables en valeur, sont maintenant des cerfs, ou des femmes, et enfin des personnes peu propres à la guerre." And finally, the Spanish explanation of all this in *Yañez, Memorias*, Prologo, pp. 148, 149, Madrid, 1723. "La Monarquia de España, cuya decadencia la avia yá Dios decretado desde el año de 1621," etc.; blasphemously ascribing to the Almighty what was the result of their own folly, and obstinately shutting their eyes to the real cause of their ruin.

[167] "A century ago Spain had been as supreme at sea as on land; her ordinary nava force was 140 gallies, which were the terror both of the Mediterranean and Atlantic. But now" (1656), "in consequence of the decline of commerce and fisheries on the coast, instead of the numerous squadrons of the Dorias and Mendozas, which were wont to attend the movements of the first great John of Austria and the Emperor Charles, the present High-Admiral of Spain, and favourite son of its monarch, put to sea with three wretched gallies, which with difficulty escaped from some Algerine corsairs, and were afterwards nearly shipwrecked on the coast of Africa." *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 549. In 1663, "Il n'y avait à Cadix ni vaisseaux ni galères en état d'aller en mer. Les Maures insultaient audacieusement les côtes de l'Andalousie, et prenaient impunément les barques qui se hasardaient à une lieue de la rade. Le duc d'Albuquerque, qui commandait les forces navales, se plaignait hautement de la position humiliante dans laquelle on le laissait. Il avait demandé avec instance qu'on lui donnât des matelots et des soldats pour mettre sur les vaisseaux; mais le Comte de Castrillo, président du

The charts which had been made were either lost or neglected ; and the ignorance of the Spanish pilots became so notorious that no one was willing to trust them.[168] As to the military service, it is stated, in an account of Spain late in the seventeenth century, that most of the troops had deserted their colours, and that the few who were faithful were clothed in rags, received no pay, and were dying of hunger.[169] Another account describes this once mighty kingdom as utterly unprotected ; the frontier towns ungarrisoned ; the fortifications dilapidated and crumbling away ; the magazines without ammunition ; the arsenals empty ; the workshops unemployed ; and even the art of building ships entirely lost.[170]

While the country at large was thus languishing, as if it had been stricken by some mortal distemper, the most horrible scenes were occurring in the capital, under the eyes of the sovereign. The inhabitants of Madrid were starving, and the arbitrary measures which had been adopted to supply them with food could only produce temporary relief. Many persons fell down in the streets exhausted, and died where they fell ; others were seen in the public highway evidently dying, but no one had wherewithal to feed them. At length the people became desperate, and threw off all control. In 1680, not only the workmen of Madrid, but large numbers of the tradesmen, organized themselves

conseil de finances (de la *hacienda*) avait déclaré qu'il n'avait ni argent, ni la possibilité d'en trouver, et conseillait de renoncer à l'armée navale." *Mignet, Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 315, 316, Paris, 1835, 4to, from contemporary manuscripts. Even in 1648, Spain had "become so feeble in point of naval affairs as to be obliged to hire Dutch vessels for carrying on her American commerce." *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 435, London, 1805, 4to. And, to complete the chain of evidence, there is a letter in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 86, Oxford, 1773, folio, written from Madrid in June, 1640, stating that "for ships they have few, mariners fewer, landmen not so many as they need, and, by all signs, money not at all that can be spared." The history of Spain during this period never having been written, I am compelled, in my own justification, to give these and similar passages with a fulness which I fear will weary some readers.

[168] And when they did, it was to their own cost, as Stanhope found, at the beginning of his career as British minister to the court of Madrid, in 1690. See his letter to Lord Shrewsbury, in *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, London, 1840, p. 3. "We were forced into a small port, called Ferrol, three leagues short of the Groyne, and by the ignorance of a Spanish pilot our ships fell foul one with another, and the admiral's ship was on ground for some hours, but got off clear without any damage." Indeed, the Spanish seamen, once the boldest and most skilful navigators in the world, so degenerated that early in the eighteenth century we find it stated as a matter of course that "to form the Spaniard to marine affairs is transporting them into unknown countries." *The History of Cardinal Alberoni*, London, 1719, p. 257.

[169] "Le peu de soldats qui résistaient à la désertion, étaient vêtus de haillons, sans solde, sans pain." *Mémoires de Louville*, edit. Paris, 1818, vol. i. p. 72. "Dans l'état le plus misérable." p. 43. Compare Lafuente, in the reign of Philip IV. (*Historia*, vol. xvi. p. 519), "los soldados peleaban andrajosos y medio desnudos ;" and D'Aulnoy, in 1679 (*Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, vol. i. p. 168), "Il est rare que dans tout un regiment il se trouve deux soldats qui ayent plus d'une chemise."

[170] "Ruinosos los muros de sus fortalezas, aun tenía Barcelona abiertas las brechas, que hizo el duque de Vendoma ; y desde Rosas hasta Cadiz, no habia Alcazar, ni Castillo, no solo presidiado, pero ni montada su artillería. La misma negligencia se admiraba en los puertos de Vizcaya, y Galicia ; no tenian los almazenes sus provisiones, faltaban fundidores de armas, y las que habia, eran de ningun uso. Vacios los arsenales y astilleros, se habia olvidado el arte de construir naves, y no tenia el Rey mas que las destinadas al comercio de Indias, y algunos galeones ; seis galeras, consumidas del tiempo, y del ocio, se ancoraban en Cartagena." *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. p. 43. Another eye-witness describes "the best fortresses consisting of ruined walls, mounted with here and there a rusty cannon, and the man thought an able engineer who knew how to fire them." *Ripperda's Memoirs*, second edition, London, 1740, p. 227.

into bands, broke open private houses, and robbed and murdered the inhabitants in the face of day.[171] During the remaining twenty years of the seventeenth century the capital was in a state, not of insurrection, but of anarchy. Society was loosened, and seemed to be resolving itself into its elements. To use the emphatic language of a contemporary, liberty and restraint were equally unknown.[172] The ordinary functions of the executive government were suspended. The police of Madrid, unable to obtain the arrears of their pay, disbanded, and gave themselves up to rapine. Nor did there seem any means of remedying these evils. The exchequer was empty, and it was impossible to replenish it. Such was the poverty of the court that money was wanting to pay the wages of the king's private servants, and to meet the daily expenses of his household.[173] In 1693 payment was suspended of every life-pension ; and all officers and ministers of the crown were mulcted of one-third of their salaries.[174] Nothing, however, could arrest the mischief. Famine and poverty continued to increase ;[175]

[171] *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 224, 225. In 1680 Madame de Villars, the wife of the French ambassador, writes from Madrid that such was the state of affairs there that her husband thought it advisable that she should return home. *Lettres de Madame de Villars*, Amsterdam, 1759, p. 169. A letter written by the Danish ambassador in 1677 describes every house in Madrid as regularly armed from top to bottom ; " de haut en bas." *Mignet, Négociations relatives à la Succession*, vol. iv. p. 638, Paris, 1842, 4to. The deaths from starvation are said to have been particularly numerous in Andalusia. See *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iii. p. 167. " En Andalucia especialmente moria mucha gente de hambre, y el consulado de Sevilla envió una diputacion para representar que aquella ciudad habia quedado reducida á la cuarta parte de la poblacion que habia tenido cincuenta años antes." On the state of the people generally, in 1680, compare *Lettres de Villars*, pp. 145, 152, 161.

[172] " Point de libertés et point de frein." *Mém. de Louville*, vol. i. p. 68.

[173] In 1681 the French ambassadress writes from Madrid, " Je ne vous parle point de la misère de ce royaume. La faim est jusques dans le palais. J'étois hier avec huit ou dix camaristes, et la Moline, qui disoient qu'il y avoit fort longtems qu'on ne leur donnoit plus ni pain ni viande. Aux écuries du roi et de la reine, de même." *Lettres de Madame la Marquise de Villars*, Amsterdam, 1759, pp. 216, 217. The year after Charles II. died : " Il n'y avoit pas de fonds pour les choses les plus nécessaires, pour la cuisine, l'écurie, les valets de pied," etc. *Millot, Mémoires du Duc de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 26, ed. Petitot, Paris, 1828. Among other reckless expedients, the currency was so depreciated that in a letter from Martin to Dr. Fraser, dated Madrid, March 6th, 1680, we hear of " the fall of money to one fourth part of its former value." *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. p. 187, Aberdeen, 4to, 1852.

[174] " The king has taken away, by a late decree, a third part of all wages and salaries of all officers and ministers without exception, and suspended for the ensuing year, 1694, all pensions for life granted either by himself or his father." Letter from the English ambassador, dated Madrid, November 18th, 1693, in *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, London, 1840 p. 40. This is also stated in *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. i. p. 359, Paris, 1828 ; " retranchant le tiers des dépenses de sa maison, et des appointemens de ses officiers tant militaires que civils." In the preceding reign the pensions had been stopped, at all events for a time. In 1650 Sir Edward Hyde writes from Madrid, " There is an universal stop of all pensions which have been granted formerly." *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 538, Oxford, 1773. The next step which was taken was a proposal, in 1667, to tax the salaries of the members of the Councils of Castile, Arragon, etc. ; but this idea was abandoned, until at length they, like all other public servants, came under the comprehensive edict of 1693. See the letter from the French ambassador to Louis XIV., dated Madrid, June 2nd, 1667, in *Mignet, Négociations*, vol. ii. p. 128, Paris, 1835, 4to. The only chance of recovering the history of Spain in the seventeenth century is by collating these and similar documents with the meagre notices to be found in Spanish writers.

[175] In 1695, " the miserable poverty in this country." *Travels through Spain, performed by a Gentleman*, London, 1702, p. 62. And, in the same year, " L'Espagne, manquant de tout, d'hommes et d'argent." *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. i. p. 402. " L'Espagne, presque anéantie." p. 424.

and in 1699 Stanhope, the British minister then residing in Madrid, writes that never a day passed in which people were not killed in the streets scuffling for bread ; that his own secretary had seen five women stifled to death by the crowd before a bakehouse ; and that, to swell the catalogue of misery, upwards of twenty thousand additional beggars from the country had recently flocked into the capital.[176]

If this state of things had continued for another generation, the wildest anarchy must have ensued, and the whole frame of society been broken up.[177] The only chance of saving Spain from a relapse into barbarism was that it should fall, and fall quickly, under foreign dominion. Such a change was indispensable ; and there was reason to fear that it might come in a form which would have been inexpressibly odious to the nation. For, late in the seventeenth century, Ceuta was besieged by the Mohammedans, and as the Spanish government had neither troops nor ships, the greatest apprehensions were entertained respecting the fate of this important fortress ; there being little doubt that if it fell, Spain would be again overrun by the infidels, who this time, at least, would have found little difficulty in dealing with a people weakened by suffering half famished, and almost worn out.[178]

Fortunately, in the year 1700, when affairs were at their worst, Charles II., the idiot king, died, and Spain fell into the hands of Philip V., the grandson of Louis XIV. This change from the Austrian dynasty to the Bourbon[179] brought with it many other changes. Philip, who reigned from 1700 to 1746,[180]

[176] See the letters in *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, pp. 138–140. On the 21st of May, " We have an addition of above 20,000 beggars, flocked from the country around, to share in that little here is, who were starving at home, and look like ghosts." On the 27th of May, " The scarcity of bread is growing on apace towards a famine, which increases by vast multitudes of poor that swarm in upon us from the countries round about. I shifted the best I could till this day, but the difficulty of getting any without authority has made me recur to the Corregidor, as most of the foreign ministers had done before ; he very courteously, after inquiring what my family was, gave me an order for twenty loaves every day ; but I must send two leagues, to Vallejas, to fetch it, as I have done this night, and my servants with long guns to secure it when they have it, otherwise it would be taken from them, for several people are killed every day in the streets in scuffles for bread, all being lawful prize that anybody can catch." . . . " My secretary, Don Francisco, saw yesterday five poor women stifled to death by the crowd before a bakehouse."

[177] Even M. Lafuente, who, having used scarcely any of the authorities which I have quoted in the last few pages, can have no adequate idea of the utter wretchedness of Spain, confesses that " Jamás monarca ni pueblo alguno se vieron en tan lastimosa situacion y en tan mísero trance como se hallaron en este tiempo " (1699) " Cárlos II. y la España." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xvii. p. 426, Madrid, 1856.

[178] " Les Maures d'Afrique assiégeoient Ceuta. Le roi d'Espagne manquait non-seulement de troupes, mais de vaisseaux pour transporter le peu de secours qu'il pouvoit y envoyer : Louis XIV. lui fit offrir les troupes et les vaisseaux dont il auroit besoin. Il s'agissoit non-seulement de conserver Ceuta, mais de plus Oran ; par conséquent d'empêcher la prise de deux places dont la conquête facilitoit aux Maures un retour en Espagne." *Mémoires du Marquis de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 46, ed. Paris, 1828. Respecting the attacks made on Ceuta, from 1696 to 1698, see *Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. vi. pp. 556, 557, 561.

[179] A celebrated modern writer has made some remarks upon this, which are too apposite to be omitted. " Con el siglo xvii. acabó tambien la dinastía austriaca en España, dejando á esta nacion pobre, despoblada, sin fuerzas marítimas ni terrestres, y por consiguiente á merced de las demas potencias que intentaron repartir entre sí sus colonias y provincias. Así habia desparecido en poco mas de un siglo aquella grandeza y poderío, aquella fuerza y heroismo, aquella cultura é ilustracion con que habia descollado entre todas las naciones." *Biografía de Ensenada*, in *Navarrete, Opúsculos*, vol. ii. p. 5, Madrid, 1848.

[180] Except during the short interregnum of Louis, in 1724, which only lasted a few

was a Frenchman, not only by birth and education, but also in feelings and habits.[181] Just before he entered Spain, Louis charged him never to forget that he was a native of France, the throne of which he might some day ascend.[182] After he became king he neglected the Spaniards, despised their advice, and threw all the power he could command into the hands of his own countrymen.[183] The affairs of Spain were now administered by subjects of Louis XIV., whose ambassador at Madrid frequently performed the functions of prime minister.[184] What had once been the most powerful monarchy in the world became little else than a province of France, all important matters being decided in Paris, from whence Philip himself received his instructions.[185]

The truth is that Spain, broken and prostrate, was unable to supply ability of any kind ; and if the government of the country was to be carried on, it was absolutely necessary that foreigners should be called in.[186] Even in 1682 that

months, and during which the boy, though called king, exercised no real power, and Philip remained the actual ruler. " Aun el nuevo rey no resolvia negocio de consideracion sin asenso de su padre." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 374.

[181] Saint Simon, who knew Philip well, and who was in Spain in 1721 and 1722, says of him, " L'amour de la France lui sortait de partout." *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. xxxvii. p. 3, Paris, 1841. And, in 1746, shortly before his death, Noailles writes from Aranjuez, " Ce prince a le cœur tout français." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iv. p. 191, Paris, 1829.

[182] " N'oubliez jamais que vous êtes Français, et ce qui peut vous arriver." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 6. Compare *Coxe's Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain*, London, 1815, vol. i. p. 103.

[183] In 1702, Philip " parlait moins que jamais, et seulement aux Français, comme s'ils eussent été les seuls êtres de son espèce." *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. i. p. 276. " Le dégoût que Philippe laissait voir pour sa cour espagnole." p. 333. A Spanish statesman, celebrated, or, I would rather say, notorious, at the close of the century, indignantly exclaims, " It was on the accession of the Bourbon dynasty that foreigners came to govern us on our native soil." *Godoy's Memoirs*, ed. London, 1836, vol. ii. p. 271.

[184] In 1701 it was the duty of the French ambassador, " qu'il pût au besoin être premier ministre d'Espagne." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 31 ; " que l'ambassadeur de sa Majesté soit ministre du roi Catholique ; que, sans en avoir le titre, il en exerce les fonctions ; qu'il aide au roi d'Espagne à connoître l'état de ses affaires, et à gouverner par lui-même." p. 55. In 1702 Marsin writes to Louis XIV., " Comme il est absolument nécessaire que l'ambassadeur de Votre Majesté en Espagne ait un crédit sans bornes auprès du Roy son petit-fils." p. 183. In 1705 Amelot, the French ambassador, " décidoit de tout en Espagne." *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. ii. p. 165 ; and, in 1706, " étant à la tête des affaires, et joignant presque les fonctions de premier ministre à celles d'ambassadeur." *Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 398.

[185] In 1703, " Il est clair que l'embarras de Philippe venoit surtout de la crainte que ses décisions ne fussent point approuvées en France, où toutes les affaires importantes se décidoient." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 244. " The King of France had always certain persons at Madrid, which compos'd a Council, of which that of Versailles was the soul ; and whose members were all creatures of the French Court, and sent to Madrid from time to time to direct all affairs there, according to the views of the Most Christian King, and to give him an account of everything that pass'd in the Councils of the Escurial. Alberoni got to be initiated in the mysteries of this cabal." *History of Cardinal Alberoni*, London, 1719, p. 70.

The Spanish historians are not very fond of admitting this unquestionable fact ; but Bacallar, after mentioning the influence of the French ambassador, frankly adds : " Desde entonces tomaron tanta mano sobre los de España los ministros Franceses, que dieron mas zelos á los Principes, viendo estrechar la union á un grado, que todo se ponía al arbitrio de Luis XIV." *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. p. 33.

[186] Even the veteran diplomatist Torcy was so struck by the escape of Spain from complete ruin, that he ascribes its change of masters to the direct interference of the Deity. " Sa seule puissance avait placé Philippe V sur le trône d'Espagne ; elle seule

is, eighteen years before the accession of Philip V., there was not to be found a single native well acquainted with the art of war; so that Charles II. was obliged to intrust the military defence of the Spanish Netherlands to De Grana, the Austrian ambassador at Madrid.[187] When, therefore, the War of the Succession broke out, in 1702, even the Spaniards themselves desired that their troops should be commanded by a foreigner.[188] In 1704 the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of the Duke of Berwick, an Englishman, leading Spanish soldiers against the enemy, and being in fact generalissimo of the Spanish army.[189] The King of Spain, dissatisfied with his proceedings, determined to remove him; but instead of filling his place with a native he applied to Louis XIV. for another general, and this important post was confided to Marshal Tessé, a Frenchman.[190] A little later, Berwick was again summoned to Madrid, and ordered to put himself at the head of the Spanish troops, and defend Estremadura and Castile.[191] This he effected with complete success; and, in the

pouvoit l'y maintenir; les hommes n'avaient pas conduit ce grand événement." *Mémoires de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 333. "Le trône où Dieu l'avait placé," p. 401. See also vol. ii. pp. 3, 227. "The Spanish people received him with unhesitating obedience to the deceased king's will, and rejoiced at the prospect of a rule that would at least have the merit of being different from that under which they had so long withered." *Memoirs of Peterborough*, London, 1853, vol. i. p. 102. "Muchos españoles recibieron por su soberano á Felipe V., cansados de la dominacion de la casa de Austria. Esperaban de la mudanza de la dinastia la felicidad y el buen gobierno." *Castro, Decadencia de España*, Cadiz, 1852, p. 131. To the same effect, *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. i. pp. 420, 426, vol. ii. p. 9.

[187] He "committed the military defence of these provinces to the Marquis of Grana, the Austrian ambassador at Madrid, from the want of any Spanish commander whose courage or military endowments qualified him to repel such an enemy as the King of France." *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 232. Compare, on the want of Spanish generals, *Mémoires du Maréchal de Gramont*, vol. ii. p. 82, edit. Paris, 1827. The opinion which Grana himself formed of the Spanish government may be learned from a conversation which he held at Madrid, in 1680, with the French ambassadress, and which is preserved in her correspondence. *Lettres de Madame la Marquise de Villars*, Amsterdam, 1759, pp. 118, 119.

[188] See the letter of Philip V. to Louis XIV., dated June 22, 1703, in *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257, Paris, 1828, edit. Petitot.

[189] See *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. pp. 137, 166, where he is called "el Duque de Bervich." His own account is, "J'arrivai à Madrid le 15 février" (1704), "où d'abord S. M. Catholique me fit Capitaine Général de ses armées." *Mémoires de Berwick*, Paris, 1778, vol. i. p. 227; and see p. xxv. No one would suppose this from the observations of M. Lafuente, in his *Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 80, Madrid, 1857.

[190] "Philippe n'étoit pas content de Berwick, ou plutôt il témoigna ne le pas être, et il demanda un autre général à Louis XIV. On lui envoya le maréchal de Tessé, pour qui il avoit montré du penchant." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 331. Berwick himself ascribes his dismissal to the influence of Gramont and of the Queen of Spain. *Mémoires de Berwick*, vol. i. pp. 269–273. At all events, the new general became supreme. In December, 1705, the Princess des Ursins writes from Madrid to Madame de Maintenon, "M. le maréchal de Tessé, quand il est à Madrid, est consulté, et décide sur toutes les affaires, *autant, pour le moins, que M. l'ambassadeur*; et lorsqu'il est à l'armée, il est le maître absolu non seulement des troupes de France, mais encore de celles d'Espagne, commandant aux capitaines-généraux, ses anciens, contre l'usage du pays." *Lettres inédites de Madame de Maintenon et de Madame la Princesse des Ursins*, vol. iii. p. 259, Paris, 1826.

[191] In 1706 "Le duc de Berwick, redemandé par Philippe V., arrivé à Madrid le 11 mars, avec le titre de maréchal de France, pour défendre l'Estramadure et la Castille, ayant rassemblé ce qu'il peut de troupes espagnoles, empêcha les ennemis d'entreprendre le siège de Badajoz." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 387. Philip "pria le Roi, son grand-père, d'envoyer un général pour commander sur les frontières de Portugal. Ce fut donc sur moi que le choix tomba." *Mémoires de Berwick*, vol. i. p. 305.

battle of Almansa, which he fought in 1707, he overthrew the invaders, ruined the party of the pretender Charles,[192] and secured the seat of Philip on the throne.[193] As the war, however, still continued, Philip in 1710 wrote to Paris for another general, and requested that the Duke de Vendôme might be sent to him.[194] This able commander, on his arrival, infused new vigour into the Spanish counsels, and utterly defeated the allies;[195] so that the war by which the independence of Spain was established owed its success to the ability of foreigners, and to the fact that the campaigns were planned and conducted not by natives, but by French and English generals.

In the same way, the finances were by the end of the seventeenth century in such deplorable confusion, that Portocarrero, who at the accession of Philip V. was the nominal minister of Spain, expressed a desire that they should be administered by some one sent from Paris, who could restore them.[196] He felt that

[192] In a recently published work (*Memoirs of Peterborough*, London, 1853, vol. i. pp. 148, 155, 161, 206, 210, vol. ii. pp. 34, 93), Charles is not only called King of Spain, which he never was, as Spain always refused to accept him, but, in the teeth of all history, he is actually termed Charles III.; while Philip V. is merely "Philip of Anjou." If this were allowed, the consequence would be that the king whom the Spaniards now call Charles III. would have to change his appellation, and become Charles IV.; and Charles IV. would be changed into Charles V. It is really too much when mere biographers obtrude in this way their own little prepossessions into the vast field of history, and seek to efface its established nomenclature, because they are enamoured of the hero whose life they write.

[193] "This victory established the throne of Philip." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 136. "A victory which may be justly said to have saved Spain." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. i. p. 408. Even Ortiz allows that if Berwick had failed, Philip would have been ruined. "Esta batalla de Almansa, que las circunstancias hicieron ruidosa, comenzó á poner mejor la corona de España en la cabeza de Felipe V.; y se tuvo por indubitable que si la hubiera perdido, tambien hubiera perdido la corona." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 116. See also *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 185. "Berwick, á quien, sin duda, debió su salvacion la España."

[194] "Sa réputation étoit grande et bien établie; le roi d'Espagne avoit été témoin de sa conduite en Lombardie; il demanda au Roi un général si capable de commander ses armées." *Mémoires de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 386. See also *History of Alberoni*, London, 1719, p. 45. "Le duc de Vendôme alloit enfin commander les troupes d'Espagne." *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iii. p. 12. According to Berwick, the offer was first made to himself. *Mémoires de Berwick*, vol. ii. pp. 106, 109. M. Lafuente, without quoting any authority, says (*Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 279), "Luego que se perdió la batalla de Zaragoza escribio Felipe al rey Cristianísimo, su abuelo, rogándole que, ya que no pudiera socorrerle con tropas, le enviára al menos *al duque de Berwick ó al de Vendome*." But as Berwick must have had the means of knowing the real state of the case, he is probably correct in saying that the first application was in his own favour.

[195] "Vendôme arrived at this moment to call into action the spirit of the monarch and the zeal of his subjects." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. ii. p. 41. "The arrival of the Duke de Vendôme again changed the fate of Spain." *Memoirs of Peterborough*, vol. ii. p. 130.

[196] "Portocarrero, abrumado con las dificultades de la gobernacion, que excedian en mucho á sus escasas luces, no contento con haber inducido al rey á que aumentára su consejo de gabinete con dos ministros más, que fueron el marqués de Mancera, presidente del de Aragon, y el duque de Montalto, del de Italia, pidió á Luis XIV. le enviára una persona que pudiera establecer un plan de hacienda en España, y corregir y reformar los abusos de la administracion." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 15. On 22nd June, 1701, Louis XIV. writes to the Duc d'Harcourt, "Qu'enfin le cardinal Porto-Carrero m'a fait demander quelqu'un intelligent en matière de finances pour voir et connoître l'état de celles du roi d'Espagne, pour examiner les moyens les plus propres de soulager ses sujets, et de pourvoir aux plus pressans besoins du public; qu'il m'assure que *toute l'Espagne le désire en général*: toutes ces raisons m'ont déterminé à choisir le sieur Orry, pour l'envoyer à Madrid." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 44.

no one in Spain was equal to the task, and he was by no means singular in this opinion. In 1701 Louville wrote to Torcy that if a financier did not soon arrive from France there would shortly be no finances to administer.[197] The choice fell upon Orry, who reached Madrid in the summer of 1701.[198] He found everything in the most miserable condition; and the incompetence of the Spaniards was so obvious that he was soon forced to undertake the management not only of the finances but also of the war department. To save appearances, Canalez became the ostensible minister at war; but he, being completely ignorant of affairs, merely performed the drudgery of that office, the real duties of which were fulfilled by Orry himself.[199]

This dominion of the French continued without interruption until the second marriage of Philip V. in 1714, and the death of Louis XIV. in 1715, both of which events weakened their influence, and for a time almost destroyed it. The authority, however, which they lost was transferred not to Spaniards but to other foreigners. Between 1714 and 1726, the two most powerful and conspicuous men in Spain were Alberoni, an Italian, and Ripperda, a Dutchman. Ripperda was dismissed in 1726;[200] and after his fall the affairs of Spain were controlled by Konigseg, who was a German, and who indeed was the Austrian ambassador residing at Madrid.[201] Even Grimaldo, who held office before and after the dismissal of Ripperda, was a disciple of the French school, and had been brought up under Orry.[202] All this was not the result of accident, nor is it to be

[197] "Il faudra que l'homme que vous enverrez pour les finances (car vous aurez la bonté d'en envoyer un, ou bien nous n'aurons plus de finances)." *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. i. p. 149.

[198] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 181.

[199] "Canalez, qu'on a substitué à Rivas pour le département de la guerre, n'a aucun talent pour cet emploi, selon l'instruction: et toute l'Espagne voit clairement qu'Orry ne le lui a procuré qu'afin d'en exercer les fonctions sous le nom d'un Espagnol." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 305; under the year 1704. See also, on the power of Orry in the war department, *Mémoires de Berwick*, vol. i. pp. 226, 227, 306, 316, vol. ii. p. 166. Berwick, who hated Orry, says of him (vol. i. p. 232), "il se mêloit de tout et faisoit tout." But there can be no doubt of his being a man of very considerable ability; and M. Lafuente (*Historia de España*, vol. xix. p. 253, Madrid, 1857) candidly says, "Es lo cierto que hizo abrir mucho los ojos de los españoles en materia de administracion. Compare vol. xviii. p. 369; *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. vii. pp. 102, 195, Paris, 1842; and *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. pp. 82, 83, 99, 168, vol. ii. pp. 95, 107. Bacallar treats him harshly.

[200] *Ripperda's Memoirs*, London, 1740, second edition, pp. 117, 118. Saint Simon (*Mémoires*, vol. xxxvi. p. 246) says that Ripperda was "premier ministre aussi absolu que le fut jamais son prédécesseur, Alberoni." The English pamphleteers and politicians of the last century were very unjust to Alberoni, who, notwithstanding the dangerous boldness of his nature, was one of the best ministers who ever governed Spain. M. Lafuente, while admitting his faults, says (*Historia de España*, vol. xix. pp. 437, 438), "Negarle gran capacidad seria una gran injusticia. Tampoco puede desconocerse que reanimó y regeneró la España, levantándola á un grado de esplendor y de grandeza en que nunca se habia vuelto á ver desde los mejores tiempos de Felipe II." See also a good summary of what he did for Spain, in *Tapia, Historia de la Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iv. pp. 50, 51.

[201] "The all-powerful Konigseg." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iii. p. 154; "the prime mover of the Spanish counsels." p. 159; in 1727–8, "Konigseg usurped the control over every operation of government," p. 190; and see p. 235. His great power is likewise noticed in *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol xix. p. 71: "el hombre de mas influjo y valimiento en la córte."

[202] "Originally a clerk under Orri, he gained the favour of his employer," &c. *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iii. p. 39. Coxe had access to a large mass of letters which were written in the eighteenth century by persons connected with Spain, and many of which are still unpublished. This makes his book very valuable; and as a recital of political events it is superior to anything the Spaniards have produced, though the

ascribed to the caprice of the court. In Spain the national spirit had so died away that none but foreigners, or men imbued with foreign ideas, were equal to the duties of government. To the evidence already quoted on this point I will add two other testimonies. Noailles, a very fair judge, and by no means prejudiced against the Spaniards, emphatically stated in 1710 that notwithstanding their loyalty, they were incapable of ruling, inasmuch as they were ignorant both of war and of politics.[203] In 1711 Bonnac mentions that a resolution had been formed to place no Spaniard at the head of affairs, because those hitherto employed had proved to be either unfortunate or unfaithful.[204]

The government of Spain, being taken from the Spaniards, now began to show some signs of vigour. The change was slight, but it was in the right direction, though, as we shall presently see, it could not regenerate Spain, owing to the unfavourable operation of general causes. Still, the intention was good. For the first time, attempts mere made to vindicate the rights of laymen, and to diminish the authority of ecclesiastics. Scarcely had the French established their dominion when they suggested that it might be advisable to relieve the necessities of the state by compelling the clergy to give up some of the wealth which they had accumulated in their churches.[205] Even Louis XIV. insisted that the important office of President of Castile should not be conferred on an ecclesiastic, because, he said, in Spain the priests and monks had already too much power.[206] Orry, who for several years possessed immense influence, exerted it in the same direction. He endeavoured to lessen the immunities possessed by the clergy in regard to taxation, and also in regard to their exemption from lay jurisdiction. He opposed the privilege of sanctuary ; he sought to deprive churches of their right of asylum. He even attacked the Inquisition, and worked so powerfully on the mind of the king that Philip at one time determined to suspend that dreadful tribunal, and abolish the office of grand inquisitor.[207] This intention was very properly abandoned ; for there can be no doubt that if it had been enforced it would have caused a revolution, in which Philip would probably have lost his crown.[208] In such case, a reaction would have set in which would have left the

author is, I need hardly say, far inferior to M. Lafuente as a writer, and also as an artistic arranger of facts.

[203] " Que les Espagnols depuis longtemps ignoroient la guerre et la politique ; qu'on devoit être sensible à leurs démonstrations d'attachement et de zèle, sans les croire suffisantes pour soutenir un Etat " . . ." l'incapacité des sujets pour le gouvernement." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iii. pp. 24, 25.

[204] " C'étoit un parti pris, comme l'observe Bonnac, de ne plus mettre le gouvernement entre leurs mains. On avoit trouvé parmi eux peu d'hommes capables des grands emplois : ceux à qui on les avoit confiés, malheureux ou infidèles, avoient inspiré de l'éloignement pour les autres." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iii. p. 81.

[205] In 1701, " Les églises d'Espagne ont des richesses immenses en or et en argenterie, qui augmentent tous les jours par le crédit des religieux ; et cela rend l'espèce très rare dans le commerce. On propose d'obliger le clergé à vendre une partie de cette argenterie. Avant que de prendre ce parti, il en faudroit bien examiner non-seulement l'utilité, que l'on connoit, mais aussi les inconvéniens qu'un pareil ordre pourroit produire." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 60.

[206] " Il insistoit sur la nécessité de ne pas donner à un ecclésiastique, ni à une créature du cardinal, la présidence de Castille, quand on rempliroit cette importante place ; les prêtres et les moines n'avoient déjà que trop de pouvoir." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 77. Compare pp. 71, 72 ; a letter from Louville to Torcy, dated August 5th, 1701.

[207] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 163–165. *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iii p. 143.

[208] In 1714 it was thought necessary that Philip V., not having had the benefit of a Spanish education, should be enlightened on the subject of the Inquisition. He was, therefore, informed, " que la pureza de la religion Catolica en estos reynos se debia á la vigilancia de la Inquisicion y sus ministros, todos justos, clementes y circunspectos, no rigidos, violentos ni crueles, como por error ó malicia los pintan comunmente los Franceses. Y que *la*

Church stronger than ever. Many things, however, were done for Spain in spite of the Spaniards.[209] In 1707 the clergy were forced to contribute to the state a small part of their enormous wealth ; the tax being disguised under the name of a loan.[210] Ten years later, during the administration of Alberoni, this disguise was thrown off ; and not only did government exact what was now called " the ecclesiastical tax," but it imprisoned or exiled those priests who, refusing to pay, stood up for the privileges of their order.[211] This was a bold step to be taken in Spain, and it was one on which, at that time, no Spaniard would have ventured. Alberoni, however, as a foreigner, was unversed in the traditions of the country, which indeed, on another memorable occasion, he set at defiance. The government of Madrid, acting in complete unison with public opinion, had always been unwilling to negotiate with infidels ; meaning by infidels, every people whose religious notions differed from their own. Sometimes such negotiations were unavoidable, but they were entered into with fear and trembling, lest the pure Spanish faith should be tainted by too close a contact with unbelievers. Even in 1698, when it was evident that the monarchy was at its last gasp, and that nothing could save it from the hands of the spoiler, the prejudice was so strong that the Spaniards refused to receive aid from the Dutch, because the Dutch were heretics. At that time, Holland was in the most intimate relation with England, whose interest it was to secure the independence of Spain against the machinations of France. Obvious however as this was, the Spanish theologians, being consulted respecting the proposal, declared that it was inadmissible, since it would enable the Dutch to propagate their religious opinions ; so that, according to this view, it was better to be subjugated by a Catholic enemy than to be assisted by a Protestant friend.[212]

Still, much as the Spaniards hated Protestants, they hated Mohammedans yet

conservacion de la Monarquia dependia en gran parte de mantener ilibata la religion Catolica." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 286. Bacallar (*Comentarios*, vol. ii. pp. 122–125) gives an interesting account of the attacks made on the rights of the Church, and which, he says, p. 122, were " poco ajustados á la doctrina de los Santos Padres, á la Inmunidad de la Iglesia, y que sonaban á heregía." He significantly adds, p. 125, " Los pueblos de España, que son tan religiosos, y professan la mayor veneracion á la Iglesia, creían, que esta se atropellaba. *y huvo alguna interna inquietud, no sin fomento de los adversos al Rey, cuyo puro y sincero corazon podia ser engañado ;* pero no inducido á un evidente error contra los Sagrados Canones," &c. Such passages, proceeding, in the eighteenth century, from a man like the Marquis de San Phelipe, are of no slight importance in the history of the Spanish mind.

[209] So early as May, 1702, Philip V., in a letter to Louis XIV., complained that the Spaniards opposed him in everything. " Je crois être obligé de vous dire que je m'aperçois de plus en plus du peu de zèle que les Espagnols ont pour mon service, dans les petites choses comme dans les grandes, et qu'ils s'opposent à tout ce que je désire." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 136. The dislike which the Spaniards felt for the liberal reforms advocated by the French went on increasing until, in 1709, " se renovaron los antiguos odios entre las dos naciones, con tanto ardor, que deseaban las tropas Españolas el haber de combatir con los Franceses." *Bacallar, Comentarios*, vol. i. p. 360.

[210] " L'opulence de l'Église devoit évidemment fournir des secours à la patrie. Un emprunt de quatre millions, fait sur le clergé l'année précédente, 1707, avoit cependant fort déplu au Pape ou à ses ministres." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 412.

[211] " He " (Alberoni) " continued also the exaction of the ecclesiastical tax, in spite of the papal prohibitions, imprisoning or banishing the refractory priests who defended the privileges of their order." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. ii. p. 288.

[212] On January 2nd, 1698, Stanhope, the British Minister at Madrid, writes from that capital : " This Court is not at all inclined to admit the offer of the Dutch troops to garrison their places in Flanders. They have consulted their theologians, who declare against it as a matter of conscience, since it would give great opportunities to the spreading of heresy. They have not yet sent their answer ; but it is believed it will be in the negative, and that they will rather choose to lie at the mercy of the French, as being Catholics." *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, pp. 98, 99.

more.[213] They could never forget how the followers of that creed had once conquered nearly the whole of Spain, and had during several centuries possessed the fairest portion of it. The remembrance of this strengthened their religious animosity, and caused them to be the chief supporters of nearly every war which was waged against the Mohammedans, both of Turkey and of Africa.[214] But Alberoni, being a foreigner, was unmoved by these considerations, and, to the astonishment of all Spain, he on the mere ground of political expediency set at naught the principles of the Church, and not only concluded an alliance with the Mohammedans, but supplied them with arms and with money.[215] It is indeed true that in these and similar measures Alberoni opposed himself to the national will, and that he lived to repent of his boldness. It is however also true that his policy was part of a great secular and anti-theological movement, which during the eighteenth century was felt all over Europe. The effects of that movement were seen in the government of Spain, but not in the people. This was because the government for many years was wielded by foreigners, or by natives imbued with a foreign spirit. Hence we find that during the greater part of the eighteenth century the politicians of Spain formed a class more isolated, and, if I may so say, more living on their own intellectual resources, than the politicians of any other country during the same period. That this indicated a state of disease, and that no political improvement can produce real good unless it is desired by the people before being conferred on them, will be admitted by whoever has mastered the lessons which history contains. The results actually produced in Spain we shall presently see. But it will first be advisable that I should give some further evidence of the extent to which the influence of the Church had prostrated the national intellect, and by discouraging all inquiry, and fettering

[213] " Entre el catolicismo y las diferentes sectas que brotaron en las imaginaciones de Calvino y de Lutero podia mediar tolerancia, y aun transaccion, si bien, como dice un escritor político, cuando se comienza á transigir sobre un principio, ese principio comienza á perder su imperio sobre las sociedades humanas. Pero entre el cristianismo de los españoles y el mahometismo de los moriscos era imposible todo avenimiento." *Janer, Condicion Social de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1857, p. 112.

[214] The Marquis of San Phelipe, who wrote in 1725, says, " Es ley fundamental de los Reyes Catholicos, nunca hacer la paz con los Mahometanos ; y esta guerra permanece desde el Rey Don Pelayo, por mas de siete siglos, sin hacer jamás paces, ni treguas con ellos, como cada dia las hacen el Emperador, y otros Principes Catholicos." *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. ii. p. 169. And in the most influential work on commerce which the reign of Philip V. produced, I find the following instructive passage : " Aunque en los Puertos de las dilatadas Costas, que de Europa, Asia y Africa baña el Mediterraneo, se hace comercio muy considerable, y util por diversas naciones, no podrá España tener gran parte en él, mientras se observare la maxima de hacer continua guerra á todos los Moros y Turcos, en cuyo dominio se hallan la mayor parte de aquellas Provincias ; sin embargo de ser constante, que *en esta guerra, aunque procedida de zelo Christiano, es mayor el daño que recibimos, que el que ocasionamos á los Infieles* " (the way the mercantile spirit peeps out here is extremely curious) " á lo menos de muchos años á esta parte, como lo he explicado en diversos capitulos." *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, Madrid, 1757, p. 399. This is the third edition of a book which, considering the circumstances under which it was written, is a very remarkable production.

[215] Compare *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, London, 1815, vol. ii. p. 314, with *The History of Alberoni*, London, 1719, pp. 119, 253 ; and *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. ii. pp. 168, 169. The outcry which this caused may be easily imagined ; and Alberoni, finding himself in great peril, took advantage of the secrecy of the negotiations to deny part, at least, of the charges made against him. See his indignant but yet cautious letter to the Pope, in *History of Alberoni*, 1719, p. 124. Ortiz, who had evidently not looked into the evidence, is so ill-informed as to suppose that this was a calumnious accusation brought against Alberoni after his fall. " Caido ya por entonces Alberoni de su grandeza, expelido ignominiosamente de España, y aun perseguido por el Rey en Italia, preso en Roma por orden del Papa, etc. no era dificil atribuirle culpas agenas ó no cometidas." *Note in Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 321.

all freedom of thought, had at length reduced the country to such a plight that the faculties of men, rusted by disuse, were no longer equal to fulfil the functions required from them; so that in every department, whether of political life or of speculative philosophy, or even of mechanical industry, it was necessary that foreigners should be called in to do that work which the natives had become unable to perform.

The ignorance in which the force of adverse circumstances had sunk the Spaniards, and their inactivity, both bodily and mental, would be utterly incredible, if it were not attested by every variety of evidence. Gramont, writing from personal knowledge of the state of Spain during the latter half of the seventeenth century, describes the upper classes as not only unacquainted with science or literature, but as knowing scarcely any thing even of the commonest events which occurred out of their own country. The lower ranks, he adds, are equally idle, and rely upon foreigners to reap their wheat, to cut their hay, and to build their houses.[216] Another observer of society, as it existed in Madrid in 1679, assures us that men even of the highest position never thought it necessary that their sons should study; and that those who were destined for the army could not learn mathematics if they desired to do so, inasmuch as there were neither schools nor masters to teach them.[217] Books, unless they were books of devotion, were deemed utterly useless; no one consulted them; no one collected them; and until the eighteenth century Madrid did not possess a single public library.[218] In other cities professedly devoted to purposes of education, similar ignorance prevailed. Salamanca was the seat of the most ancient and most famous university in Spain, and there if anywhere we might look for the en-

[216] "Leur paresse, et l'ignorance non seulement des sciences et des arts, mais quasi généralement de tout ce qui se passe hors de l'Espagne, et on peut dire même hors du lieu où ils habitent, vont presque de pair, et sont inconcevables. La pauvreté est grande parmi eux, ce qui provient de leur extrême paresse; car si nombre de nos Français n'alloient faucher leurs foins, couper leurs blés et faire leurs briques, je crois qu'ils courroient fortune de se laisser mourir de faim, et de se tenir sous des tentes pour ne se pas donner la peine de bâtir des maisons." . . . "L'éducation de leurs enfans est semblable à celle qu'ils ont eu de leurs pères, c'est-à-dire sans qu'ils apprennent ni sciences ni exercices; et je ne crois pas que parmi tous les grands que j'ay pratiqués, il s'en trouvât un seul qui sût décliner son nom." . . . "Ils n'ont nulle curiosité de voir les pays étrangers, et encore moins de s'enquérir de ce qui s'y passe." *Mémoires du Maréchal de Gramont*, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78, 82, 83, in *Collection des Mémoires par Petitot et Monmerqué*, vol. lvii. See also *Aarsens de Sommerdyck, Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1665, 4to, p. 124. "La terre mesme n'y est pas toute cultiuée par des gens du pays: au temps du labourage, des semailles et de la recolte, il leur vient quantité de paysans du Bearn et d'autres endroits de France, qui gagnent beaucoup d'argent, pour leur mettre leurs bleds en terre et pour les recueillir. Les architectes et charpentiers y sont aussi pour la plûpart estrangers, qui se font payer au triple de ce qu'ils gagneroient en leur pays. Dans Madrid on ne voit pas un porteur d'eau qui ne soit estranger, et la plûpart des cordonniers et tailleurs le sont aussi."

[217] "Mais aussi de quelle manière les éleve-t-on? Ils n'étudient point; on néglige de leur donner d'habiles precepteurs; dès qu'on les destine à l'épée, on ne se soucie plus qu'ils apprennent le latin ni l'histoire. On devroit au moins leur enseigner ce qui est de leur mestier, les mathematiques, à faire des armes et à monter à cheval. Ils n'y pensent seulement pas. Il n'y a point ici d'Academie ni de maîtres qui montrent ces sortes de choses. Les jeunes hommes passent le tems qu'ils devroient emploïer à s'instruire dans un oisiveté pitoïable." Letter from Madrid, dated 27th June, 1679, in *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.

[218] "Madrid étant la capitale d'une monarchie aussi vaste, il n'y eut dans cette ville jusqu'à l'époque du règne de Philippe V. aucune bibliothèque publique." *Sempere, De la Monarchie Espagnole*, Paris, 1826, vol. ii. p. 79. [Buckle had previously pointed out (above, ch. vii. *note* 221) that in 1725 there was not a single public library in *London*. The argument is thus partly invalid.—Ed.]

couragement of science.[219] But De Torres, who was himself a Spaniard, and was educated at Salamanca early in the eighteenth century, declares that he had studied at that university for five years before he had heard that such things as the mathematical sciences existed.[220] So late as the year 1771, the same university publicly refused to allow the discoveries of Newton to be taught; and assigned as a reason that the system of Newton was not so consonant with revealed religion as the system of Aristotle.[221] All over Spain a similar plan was adopted. Everywhere knowledge was spurned, and inquiry discouraged. Feijoo, who, notwithstanding his superstition, and a certain slavishness of mind, from which no Spaniard of that age could escape, did on matters of science seek to enlighten his countrymen, has left upon record his deliberate opinion that whoever had acquired all that was taught in his time under the name of philosophy would as the reward of his labour be more ignorant than he was before he began.[222] And there can be no doubt that he was right. There can be no

[219] The university was transferred from Palencia to Salamanca, early in the thirteenth century. *Forner, Oracion Apologética por la España*, Madrid, 1786, p. 170. By the beginning of the fifteenth century it had become very prosperous (*Sempere, De la Monarchie Espagnole*, vol i. p. 65); and in 1535 it is described as "a great Universitie, conteyning seven or eight thowsand students." See a letter from John Mason, dated Valladolid, 3rd July, 1535, in *Ellis' Original Letters*, second series, vol. ii. p. 56, London, 1827. But, like everything else which was valuable in Spain, it declined in the seventeenth century; and Monconys, who carefully examined it in 1628, and praises some of its arrangements which were still in force, adds, "Mais je suis aussi contraint de dire après tant de loüanges, que les écoliers qui étudient dans cette université sont des vrais ignorans." *Les Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, Quatrième Partie, vol. v. p. 22, Paris, 1695. However, their ignorance, of which Monconys gives some curious instances, did not prevent Spanish writers, then and long afterwards, from deeming the University of Salamanca to be the greatest institution of its kind in the world. "La mayor del orbe, madre gloriosísima de todas las ciencias y de los mas vehementes ingenios, que han ilustrado las edades." *Vida de Calderon de la Barca*, pp. iii. iv., reprinted in Keil's edition of *Calderon*, Leipsique, 1827. Compare Davila (*Felipe Tercero*, p. 81), "Salamanca, madre de ciencias y letras;" Yañez (*Memorias*, p. 228), "Universidad insigne, y Oficina de las buenas Letras de España;" Bacallar (*Comentarios*, vol. i. p. 238), "El emporio de las ciencias;" and Ximenez (*Vida de Ribera*, p. 6), "Salamanca, cathedra universal de las artes, y emporio de todas ciencias."

[220] "Says that, after he had been five years in one of the schools of the university there, it was by accident he learned the existence of the mathematical sciences." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 223. A celebrated Spanish writer of the eighteenth century actually boasts of the ignorance of his countrymen concerning mathematics, and discerns, in their neglect of that foolish pursuit, a decisive proof of their superiority over other nations. "No se dexe deslumbrar con los ásperos calculos é intrincadas demostraciones geométricas, con que, astuto el entendimiento, disimula el engaño con los disfraces de la verdad. El uso de las matemáticas es la alquimia en la fisica, que da apariencias de oro á lo que no lo es." *Forner, Oracion Apologética por la España y su Mérito Literario*, Madrid, 1786, p. 38. Compare his contemptuous notice (p. 66) of those insignificant persons who "con título de filósofos han dado algun aumento á las matemáticas;" and his comparison (p. 222) of Mercado with Newton.

[221] "L'université de Salamanque, excitée par le Conseil, à réformer ses études, en l'année 1771, lui répondit 'qu'elle ne pouvait se séparer du péripatétisme, parce que les systèmes de Newton, Gassendi et Descartes, ne concordent pas autant avec les vérités révélées que ceux d'Aristote.'" *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 152. This reply, says M. Sempere, p. 153, may be found "dans la collection des ordonnances royales." In *Letters from Spain by an English Officer*, London, 1788, vol. ii. p. 256, it is stated that, in all the Spanish universities, "Newton, and modern philosophy, is still prohibited. Nothing can supplant Aristotle, and the superstitious fathers and doctors of the church."

[222] Or, as he in one place expresses himself, would know "very little more than nothing." "El que estudió Logica, y Metaphysica, con lo demás que, debaxo del nombre

doubt that in Spain the more a man was taught, the less he would know. For he was taught that inquiry was sinful, that intellect must be repressed, and that credulity and submission were the first of human attributes. The Duke de Saint Simon, who, in 1721 and 1722, was the French ambassador at Madrid, sums up his observations by the remark that in Spain science is a crime, and ignorance a virtue.[223] Fifty years later, another shrewd observer, struck with amazement at the condition of the national mind, expresses his opinion in a sentence equally pithy and almost equally severe. Searching for an illustration to convey his sense of the general darkness, he emphatically says that the common education of an English gentleman would in Spain constitute a man of learning.[224]

Those who know what the common education of an English gentleman was eighty years ago will appreciate the force of this comparison, and will understand how benighted a country must have been to which such a taunt was applicable. To expect that under such a state of things the Spaniards should make any of the discoveries which accelerate the march of nations, would be idle indeed; for they would not even receive the discoveries which other nations had made for them, and had cast into the common lap. So loyal and orthodox a people had nothing to do with novelties, which, being innovations on ancient opinions, were fraught with danger. The Spaniards desired to walk in the ways of their ancestors, and not have their faith in the past rudely disturbed. In the inorganic world the magnificent discoveries of Newton were contumeliously rejected; and in the organic world the circulation of the blood was denied, more than a hundred and fifty years after Harvey had proved it.[225] These things were new, and it was better to pause a little, and not receive them too hastily. On the same principle, when in the year 1760 some bold men in the government proposed that the streets of Madrid should be cleansed, so daring a suggestion excited general anger. Not only the vulgar, but even those who were called educated, were loud in their censure. The medical profession, as the guardians of the public health, were desired by the government to give their opinion.

de Philosofia, se enseña en las Escuelas, por bien que sepa todo, sabe muy poco mas que nada; pero suena mucho. Dicese, que es un gran Philosofo; y no es Philosofo grande, ni chico." *Feijoo, Theatro Critico Universal*, vol. ii. p. 187, quinta impression, Madrid, 1741.

223 "La science est un crime, l'ignorance et la stupidité la première vertu." *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. xxxv. p. 209, Paris, 1840. Elsewhere (vol. xxxvi. p. 252) he says, "Les jésuites savants partout et en tout genre de science, ce qui ne leur est pas même disputé par leurs ennemis, les jésuites, dis-je, sont ignorants en Espagne, mais d'une ignorance à surprendre."

224 "The common education of an English gentleman would constitute a man of learning here; and should he understand Greek, he would be quite a phenomenon." *Swinburne's Travels through Spain in 1775 and 1776*, vol. ii. pp. 212, 213, 2nd edit., London, 1787.

225 So late as 1787, Townsend, a very accomplished man, who travelled through Spain with the express object of noting the state of knowledge, as well as the economical condition of the country, and who by previous study had well qualified himself for such an undertaking, says, "I have observed in general that the physicians with whom I have had occasion to converse are disciples of their favourite doctor Piquer, who denied, or at least doubted of, the circulation of the blood." *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, 2nd ed., London, 1792, vol. iii. p. 281. At that time the Spanish physicians were however beginning to read Hoffmann, Cullen, and other heretical speculators, in whose works they would find, to their astonishment, that the circulation of the blood was assumed, and was not even treated as a debatable question. But the students were obliged to take such matters on trust; for, adds Townsend, p. 282, "In their medical classes they had no dissections." Compare *Laborde's Spain*, vol. i. p. 76, vol. iii. p. 315, London, 1809, and *Godoy's Memoirs*, London, 1836, vol. ii. p. 157. Godoy, speaking of the three colleges of surgery at Madrid, Barcelona, and Cadiz, says that until his administration in 1793, "In the capital, even that of San Carlos had not a lecture-room for practical instruction."

This they had no difficulty in doing. They had no doubt that the dirt ought to remain. To remove it was a new experiment; and of new experiments it was impossible to foresee the issue. Their fathers having lived in the midst of it, why should not they do the same? Their fathers were wise men, and must have had good reasons for their conduct. Even the smell, of which some persons complained, was most likely wholesome. For the air being sharp and piercing, it was extremely probable that bad smells made the atmosphere heavy, and in that way deprived it of some of its injurious properties. The physicians of Madrid were therefore of opinion that matters had better remain as their ancestors had left them, and that no attempts should be made to purify the capital by removing the filth which lay scattered on every side.[226]

While such notions prevailed respecting the preservation of health,[227] it is hardly to be supposed that the treatment of disease should be very successful. To bleed and to purge were the only remedies prescribed by the Spanish physicians.[228] Their ignorance of the commonest functions of the human body was

[226] This little episode is noticed by Cabarrus, in his *Elogio de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. xiv. "La salubridad del ayre, la limpieza y seguridad de las calles." . . . "Pero ¿quién creerá que este noble empeño produxo las mas vivas quejas: que se conmovió el vulgo de todas clases; y que tuvo varias autoridades á su favor la extraña doctrina de que los vapores mefíticos eran un correctivo saludable de la rigidez del clima?" But the fullest details will be found in the recently published and very elaborate History of Charles III., by M. Rio, from which I will give one or two extracts. "Para la limpieza de las calles poseia mayores ó menores fondos el ayuntamiento, y cuando el Rey quiso poner la mano en este ramo de policía, le presentaron dictámenes de médicos en que se defendia el absurdo de ser elemento de salubridad la basura." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. iv. p. 54. See also vol. i. pp. 267, 268, where it is mentioned that when the minister Esquilache persevered in his attempts to have the streets of Madrid cleansed, the opponents of the scheme made inquiries into the opinions of their fathers on that subject; and the result was, "que le presentaron cierta originalísima consulta hecha por los médicos bajo el reinado de uno de los Felipes de Austria, y reducida á demostrar que, siendo sumamente sutil el aire de la poblacion á causá de estar próxima la sierra de Guadarrama, ocasionaria los mayores estragos si no se impregnara en los vapores de las inmundicias desparramadas por las calles." That this idea had long been entertained by the physicians of Madrid we also know from another testimony, with which none of the Spanish historians are acquainted. Sir Richard Wynne, who visited that capital in 1623, describes a disgusting practice of the inhabitants, and adds, "Being desirous to know why so beastly a custom is suffered, they say it's a thing prescribed by their physicians; for they hold the air to be so piercing and subtle, that this kind of corrupting it with these ill vapours keeps it in good temper." *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1845, vol ii. p. 446.

[227] Even thirty years later, it was said with good reason that "es menester *deshacer todo lo que se ha hecho*," and "confiar exclusivamente el precioso depósito de la sanidad pública á las manos capaces de conservarlo y mejorarlo." *Cartas por el Conde de Cabarrus*, Madrid, 1813, p. 280. These letters, which, though little known, contain some interesting statements, were written in 1792 and 1793. See p. 34, and Prologo, p. i.

[228] Bleeding, however, had the preference. See the curious evidence in *Townsend's Journey through Spain in 1786 and 1787*, vol. ii. pp. 37–39. Townsend, who had some knowledge of medicine, was amazed at the ignorance and recklessness of the Spanish physicians. He says, "The science and practice of medicine are at the lowest ebb in Spain, but more especially in the Asturias." Compare *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 217, Paris, 1815, with *Winwood's Memorials*, London, 1725, folio, vol. ii. p. 219. The last reference shows the terrible "purging and letting blood," to which the unfortunate Spaniards were exposed in the reign of Philip III. Another observer, much later, states that "La saignée leur est assez familière. Ils se la font faire hors du lit tant que leurs forces le permettent, et *lorsqu' ils en usent par précaution, ils se font tirer du sang deux jours de suite du bras droit et du gauche, disant qu'il faut égaliser le sang.* On peut juger de là, si la circulation leur est connue." *Voyages faits en Espagne, par Monsieur M*****

altogether surprising, and can only be explained on the supposition, that in medicine as in other departments the Spaniards of the eighteenth century knew no more than their progenitors of the sixteenth. Indeed, in some respects they appeared to know less. For their treatment was so violent that it was almost certain death to submit to it for any length of time.[229] Their own king, Philip V., did not dare to trust himself in their hands, but preferred having an Irishman for his physician.[230] Though the Irish had no great medical reputation, anything was better than a Spanish doctor.[231] The arts incidental to medicine and surgery were equally backward. The instruments were rudely made, and the drugs badly prepared. Pharmacy being unknown, the apothecaries' shops in the largest towns were entirely supplied from abroad; while in the smaller towns, and in districts remote from the capital, the medicines were of such a quality, that the best which could be hoped of them was that they might be innocuous. For in the middle of the eighteenth century Spain did not possess one practical chemist. Indeed, we are assured by Campomanes himself that so late as the year 1776 there was not to be found in the whole country a single man who knew how to make the commonest drugs, such as magnesia, Glauber's salts, and the ordinary preparations of mercury and antimony. This eminent statesman adds, however, that a chemical laboratory was about to be established in Madrid; and although the enterprise, being without a precedent, would surely be regarded as a portentous novelty, he expresses a confident expectation that by its aid the universal ignorance of his countrymen would in time be remedied.[232]

Amsterdam, 1700, p. 112. See further *Clarke's Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, London, 4to, 1763, p. 55, and *Spain by an American*, London, 1831, vol. ii. p. 321.

[229] In 1780 poor Cumberland, when in Madrid, was as nearly as possible murdered by three of their surgeons in a very few days; the most dangerous of his assailants being no less a man than the "chief surgeon of the Gardes de Corps," who, says the unfortunate sufferer, was "sent to me by authority." See *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland, written by Himself*, London, 1807, vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.

[230] Duclos says of Philip V., "Il étoit fort attentif sur sa santé; son médecin, s'il eût été intriguant, auroit pu jouer un grand rôle. Hyghins, Irlandois, qui occupoit cette première place, fort eloigné de l'intrigue et de la cupidité, instruit dans son art, s'en occupoit uniquement. Après sa mort, la reine fit donner la place à Servi, son médecin particulier." *Mémoires par Duclos*, 2e édit. Paris, 1791, vol. ii. pp. 200, 201. "Hyghens, premier médecin, était Irlandais." *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. xxxvi. p. 215, ed. Paris, 1841.

[231] In the eighteenth century, the Spaniards, generally, began to admit this; since they could not shut their eyes to the fact that their friends and relations succumbed so rapidly under professional treatment that sickness and death were almost synonymous. Hence, notwithstanding their hatred of the French nation, they availed themselves of the services of French physicians and French surgeons, whenever they had an opportunity of doing so. In 1707 the Princess des Ursins writes from Madrid to Madame de Maintenon, "Les chirurgiens espagnols sont mésestimés même de ceux de leur nation;" and in another letter, "Les Espagnols conviennent que les médecins français sont beaucoup plus savants que les leurs; ils s'en servent même très-volontiers, mais ils sont persuadés que ceux de la faculté de Montpellier l'emportent sur les autres." *Lettres inédites de Madame de Maintenon et de la Princesse des Ursins*, vol. iii. p. 412, vol. iv. p. 90.

[232] Campomanes (*Apéndice á la Educacion Popular*, Madrid, 1776, vol. iii. pp. 74, 75), speaking of a work on distillation, says, "La tercera (parte) describe la preparacion de los productos químicos sólidos: esto es la preparacion de varias sustancias terreas, como argamasa, magnesia blanca, ojos de cangrejo etc., la de varios sales, como sal de glaubero, amoniaco, cristal mineral, borax refinado etc., y la del antimonio, mercurio, plomo, litargirio etc., comunicando sobre todo lo expresado varias noticias, que demuestran lo mucho que conducen á los progresos del arte, las observaciones del fisico reflexîvo: unidas á la práctica de un profesor experimentado. *Este arte en toda su extension falta en España.* Solo le tenemos para aguardientes, rosolis, y mistelas. *La salud pública es demasiado importante, para depender de los estraños en cosas esenciales*; quando no estimulase nuestra industria la manutencion de muchas familias." . . . "Gran parte de estas cosas se introducen de fuera, por no conocerse bien las operaciones qu micas. No

Whatever was useful in practice, or whatever subserved the purposes of knowledge, had to come from abroad. Ensenada, the well-known minister of Ferdinand VI., was appalled by the darkness and apathy of the nation, which he tried, but tried in vain, to remove. When he was at the head of affairs, in the middle of the eighteenth century, he publicly declared that in Spain there was no professorship of public law, or of physics, or of anatomy, or of botany. He further added that there were no good maps of Spain, and that there was no person who knew how to construct them. All the maps which they had came from France and Holland. They were, he said, very inaccurate; but the Spaniards, being unable to make any, had nothing else to rely on. Such a state of things he pronounced to be shameful. For, as he bitterly complained, if it were not for the exertions of Frenchmen and Dutchmen it would be impossible for any Spaniard to know either the position of his own town, or the distance from one place to another.[233]

The only remedy for all this seemed to be foreign aid; and Spain being now ruled by a foreign dynasty, that aid was called in. Cervi established the Medical Societies of Madrid and of Seville; Virgili founded the College of Surgery at Cadiz; and Bowles endeavoured to promote among the Spaniards the study of mineralogy.[234] Professors were sought for far and wide; and application was made to Linnæus to send a person from Sweden who could impart some idea of botany to physiological students.[235] Many other and similar steps were taken by the government, whose indefatigable exertions would deserve our warmest praise, if we did not know how impossible it is for any government to enlighten a nation, and how absolutely essential it is that the desire for improvement should in the first place proceed from the people themselves.* No progress is real unless

son dificultosas en la execucion; pero *es necesario enseñarlas, y conocer los instrumentos que son aproposito.* Un laboratorio químico, que *se va á establecer en Madrid*, producirá maestros para las capitales del reyno."

[233] "Su ministro el célebre Ensenada, que tenia grandes miras en todos los ramos de la administracion pública, deseaba ardientemente mejorar la enseñanza, lamentándose del atraso en que esta se hallaba. 'Es menester, decia hablando de las universidades, reglar sus cátedras, reformar las superfluas y establecer las que faltan con nuevas ordenanzas para asegurar el mejor método de estudios. No sé que haya cátedra alguna de derecho público, de física esperimental, de anatomia y botánica. No hay puntuales cartas geográficas del reino y de sus provincias, *ni quien las sepa grabar, ni tenemos otras que las imperfectas que vienen de Francia y Holanda.* De esto proviene que ignoramos la verdadera situacion de los pueblos y sus distancias, que es una vergüenza.'" *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iv. pp. 268, 269. See also *Biografia de Ensenada*, in *Navarrete, Coleccion de Opusculos*, Madrid, 1848, vol. ii. pp. 21, 22. "Le parecia vergonzoso que para conocer la situacion y distancias respectivas de nuestros mismos pueblos y lagures, dependiésemos de los franceses y holandeses, quienes por sus mapas imperfectas de la península extraian de ella sumas considerables." Eighty years after this complaint was made by Ensenada, we find a traveller in Spain stating that "a decent map of any part, even of the country round the gates of the capital, cannot be found." *Cook's Spain from 1829 to 1832*, London, 1834, vol. i. p. 322. Compare *Notices of Geological Memoirs*, p. 1, at the end of the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. vi., London, 1850; "even a good geographical map of the Peninsula does not exist."

[234] M. Rio (*Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 185) mentions this in a very characteristic manner. "Varios extranjeros distinguidos *hallaron fraternidad entre los españoles, y correspondieron hidalgamente al hospedaje*: Cervi dió vida á las sociedades médicas de Madrid y Sevilla; Virgili al colegio de cirugía de Cádiz; Quer trabajó sin descanso para que el jardin Botánico no fuera un simple lugar de recreo, sino principalmente de estudio; Bowles comunicó grande impulso á la mineralogía," etc.

[235] I have mislaid the evidence of this fact; but the reader may rely on its accuracy.

[* See notes above, pp. 155, 163, 346, 354, 372. In thus calling for an absolutely spontaneous—i.e. uncaused—change of mind on the part of a nation, Buckle departs from his primary principles. His words as to "general causes" in this passage carry a quite fallacious implication. Schools *are* "general causes."—Ed.]

it is spontaneous. The movement, to be effective, must emanate from within, and not from without; it must be due to general causes acting on the whole country, and not to the mere will of a few powerful individuals. During the eighteenth century all the means of improvement were lavishly supplied to the Spaniards; but the Spaniards did not want to improve. They were satisfied with themselves; they were sure of the accuracy of their own opinions; they were proud of the notions which they inherited, and which they did not wish either to increase or to diminish. Being unable to doubt, they were, therefore, unwilling to inquire. New and beautiful truths, conveyed in the clearest and most attractive language, could produce no effect upon men whose minds were thus hardened and enslaved.[236] An unhappy combination of events, working without interruption since the fifth century, had predetermined the national character in a particular direction, and neither statesmen, nor kings, nor legislators, could effect aught against it. The seventeenth century was, however, the climax of all. In that age the Spanish nation fell into a sleep from which, as a nation, it has never since awakened.* It was a sleep not of repose, but of death. It was a sleep in which the faculties, instead of being rested, were paralyzed, and in which a cold and universal torpor succeeded that glorious though partial activity which, while it made the name of Spain terrible in the world, had insured the respect even of her bitterest enemies.

Even the fine arts, in which the Spaniards had formerly excelled, partook of the general degeneracy, and, according to the confession of their own writers, had by the beginning of the eighteenth century fallen into complete decay.[237] The arts which secure national safety were in the same predicament as those which minister to national pleasure. There was no one in Spain who could build a ship; there was no one who knew how to rig it after it was built. The consequence was that by the close of the seventeenth century the few ships which Spain possessed were so rotten that, says an historian, they could hardly support the fire of their own guns.[238] In 1752 the government, being determined to restore the navy, found it necessary to send to England for shipwrights; and they were also obliged to apply to the same quarter for persons who could make ropes and canvas; the skill of the natives being unequal to such arduous achievements.[239] In this way the ministers of the Crown, whose ability and vigour, considering the difficult circumstances in which the incapacity of the people placed them, were extremely remarkable, contrived to raise a fleet superior to any which had

[236] Townsend (*Journey through Spain in* 1786 *and* 1787, vol. ii. p. 275) says, "Don Antonio Solano, professor of experimental philosophy, merits attention for the clearness and precision of his demonstrations; but, unfortunately, although his lectures are delivered gratis, such is the want of taste for science in Madrid, that nobody attends them."

[237] "La ignorancia reinante en los últimos años del siglo xvii depravó en tal manera el buen gusto, que á principios del xviii las artes se hallaban en la mas lastimosa decadencia." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iv. p. 346. See also, on this decline, or rather destruction, of taste, *Velazquez, Orígenes de la Poesia Castellana*, Malaga, 1754, 4to. "Un siglo corrompido, en que las letras estaban abandonadas, y el buen gusto casi desterrado de toda la nacion." p. 70. "Al passo que la nacion perdia el buen gusto, y las letras iban caminando á su total decadencia." p. 107. "Los caminos por donde nuestros poetas en el siglo passado se apartaron del buen gusto en esta parte." p. 170.

[238] "Solo cuatro navíos de línea y seis de poco porte dejaron los reyes de origen austriaco, y todos tan podridos que apenas podian aguantar el fuego de sus propias baterías." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. i. p. 184.

[239] "Se mandaron construir 12 navíos á la vez, y se contrataron otros. Por medio de D. Jorge Juan se trajeron de Inglaterra los mas hábiles constructores y maestros para las fábricas de jarcia, lona y otras." *Biografia de Ensenada*, in *Navarrete, Coleccion de Opusculos*, Madrid, 1848, vol. ii. p. 18. M. Rio, taking all this as a matter of course, quietly says, "D. Jorge Juan fue á Lóndres para estudiar la construccion de navios." *Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. iv. p. 485.

[* This is clearly an exaggeration.—Ed.]

been seen in Spain for more than a century.[240] They also took many other steps towards putting the national defences into a satisfactory condition; though in every instance they were forced to rely on the aid of foreigners. Both the military and the naval service were in utter confusion, and had to be organized afresh. The discipline of the infantry was re-modelled by O'Reilly, an Irishman, to whose superintendence the military schools of Spain were intrusted.[241] At Cadiz a great naval academy was formed, but the head of it was Colonel Godin, a French officer.[242] The artillery, which like everything else had become almost useless, was improved by Maritz, the Frenchman; while the same service was rendered to the arsenals by Gazola, the Italian.[243]

The mines, which form one of the greatest natural sources of the wealth of Spain, had likewise suffered from that ignorance and apathy into which the force of circumstances had plunged the country. They were either completely neglected, or if worked, they were worked by other nations. The celebrated cobalt-mine, situated in the valley of Gistau in Aragon, was entirely in the hands of the Germans, who, during the first half of the eighteenth century, derived immense profit from it.[244] In the same way, the silver-mines of Guadalcanal, the richest in Spain, were undertaken not by natives but by foreigners. Though they had been discovered in the sixteenth century, they, as well as other matters of importance, had been forgotten in the seventeenth, and were re-opened in 1728 by English adventurers; the enterprise, the tools, the capital, and even the miners, all coming from England.[245] Another and still more famous mine is that of Almaden in La Mancha, which produces mercury of the finest quality, and in great profusion. This metal, besides being indispensable for many of the commonest arts, was of peculiar value to Spain, because without it the gold and silver of the New World could not be extracted from their ores. From Almaden, where every natural facility exists for collecting it, and where the cinnabar in which it is found is unusually rich, vast supplies had formerly been drawn; but they had for some time been diminishing, although the demand, especially from foreign countries, was on the increase. Under these circum-

[240] M. Lafuente says that Ensenada was the restorer, and almost the creator, of the Spanish navy; "de la cual fué el restaurador, y casi pudiera decirse el creador." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xix. p. 344, Madrid, 1857.

[241] "C'est par un Irlandais aussi, Oreilly, que la discipline de l'infanterie est réformée." *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, Paris, 1808, vol. ii. p. 142. "Las escuelas militares del puerto de Sta. Maria para la infanteria, que dirigió con tanto acierto el general Ofarril bajo las ordenes del conde de O'Reilly." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 128.

[242] "Vino á dirigir la academia de guardias marinas de Cadiz." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 79. "Godin figuró como director del colegio de guardias marinas." *Rio, Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 186. Compare *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xvii. p. 564, Paris, 1816.

[243] See the interesting remarks in *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, Paris, 1808, vol. ii. pp. 96, 142. With good reason therefore was it stated, some years afterwards, that "c'est à des étrangers que l'Espagne doit presque tous les plans, les réformes utiles et les connoissances dont elle a eu besoin." *Voyage en Espagne par le Marquis de Langle*, 1785, vol. ii. p. 159.

[244] "Como los del pais entendian poco de trabajar minas, vinieron de Alemania algunos prácticos para enseñarlos." . . . "Los Alemanes sacaron de dicha mina por largo tiempo cosa de 500 á 600 quintales de cobalto al año." *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, pp. 418, 419. See also *Dillon's Spain*, Dublin, 1781, pp. 227–229.

[245] "In 1728 a new adventurer undertook the work of opening the mines of Guadalcanal. This was Lady Mary Herbert, daughter of the Marquis of Powis." . . . "Lady Mary departed from Madrid for Guadalcanal, to which miners and engines had been sent from England at her expense, and at that of her relation, Mr. Gage, who accompanied her, and of her father, the marquis." *Jacob's Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals*, London, 1831, vol. i. pp. 278, 279.

stances the Spanish government, fearing that so important a source of wealth might altogether perish, determined to institute an inquiry into the manner in which the mine was worked. As, however, no Spaniard possessed the knowledge requisite for such an investigation, the advisers of the Crown were obliged to call on foreigners to help them. In 1752 an Irish naturalist named Bowles was commissioned to visit Almaden, and ascertain the cause of the failure. He found that the miners had acquired a habit of sinking their shafts perpendicularly, instead of following the direction of the vein.[246] So absurd a process was quite sufficient to account for their want of success; and Bowles reported to the government, that if a shaft were to be sunk obliquely, the mine would no doubt again be productive. The government approved of the suggestion, and ordered it to be carried into effect. But the Spanish miners were too tenacious of their old customs to give way. They sank their shafts in the same manner as their fathers had done; and what their fathers had done, must be right. The result was that the mine had to be taken out of their hands; but as Spain could supply no other labourers, it was necessary to send to Germany for fresh ones.[247] After their arrival matters rapidly improved. The mine, being superintended by an Irishman and worked by Germans, assumed quite a different appearance; and notwithstanding the disadvantages with which new comers always have to contend, the immediate consequence of the change was that the yield of mercury was doubled, and its cost to the consumer correspondingly lowered.[248]

Such ignorance, pervading the whole nation, and extending to every department of life, is hardly conceivable, considering the immense advantages which the Spaniards had formerly enjoyed. It is particularly striking when contrasted with the ability of the government, which for more than eighty years constantly laboured to improve the condition of the country. Early in the eighteenth century, Ripperda, in the hopes of stimulating Spanish industry, established a large woollen manufactory at Segovia, which had once been a busy and prosperous city. But the commonest processes had now been forgotten; and he was obliged to import manufacturers from Holland to teach the Spaniards how to make up the wool, though that was an art for which in better days they had been especially famous.[249] In 1757 Wall, who was then minister, constructed upon a still larger scale a similar manufactory at Guadalajara in New Castile. Soon, however, something went wrong with the machinery; and as the Spaniards neither knew nor cared anything about these matters, it was necessary to send

[246] "Los mineros de Almaden nunca hicieron los socavones siguiendo la inclinacion de las betas, sino perpendiculares, y baxaban á ellos puestos en una especie de cubos atados desde arriba con cuerdas. De este mal método se originó todo el desórden de la mina, porque al paso que los operarios penetraban dentro de tierra, era forzoso que se apartasen de las betas y las perdiesen." *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. 14.

[247] "Fue mi proyecto bien recibido del Ministerio, y *habiendo hecho venir mineros Alemanes*, le han executado en gran parte con mucha habilidad. Los mineros Españoles de Almaden son atrevidos y tienen robustez, maña y penetracion quanta es menester, de suerte que *con el tiempo serán excelentes mineros, pues no les falta otra cosa que la verdadera ciencia de las minas*." *Historia Natural de España*, p. 16. The latter part of this sentence is an evident struggle between the interests of truth and the exigencies of a book printed at the Royal Press of Madrid, and licensed by the Spanish authorities.

[248] "Encargado por el gobierno el laborioso extrangero Bowles de proponer los medios convenientes para beneficiar con mas acierto las famosas minas de azogue del Almaden, descubrió algunos nuevos procedimientos por medio de los cuales casi se duplicaron los productos de aquellas, y bajó una mitad el precio de los azogues." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 117.

[249] *Memoirs of Ripperda*, 2nd ed., London, 1740, pp. 23, 62, 91, 104. "A ship arrived at Cadiz with fifty manufacturers on board, whom the Baron de Ripperda had drawn together in Holland." . . . "The new manufactures at Segovia, which, though at this time wholly managed by foreigners, he wished in the next age might be carried on by the Spaniards themselves, and by them only."

to England for a workman to put it right.[250] At length the advisers of Charles III., despairing of rousing the people by ordinary means, devised a more comprehensive scheme, and invited thousands of foreign artizans to settle in Spain; trusting that their example, and the suddenness of their influx, might invigorate this jaded nation.[251] All was in vain. The spirit of the country was broken, and nothing could retrieve it.* Among other attempts which were made, the formation of a National Bank was a favourite idea of politicians, who expected great things from an institution which was to extend credit and make advances to persons engaged in business. But though the design was executed, it entirely failed in effecting its purpose. When the people are not enterprising, no effort of government can make them so. In a country like Spain a great bank was an exotic, which might live with art, but could never thrive by nature. Indeed, both in its origin and in its completion, it was altogether foreign, having been first proposed by the Dutchman Ripperda,[252] and owing its final organization to the Frenchman Cabarrus.[253]

In everything the same law prevailed. In diplomacy the ablest men were not Spaniards, but foreigners; and during the eighteenth century the strange spectacle was frequently exhibited of Spain being represented by French, Italian, and even Irish ambassadors.[254] Nothing was indigenous; nothing was

[250] "The minister, Wall, an Irishman, contrived to decoy over one Thomas Bevan, from Melksham, in Wiltshire, to set the machinery and matters to rights." *Ford's Spain*, London, 1847, p. 525.

[251] "Ademas de la invitacion que se hizo á millares de operarios extrangeros para venir á establecerse en España," &c. *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. pp. 112, 113. In 1768, Harris, who travelled from Pampeluna to Madrid, writes, "I did not observe a dozen men either at plough or any other kind of labour, on the road." *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, Earl of Malmesbury*, London, 1844, vol. i. p. 38.

[252] "A national bank, a design originally suggested by Ripperda." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 202.

[253] Bourgoing, not aware of Ripperda's priority, says (*Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, vol. ii. p. 49), "L'idée de la banque nationale fut donnée au gouvernement par un banquier r ançais, M. Cabarrus." Compare *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 122, 123: "Banco nacional de San Cárlos; propúsolo Cabarrús, apoyólo Floridablanca, y sancionólo el Soberano por Real cedula de 2 de junio de 1782." This sounds well; but the inevitable catastrophe soon came. "Charles IV.," says the Prince of the Peace, "had just ascended the throne; the bank of St. Carlos was rapidly falling, and on the verge of bankruptcy." *Godoy's Memoirs*, London, 1836, vol. i. p. 124.

[254] "A Londres, à Stockholm, à Paris, à Vienne et à Venise, le souverain est représenté par des étrangers. Le prince de Masserano, Italien, ambassadeur en Angleterre; le comte de Lacy, Irlandais, ministre à Stockholm; le marquis de Grimaldi, ambassadeur en France, avant de parvenir au ministère; le comte de Mahoni, Irlandais, ambassadeur à Vienne; le marquis de Squilaci, ambassadeur à Venise, après sa retraite du ministère." *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 143. To this I may add that, in the reign of Philip V., an Italian, the Marquis de Beretti Landi, was the representative of Spain in Switzerland, and afterwards at the Hague (*Ripperda's Memoirs*, 1740, pp. 37, 38); and that in, or just before, 1779, Lacy filled the same post at St. Petersburg. *Malmesbury's Diaries and Correspondence*, 1844, vol. i. p. 261. So, too, M. Rio (*Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. i. pp. 288, 289) says of the important negotiations which took place in 1761, between Spain, England, and France, "Y así de las negociaciones en que Luis XV. trataba de enredarlá Carlos III., quedaron absolutamente excluidos los españoles, como que por una parte las iban á seguir el duque de Choiseul y el marques de Ossun, franceses, y por otra el irlandés D. Ricardo Wall, y el genovés marques de Grimaldi." About the same time, Clarke writes (in his *Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, London, 1763, 4to, p. 331), "Spain has, for many years past, been under the direction of foreign ministers. Whether this hath been owing to want of capacity in the natives, or disinclination in the sovereign, I will not take upon me to say; such as it is, the native nobility lament it as a great calamity."

[* This is inconsistent with the statements made below, at note 279.—Ed.

done by Spain herself. Philip V., who reigned from 1700 to 1746, and possessed immense power, always clung to the ideas of his own country, and was a Frenchman to the last. For thirty years after his death the three most prominent names in Spanish politics were: Wall, who was born in France, of Irish parents;[255] Grimaldi, who was a native of Genoa;[256] and Esquilache, who was a native of Sicily.[257] Esquilache administered the finances for several years; and after enjoying the confidence of Charles III. to an extent rarely possessed by any minister, was only dismissed, in 1766, in consequence of the discontent of the people at the innovations introduced by this bold foreigner.[258] Wall, a much more remarkable man, was, in the absence of any good Spanish diplomatist, sent envoy to London in 1747; and after exercising great influence in matters of state, he was placed at the head of affairs in 1754, and remained supreme till 1763.[259] When this eminent Irishman relinquished office, he was succeeded by the Genoese, Grimaldi, who ruled Spain from 1763 to 1777, and was entirely devoted to the French views of policy.[260] His principal patron was Choiseul, who had imbued him with his own notions, and by whose advice he was chiefly guided.[261] Indeed, Choiseul, who was then the first minister in France, used to boast, with exaggeration but not without a considerable amount of truth, that his influence in Madrid was even greater than it was in Versailles.[262]

However this may be, it is certain that four years after Grimaldi took office, the ascendency of France was exhibited in a remarkable way. Choiseul, who hated the Jesuits, and had just expelled them from France, endeavoured also to expel them from Spain.[263] The execution of the plan was confided to Aranda,

[255] Lord Stanhope, generally well informed on Spanish affairs, says that Wall was "a native of Ireland." *Mahon's History of England*, vol. iv. p. 182, 3rd edit., London, 1853; but in *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iv. p. 47, edit. Paris, 1829, he is called "irlandais d'origine, né en France." See also *Biografía de Ensenada*, in *Navarrete, Opúsculos*, Madrid, 1848, vol. ii. p. 26, "D. Ricardo Wall, irlandés de orígen, nacido en Francia." Swinburne, who knew him personally, and has given some account of him, does not mention where he was born. *Swinburne's Travels through Spain*, second edition, London, 1787, vol. i. pp. 314–318.

[256] "A Genoese, and a creature of France." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 170.

[257] "Era siciliano." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 244.

[258] The fullest account of his dismissal is given by M. Rio, in the first chapter of the second volume of his *Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, which should, however, be compared with *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 340–346. Coxe terms him Squilaci; but I follow the orthography of the Spanish writers, who always call him Esquilache. Such was his influence over the King that, according to Coxe (vol. iv. p. 347), Charles III. "publicly said that 'if he was reduced to a morsel of bread, he would divide it with Squilaci.'"

[259] *Coxe's Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 15, 135. *Rio, Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. i. pp. 246, 247, 400, 401. *Navarrete, Biografía de Ensenada*, pp. 26–28.

[260] He resigned in 1776, but held office till the arrival of his successor, Florida Blanca, in 1777. *Rio, Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 171, 174. In reference to his appointment in 1763, M. Rio observes (vol. i. p. 402), "De que Grimaldi creciera en fortuna se pudo congratular no Roma, sino Francia." In 1770, Harris, the diplomatist, who was then in Spain, writes, "His doctrine is absolutely French; guided in everything by the French closet," &c. *Malmesbury's Diaries and Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 56, London, 1844.

[261] "Guided in his operations by the counsels of Choiseul." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 339. "The prosecution of the schemes which he had concerted with Choiseul." p. 373. "His friend and patron." p. 391, and vol. v. p. 6.

[262] "Personne n'ignoroit le crédit prodigieux que M. de Choiseul avoit sur le roi d'Espagne, dont il se vantoit lui-même, au point que je lui ai ouï dire, qu'il étoit plus sûr de sa prépondérance dans le cabinet de Madrid que dans celui de Versailles.' *Mémoires du Baron de Besenval, écrits par lui-même*, vol. ii. pp. 14, 15, Paris, 1805.

[263] M. Muriel (*Gobierno del Rey Don Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1830, pp. 44, 45) terms their

who, though a Spaniard by birth, derived his intellectual culture from France, and had contracted in the society of Paris an intense hatred of every form of ecclesiastical power.[264] The scheme, secretly prepared, was skilfully accomplished.[265] In 1767 the Spanish government, without hearing what the Jesuits had to say in their defence and indeed without giving them the least notice, suddenly ordered their expulsion; and with such animosity were they driven from the country in which they sprung up, and had long been cherished, that not only was their wealth confiscated, and they themselves reduced to a wretched pittance, but even that was directed to be taken from them if they published anything in their own vindication; while it was also declared that whoever ventured to write respecting them, should, if he were a subject of Spain, be put to death as one guilty of high treason.[266]

Such boldness on the part of the government [267] caused even the Inquisition to tremble. That once omnipotent tribunal, threatened and suspected by the civil authorities, became more wary in its proceedings, and more tender in its treatment of heretics. Instead of extirpating unbelievers by hundreds or by thousands, it was reduced to such pitiful straits that between 1746 and 1759 it was only able to burn ten persons, and between 1759 and 1788 only four persons.[268] The extraordinary diminution during the latter period was partly owing to the great authority wielded by Aranda, the friend of the encyclopædists and of other French sceptics. This remarkable

expulsion from Spain "este acto de violencia hecho meramente por complacer al duque de Choiseul, ministro de Francia y protector del partido filosófico." See also *Crétineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. v. p. 291, Paris, 1845; and *Georgel, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Evénemens depuis* 1760, vol. i. p. 95, Paris, 1817.

[264] Archdeacon Coxe, in a somewhat professional tone, says of Aranda, "In France he had acquired the graces of polished society, and *imbibed that freedom of sentiment* which then began to be fashionable, and *has since been carried to such a dangerous excess*." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 402. His great enemy, the Prince of the Peace, wishing to be severe, unintentionally praises him; and observes that he was "connected with the most distinguished literary Frenchmen of the middle of the last century," and that he was "divested of religious prejudices, though swayed by philosophical enthusiasm." *Godoy's Memoirs*, London, 1836, vol. i. p. 319. The hostility of some men is extremely valuable. The Prince further adds that Aranda "could only lay claim to the inferior merit of a sectarian attachment;" forgetting that in a country like Spain every enlightened person must belong to a miserably small sect.

[265] Cabarrus (*Elogio de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. xxiv.) says, rather magniloquently, "El acierto de la execucion que correspondió al pulso y prudencia con que se habia deliberado esta providencia importante, pasará á la última posteridad."

[266] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 362. M. Rio, in the second volume of his *History of Charles III.*, Madrid, 1856, has given a long, but not very philosophical nor very accurate account of the expulsion of the Jesuits, which he considers solely from the Spanish point of view; overlooking the fact that it was part of an European movement headed by France. He denies the influence of Choiseul, p. 125; censures the perfectly correct statement of Coxe, p. 123; and finally ascribes this great event to the operation of causes confined to the Peninsula. "De ser los jesuitas adversarios del regalismo emanó su ruina en España, cuando triunfaban las opiniones sostenidas con heróico teson desde mucho ántes por doctísimos jurisconsultos." p. 519.

[267] One of the most recent historians of the Jesuits indignantly observes, "Depuis deux cent vingt ans les Jésuites vivent et prêchent en Espagne. Ils sont comblés de bienfaits par des monarques dont ils étendent la souveraineté. Le clergé et les masses acceptent avec bonheur leur intervention. Tout à coup l'Ordre se voit déclaré coupable d'un crime de lèse-majesté, d'un attentat public que personne ne peut spécifier. La sentence prononce la peine sans énoncer le délit." *Crétineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. v. p. 295, Paris, 1845.

[268] *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 285, where the facts are well brought together. The valuable *History of the Inquisition*, by Llorente, is not quite precise enough in these matters; though it is a very accurate, and, what is still more surprising, a very honest book.

man was President of Castile till 1773,[269] and he issued an order forbidding the Inquisition to interfere with the civil courts.[270] He also formed a scheme for entirely abolishing it; but his plan was frustrated owing to its premature announcement by his friends in Paris, to whom it had been confided.[271] His views, however, were so far successful that after 1781 there is no instance in Spain of a heretic being burned; the Inquisition being too terrified by the proceedings of government to do anything which might compromise the safety of the Holy Institution.[272]

In 1777 Grimaldi, one of the chief supporters of that anti-theological policy which France introduced into Spain, ceased to be minister; but he was succeeded by Florida Blanca, who was his creature, and to whom he transmitted his policy as well as his power.[273] The progress therefore of political affairs continued in the same direction. Under the new minister, as under his immediate predecessors, a determination was shown to abridge the authority of the Church and to vindicate the rights of laymen. In everything the ecclesiastical interests were treated as subordinate to the secular. Of this many instances might be given; but one is too important to be omitted. We have seen that early in the eighteenth century Alberoni, when at the head of affairs, was guilty of what in Spain was deemed the enormous offence of contracting an alliance with Mohammedans; and there can be no doubt that this was one of the chief causes of his fall, since it was held that no prospect of mere temporal advantages could justify an union, or even a peace, between a Christian nation and a nation of unbelievers.[274] But the Spanish government, which, owing to the causes I have related, was far in advance of Spain itself, was gradually becoming bolder, and growing more and more disposed to force upon the country views which, abstractedly considered,

[269] *Rio, Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 103–107, which must be compared with the account of Coxe, who derived some of his information from a friend of Aranda's. *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 401–415. A good life of Aranda would be very interesting. That contained in the *Biographie Universelle* is extremely meagre, and carelessly written.

[270] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 407.

[271] "When at Paris, in 1786, I received the following anecdote from a person connected with the encyclopedists. During his residence in that capital, D'Aranda had frequently testified to the literati with whom he associated, his resolution to obtain the abolition of the Inquisition, should he ever be called to power. His appointment was, therefore, exultingly hailed by the party, particularly by D'Alembert; and he had scarcely begun his reforms before an article was inserted in the Encyclopædia, then printing, in which this event was confidently anticipated, from the liberal principles of the minister. D'Aranda was struck on reading this article, and said, 'This imprudent disclosure will raise such a ferment against me, that my plans will be foiled.' He was not mistaken in his conjecture." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 408.

[272] Even the case in 1781 appears to have been for witchcraft rather than for heresy. "La dernière victime qui périt dans les flammes fut une *béate:* on la brûla à Séville, le 7 novembre 1781, comme ayant fait un pacte, et entretenu un commerce charnel avec le Démon, et pour avoir été impénitente négative. Elle eût pu éviter la mort en s'avouant coupable du crime dont on l'accusait." *Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, Paris, 1818, vol. iv. p. 270. About this time torture began to be disused in Spain. See an interesting note in *Johnston's Institutes of the Civil Law of Spain*, London, 1825, p. 263.

[273] "Menester es decir que el marqués de Grimaldi cayó venciendo á sus enemigos, pues, léjos de legarles el poder, á que aspiraban con anhelo, trasmitiólo á una de sus más legítimas hechuras; que tal era y por tal se reconocia el conde de Floridablanca." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 151, 152.

[274] In 1690 it was stated that "since the expulsion of the Moors" there was no precedent for the King of Spain ever sending an envoy to a Mohammedan prince. See *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, p. 5. In that year an envoy was sent to Morocco; but this was merely concerning the redemption of prisoners, and certainly without the remotest intention of concluding a peace.

were extremely enlightened, but which the popular mind was unable to receive. The result was that in 1782 Florida Blanca concluded a treaty with Turkey, which put an end to the war of religious opinions ; to the astonishment, as we are told, of the other European powers, who could hardly believe that the Spaniards would thus abandon their long-continued efforts to destroy the infidels.[275] Before, however, Europe had time to recover from its amazement, other and similar events occurred, equally startling. In 1784 Spain signed a peace with Tripoli ; and in 1785 one with Algiers.[276] And scarcely had these been ratified when in 1786 a treaty was also concluded with Tunis.[277] So that the Spanish people, to their no small surprise, found themselves on terms of amity with nations whom for more than ten centuries they had been taught to abhor, and whom, in the opinion of the Spanish Church, it was the first duty of a Christian government to make war upon, and if possible to extirpate.

Putting aside for a moment the remote and intellectual consequences of these transactions, there can be no doubt that the immediate and material consequences were very salutary ; though, as we shall presently see, they produced no lasting benefit, because they were opposed by the unfavourable operation of more powerful and more general causes. Still it must be confessed that the direct results were extremely advantageous ; and to those who take only a short view of human affairs, it might well appear that the advantages would be permanent. The immense line of coast from the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco to the furthest extremity of the Turkish empire was no longer allowed to pour forth those innumerable pirates who, heretofore, swept the seas, captured Spanish ships, and made slaves of Spanish subjects. Formerly, vast sums of money were annually consumed in ransoming these unhappy prisoners ;[278] but now all such evils were ended. At the same time, great impetus was given to the commerce of Spain ; a new trade was thrown open, and her ships could safely appear in the rich countries of the Levant. This increased her wealth ; which was moreover aided by another circumstance growing out of these events. For the most fertile parts of Spain are those which are washed by the Mediterranean, and which had for centuries been the prey of Mohammedan corsairs, who, frequently landing by surprise, had at length caused such constant fear that the

[275] "The other European courts, with surprise and regret, witnessed the conclusion of a treaty which terminated the political and religious rivalry so long subsisting between Spain and the Porte." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. pp. 152, 153. "Une des maximes de la politique espagnole avait été celle de maintenir une guerre perpétuelle contre les mahométans, même après la conquête de Grenade. Ni les pertes incalculables éprouvées par suite de ce système, ni l'exemple de la France et d'autres puissances catholiques qui ne se faisaient point scruple d'être en paix avec les Turcs, n'avaient suffi pour détromper l'Espagne sur l'inconvenance d'une telle politique. Le génie éclairé de Charles III. corrigea un préjugé aussi dangereux ; dicta la paix avec les empereurs de Turquie et d'autres potentats mahométans ; delivra ses sujets de la terrible piraterie des corsaires, et ouvrit à leur commerce de nouvelles voies pour spéculer avec de plus grands avantages." *Sempere, La Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 160.

[276] *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 11–13.

[277] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 16, 17.

[278] "Ha sido notable el número de cautivos, que los piratas de Berbería han hecho sobre nuestras costas por tres centurias. En el siglo pasado se solian calcular exístentes á la vez en nuestras Argel, treinta mil personas españolas. Su rescate á razon de mil pesos por cada persona á lo menos, ascendia á 30 millones de pesos." *Campomanes, Apéndice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. i. p. 373, Madrid, 1775. On the precautions which had to be used to guard the coasts of Spain against the Mohammedan corsairs, see *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, Madrid, 1757, folio, pp. 172, 173, 222–226 ; and *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. p. 476, Madrid, 1855. In the middle of the eighteenth century a regular watch had to be kept along the Mediterranean coast of Spain, "in order to give the alarm upon the appearance of the enemy." See *A Tour Through Spain by Udal ap Rhys*, 2nd edit., London, 1760, p. 170. As to the state of things in the seventeenth century, see *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1857, p. 63.

inhabitants gradually retired towards the interior, and abstained from cultivating the richest soil in their country. But by the treaties just concluded such dangers were at once removed; the people returned to their former abodes; the earth again gave forth its fruits; regular industry reappeared; villages sprung up; even manufactures were established; and the foundation seemed to be laid for a prosperity the like of which had not been known since the Mohammedans were driven out of Granada.[279]

I have now laid before the reader a view of the most important steps which were taken by those able and vigorous politicians who ruled Spain during the greater part of the eighteenth century. In considering how these reforms were effected, we must not forget the personal character of Charles III., who occupied the throne from 1759 to 1788.[280] He was a man of great energy, and though born in Spain had little in common with it. When he became king he had been long absent from his native country, and had contracted a taste for customs, and above all for opinions, totally dissimilar to those natural to the Spaniards.[281] Comparing him with his subjects, he was enlightened indeed. They cherished in their hearts the most complete, and therefore the worst, form of spiritual power which has ever been exhibited in Europe. That very power he made it his business to restrain. In this as in other respects he far surpassed Ferdinand VI. and Philip V., though they, under the influence of French ideas, had proceeded to what was deemed a dangerous length.[282] The clergy, indignant at such proceedings, murmured, and even threatened.[283] They declared that

[279] "De esta suerte quedaron los mares limpios de piratas desde los reinos de Fez y Marruecos hasta los últimos dominios del emperador Turco, por el Mediterráneo todo; vióse á menudo la bandera española en Levante, y las mismas naciones mercantiles que la persiguieron indirectamente, preferíanla ahora, resultando el aumento del comercio y de la Real marina, y la pericia de sus tripulaciones, y el mayor brillo de España y de su augusto Soberano: termino hubo la esclavitud de tantos millares de infelices con abandono de sus familias é indelebles perjuicios de la religion y el Estado, cesando tambien la contínua extraccion de enormes sumas para los rescates que, al paso que nos empobrecian, pasaban á enriquecer á nuestros contrarios, y á facilitar sus armamentos para ofendernos; y se empezaban á cultivar rápidamente en las costas del Mediterráneo leguas de terrenos los más fertiles, del mundo desamparados y eriales hasta entónces por miedo á los piratas, y donde se formaban ya pueblos enteros para dar salida á los frutos y las manufacturas." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 17, 18.

[280] M. Rio, whose voluminous History of the Reign of Charles III. is, notwithstanding its numerous omissions, a work of considerable value, has appreciated the personal influence of the king more justly than any previous writer; he having had access to unpublished papers, which show the great energy and activity of Charles. "Entre sus mas notables figuras ninguna aventaja á la de Cárlos III.; y no por el lugar jerárquico que ocupa, sino por el brillante papel que representa, ora tome la iniciativa, ora el consejo, para efectuar las innumerables reformas que le valieron inextinguible fama. Ya sé que algunos tachan á este Monarca de cortedad de luces y de estrechez de miras; y que algunos otros suponen que sus ministros le engañaron ó sorprendieron para dictar ciertas providencias. Cuarenta y ocho tomos de cartas semanales y escritas de su puño desde octubre de 1759 hasta marzo de 1783 al marques de Tanucci, existentes en el archivo de Simancas, por mí leidas hoja tras hoja, sacando de ellas largos apuntes, sirven á maravilla para pintarle tal como era, y penetrar hasta sus más recónditos pensamientos, y contradecir á los que le juzgan á bulto." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. i. pp. xxii. xxiii.

[281] "Although born and educated in Spain, Charles had quitted the country at too early an age to retain a partiality to its customs, laws, manners, and language; while, from his residence abroad, and his intercourse with France, he had formed a natural predilection for the French character and institutions." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 337.

[282] He "far surpassed his two predecessors in his exertions to reform the morals and restrain the power of the clergy." *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 215.

[283] His measures "alarmaron al clero en general, que empezó á murmurar con

Charles was despoiling the Church, taking away her rights, insulting her ministers, and thus ruining Spain beyond human remedy.[284] The king, however, whose disposition was firm and somewhat obstinate, persevered in his policy; and as he and his ministers were men of undoubted ability, they, notwithstanding the opposition they encountered, succeeded in accomplishing most of their plans. Mistaken and short-sighted though they were, it is impossible to refrain from admiring the honesty, the courage, and the disinterestedness which they displayed in endeavouring to alter the destiny of that superstitious and half-barbarous country over which they ruled. We must not however conceal from ourselves that in this, as in all similar cases, they, by attacking evils which the people were resolved to love, increased the affection which the evils inspired. To seek to change opinions by laws is worse than futile. It not only fails, but it causes a reaction which leaves the opinions stronger than ever. First alter the opinion, and then you may alter the law. As soon as you have convinced men that superstition is mischievous, you may with advantage take active steps against those classes who promote superstition and live by it. But however pernicious any interest or any great body may be, beware of using force against it, unless the progress of knowledge has previously sapped it at its base, and loosened its hold over the national mind. This has always been the error of the most ardent reformers, who, in their eagerness to effect their purpose, let the political movement outstrip the intellectual one, and, thus inverting the natural order, secure misery either to themselves or to their descendants. They touch the altar, and fire springs forth to consume them. Then comes another period of superstition and of despotism; another dark epoch in the annals of the human race. And this happens merely because men will not bide their time, but will insist on precipitating the march of affairs. Thus, for instance, in France and Germany it is the friends of freedom who have strengthened tyranny; it is the enemies of superstition who have made superstition more permanent. In those countries it is still believed that government can regenerate society; and therefore, directly they who hold liberal opinions get possession of the government, they use their power too lavishly, thinking that by doing so they will best secure the end at which they aim. In England, the same delusion, though less general, is far too prevalent; but as with us public opinion controls politicians, we escape from evils which have happened abroad because we will not allow any government to enact laws which the nation disapproves. In Spain, however, the habits of the people were so slavish, and their necks had so long been bowed under the yoke, that though the government in the eighteenth century opposed their dearest prejudices, they rarely ventured to resist, and they had no legal means of making their voice heard. But not the less did they feel. The materials for reaction were silently accumulating; and before that century had passed away the reaction itself was manifest. As long as Charles III. lived it was kept under; and this was owing partly to the fear which his active and vigorous government inspired, and partly to the fact that many of the reforms which he introduced were so obviously beneficial as to shed a lustre on his reign, which all classes could perceive. Besides the exemption which his policy insured from the incessant ravages of pirates, he also succeeded in obtaining for Spain the most honourable peace which any Spanish government had signed for two centuries; thus recalling to the popular mind the brightest and

impaciencia, y aun algunos de sus individuos se propasaron á violentos actos." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 98.

[284] A popular charge against the government was, "que se despojara á la Iglesia de sus inmunidades." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. ii. p. 54. See also at pp. 201, 202, a letter, in 1766, from the Bishop of Cuenca to the King's confessor, in which that prelate stated, "que España corria á su ruina, que ya no corria, sino que volaba, y que ya estaba perdida sin remedio humano;" and that the cause of this was the persecution of the poor Church, which was "saqueada en sus bienes, ultrajada en sus ministros, y atropellada en su inmunidad."

most glorious days of Philip II.[285] When Charles came to the throne Spain was hardly a third-rate power ; when he died she might fairly claim to be a first-rate one, since she had for some years negotiated on equal terms with France, England, and Austria, and had taken a leading part in the councils of Europe. To this the personal character of Charles greatly contributed ; he being respected for his honesty, as well as feared for his vigour.[286] Merely as a man, he bore high repute ; while as a sovereign none of his contemporaries were in any way equal to him, except Frederick of Prussia, whose vast abilities were however tarnished by a base rapacity, and by an incessant desire to overreach his neighbours. Charles III. had nothing of this ; but he carefully increased the defences of Spain, and, raising her establishments to a war-footing, he made her more formidable than she had been since the sixteenth century. Instead of being liable to insult from every petty potentate who chose to triumph over her weakness, the country had now the means of resisting, and if need be of attacking. While the army was greatly improved in the quality of the troops, in their discipline, and in the attention paid to their comforts, the navy was nearly doubled in number, and more than doubled in efficiency.[287] And this was done without imposing fresh burdens on the people. Indeed, the national resources were becoming so developed, that in the reign of Charles III. a large amount of taxation could have been easier paid than a small one under his predecessors. A regularity hitherto unknown was introduced into the method both of assessing imposts and of collecting them.[288] The laws of mortmain were relaxed, and steps were taken towards diminishing the rigidity of entails.[289] The industry of the country was liberated from many of the trammels which had long been imposed upon it, and the principles of free trade were so far recognized that in 1765 the old laws respecting corn were repealed ; its exportation was allowed, and also its transit from one part of Spain to another, uninterrupted by those absurd precautions which preceding governments had thought it advisable to invent.[290]

[285] Coxe (*Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 144) calls the peace of 1783 "the most honourable and advantageous ever concluded by the crown of Spain since the peace of St. Quinton." Similarly, M. Rio (*Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. p. 397), "Siglos habian pasado para España de continuas y porfiadas contiendas, sin llegar nunca, desde la famosa jornada de San Quintin y al alborear el reinado de Felipe II., tan gloriosamente al reposo."

[286] Towards the close of his reign we find a contemporary observer, who was anything but prejudiced in his favour, bearing testimony to "the honest and obstinate adherence of his present Catholic Majesty to all his treaties, principles, and engagements." *Letters by an English Officer*, London, 1788, vol. ii. p. 329. Compare Muriel (*Gobierno del Rey Don Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1839, p. 34), "Tan conocido llegó á ser Cárlos III. en los reinos estraños por la rectitud de su carácter, que en las desavenencias que ocurrian entre los gobiernos, todos consentian en tomarle por árbitro, y se sometian á sus decisiones ; " and Cabarrus (*Elogio de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. xl.), "Esta probidad llega á ser el resorte político de la Europa ; todas las córtes penetradas de respeto á sus virtudes le buscan por árbitro y mediador." Evidence of the great respect paid to Charles III. by foreign powers will also be found in *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 41–43, 253.

[287] On the increase of the navy, compare *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 127 with *Muriel, Gobierno del Rey Carlos III.*, pp. 73, 82.

[288] These financial improvements were due, in a great measure, to the Frenchman, Cabarrus. See *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 122, 123.

[289] Rio, *ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 164–166, and *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. pp. 96, 97.

[290] "La providencia mas ascertada para el fomento de nuestra agricultura fué sin duda la real pragmática de 11 de julio de 1765, por la cual se abolió la tasa de los granos, y se permitió el libre comercio de ellos." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 105. See also *Dillon's Spain*, p. 69, and *Townsend's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 230. The first step towards this great reform was taken in 1752. See the edict issued in that year, "Libertase de Derechos el trigo, cebada, centeno y maiz que por mar se transportáre de unas

It was also in the reign of Charles III. that the American Colonies were for the first time treated according to the maxims of a wise and liberal policy. The behaviour of the Spanish government in this respect contrasts most favourably with the conduct pursued at the same time towards our great Colonies by that narrow and incompetent man who then filled the English throne. While the violence of George III. was fomenting rebellion in the British Colonies, Charles III. was busily engaged in conciliating the Spanish ones. Towards this end, and with the object of giving fair play to the growth of their wealth, he did everything which the knowledge and resources of that age allowed him to do. In 1764 he accomplished what was then considered the great feat of establishing every month a regular communication with America, in order that the reforms which he projected might be more easily introduced, and the grievances of the Colonies attended to.[291] In the very next year, free trade was conceded to the West Indian Islands, whose abundant commodities were now for the first time allowed to circulate, to their own benefit as well as to the benefit of their neighbours.[292] Into the Colonies generally vast improvements were introduced, many oppressions were removed, the tyranny of officials was checked, and the burdens of the people were lightened.[293] Finally, in 1778, the principles of free trade, having been successfully tried in the American Islands, were now extended to the American Continent ; the ports of Peru and of New Spain were thrown open ; and by this means an immense impetus was given to the prosperity of those magnificent colonies which nature intended to be rich, but which the meddling folly of man had forced to be poor.[294]

All this reacted upon the mother country with such rapidity, that scarcely was the old system of monopoly broken up when the trade of Spain began to advance, and continued to improve, until the exports and imports had reached a height that even the authors of the reform could hardly have expected ; it being said that the export of foreign commodities was tripled, that the export of home-produce was multiplied fivefold, and the returns from America ninefold.[295]

provincias á otras de estos dominios." This document, which is important for the history of political economy, is printed in the Appendix to *Campomanes, Educacion Popular*, vol. ii. pp. 16, 17, Madrid, 1775.

[291] " Pronto se establecieron los correos marítimos y se comunicaron con regularidad y frecuencia no vistas hasta entónces la metrópoli y las colonias. Por efecto del importante decreto de 24 de agosto de 1764, salia el primero de cada mes un paquebot de la Coruña con toda la correspondencia de las Indias ; desembarcábala en la Habana, y desde allí se distribuia en balandras y otros bajeles á propósito para puntear los vientos escasos, á Veracruz, Portobelo, Cartagena, islas de Barlovento y provincias de la Plata ; y aquellos ligeros buques volvian á la Habana, de donde zarpaba mensualmente y en dia fijo otro paquebot para la Coruña." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 452. That part of the plan, however, which aimed at making Coruña a rival of Cadiz appears to have been unsuccessful. See a letter from Coruña, written in 1774, in *Dalrymple's Travels through Spain*, London, 1777, 4to, p. 99.

[292] See the edicts in *Campomanes, Apéndice*, vol. ii. pp. 37–47, Madrid, 1775. They are both dated October 16th, 1765.

[293] It was said with reason, by Alaman, " Que el gobierno de América llegó al colmo de su perfeccion en tiempo de Carlos III." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. p. 141. And Humboldt observes (*Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, Paris, 1811, 4to, vol. i. p. 102), " C'est le roi Charles III surtout qui, par des mesures aussi sages qu'énergiques, est devenu le bienfaiteur des indigénes ; il a annulé les *Encomiendas* ; il a défendu les *Repartimientos*, par lesquels les corregidors se constituoient arbitrairement les créanciers, et par conséquent les maîtres du travail des natifs, en les pourvoyant, à des prix exagérés, de chevaux, de mulets et de vêtemens (*ropa*)."

[294] *Cabarrus, Elogio de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1789, p. xlii., and Canga's note in *Martinez de la Mata, Dos Discursos*, Madrid, 1794, p. 31. But these writers were not sufficiently familiar with political economy really to appreciate this measure.

[295] " Early in the reign of Charles steps had been taken towards the adoption of more

Many of the taxes which bore heavily on the lower ranks were repealed, and the industrious classes being relieved of their principal burdens, it was hoped that their condition would speedily improve.[296] And to benefit them still more, such alterations were effected in the administration of the law as might enable them to receive justice from the public tribunals when they had occasion to complain of their superiors. Hitherto, a poor man had not the least chance of succeeding against a rich one; but in the reign of Charles III. government introduced various regulations by which labourers and mechanics could obtain redress if their masters defrauded them of their wages, or broke the contracts made with them.[297]

Not only the labouring classes, but also the literary and scientific classes, were encouraged and protected. One source of danger, to which they had long been exposed, was considerably lessened by the steps which Charles took to curtail the power of the Inquisition. The king was moreover always ready to reward them; he was a man of cultivated tastes, and he delighted in being thought the patron of learning.[298] Soon after his accession, he issued an order exempting from military service all printers, and all persons immediately connected with printing, such as casters of type, and the like.[299] He also, as far as he was able, infused new life into the old universities, and did all that was possible towards restoring their discipline and reputation.[300] He founded schools, endowed colleges, rewarded professors, and granted pensions. In these matters his munificence seemed inexhaustible, and is of itself sufficient to account for the veneration with which literary Spaniards regard his memory. They have reason to regret that, instead of living now, they had not lived when he was king. In his reign it was supposed that their interests must be identical with the interests of knowledge; and these last were rated so highly that in 1771 it was laid down as a settled principle of government, that of all the branches of public policy the care of education is the most important.[301]

But this is not all. It is no exaggeration to say that in the reign of Charles III. the face of Spain underwent greater changes than it had done during the hundred and fifty years which had elapsed since the final expulsion of the Mohammedans. At his accession, in 1759, the wise and pacific policy of his predecessor, Ferdinand VI., had enabled that prince not only to pay many of the debts owed by the crown, but also to accumulate and leave behind him a considerable trea-

liberal principles in the commerce with America; but, in the year 1778, a complete and radical change was introduced. The establishment of a free trade rapidly produced the most beneficial consequences. The export of foreign goods was tripled, of home-produce quintupled; and the returns from America augmented in the astonishing proportion of nine to one. The produce of the customs increased with equal rapidity." *Clarke's Examination of the Internal State of Spain*, London, 1818, p. 72.

296 *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. pp. 197, 317, 318.

297 See Florida Blanca's statement in *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 331; "To facilitate to artisans and journeymen the scanty payment of their labours, in spite of the privileges and interest of the powerful."

298 *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 317, 318, and elsewhere.

299 " 'Desde mi feliz advenimiento al trono' (dijo el Rey en la ordenanza de reemplazos) 'ha merecido mi Real proteccion el arte de la imprenta, y, para que pueda arraigarse sólidamente en estos reinos, vengo en declarar la exencion del sorteo y servicio militar, no solo á los impresores, sino tambien á los fundidores que se empleen de continuo en este ejercicio, y á los abridores de punzones y matrices.'" *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. p. 213.

300 On the steps taken to reform the universities between 1768 and 1774, see *Rio Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 185–210. Compare vol. iv. pp. 296–299.

301 " La educacion de la juventud por los maestros de primeras letras es uno y aun el más principal ramo de la policía y buen gobierno del Estado." *Real Provision de 11 de julio de* 1771. printed in Rio, vol. iii. p. 182.

sure.[302] Of this Charles availed himself, to begin those works of public splendour which, more than any other part of his administration, were sure to strike the senses, and to give popularity to his reign. And when, by the increase of wealth rather than by the imposition of fresh burdens, still larger resources were placed at his command, he devoted a considerable part of them to completing his designs. He so beautified Madrid that forty years after his death it was stated that, as it then stood, all its magnificence was owing to him. The public buildings and the public gardens, the beautiful walks round the capital, its noble gates, its institutions, and the very roads leading from it to the adjacent country, are all the work of Charles III., and are among the most conspicuous trophies which attest his genius and the sumptuousness of his taste.[303]

In other parts of the country roads were laid down, and canals were dug, with the view of increasing trade, by opening up communications through tracts previously impassable. At the accession of Charles III. the whole of the Sierra Morena was unoccupied, except by wild beasts and banditti, who took refuge there.[304] No peaceful traveller would venture into such a place ; and commerce was thus excluded from what nature had marked as one of the greatest highways in Spain, standing as it does between the basins of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir, and in the direct course between the ports on the Mediterranean and those on the Atlantic. The active government of Charles III. determined to remedy this evil ; but the Spanish people not having the energy to do what was required, six thousand Dutch and Flemish were in 1767 invited to settle in the Sierra Morena. On their arrival, lands were allotted to them, roads were cut through the whole of the district, villages were built ; and that which had just been an impervious desert was suddenly turned into a smiling and fruitful territory.[305]

[302] M. Lafuente, who has justly praised the love of peace displayed by Ferdinand VI. (*Historia de España*, vol. i. p. 202, vol. xix. pp. 286, 378), adds (vol. xix. p. 384), "De modo que con razon de admira, y es el testimonio mas honroso de la beuno administracion económica de este reinado, que al morir este buen monarca dejára, no diremos nosotros preletas y apuntaladas las arcas públicas, como hiperbólicamente suele decirse, pero sí con el considerable sobrante de trescientos millones de reales, despues de cubiertas todas las atenciones del Estado : fenómeno que puede decirse se veia por primera vez en España, y resultado satisfactorio, que aun supuesta una buena administracion, solo pudo obtenerse á favor de su prudente política de neutralidad y de paz."

[303] "But it is to Charles III. that Madrid owes all its present magnificence. Under his care, the royal palace was finished, the noble gates of Alcalá and San Vincente were raised ; the custom-house, the post-office, the museum, and royal printing-office were constructed ; the academy of the three noble arts improved ; the cabinet of natural history, the botanic garden, the national bank of San Carlos, and many gratuitous schools established ; while convenient roads leading from the city, and delightful walks planted within and without it, and adorned by statues and fountains, combine to announce the solicitude of this paternal king." *Spain by an American*, London, 1831, vol. i. p. 206 ; see also p. 297.

[304] The following passage describes its state so late as the year 1766 : "Por temor ó por connivencia de los venteros, dentro de sus casas concertaban frecuentemente los ladrones sus robos, y los ejecutaban á mansalva, ocultándose en guaridas de que ahuyentaban á las fieras. Acaso á muy largas distancias se descubrian entre contados caseríos algunos pastores como los que allí hizo encontrar el ilustre manco de Lepanto al ingenioso hidalgo de la Mancha. Parte de la Sierra estuvo poblada en tiempo de moros ; actualmente ya no habia más que espesos matorrales hasta en torno de la ermita de Santa Elena, donde resonaron cánticos de gracias al Cielo por el magnífico triunfo de las Navas." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. p. 9. On the condition of the Sierra Morena a hundred years before this, see *Boisel, Journal du Voyage d' Espagne*, Paris, 1669, 4to, pp. 62, 296, where it is termed "Le lieu le plus desert, et où il n'y a que quelques *ventas* sans villages."

[305] *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 9–11, 35. By 1771, "sin auxilio de la Real hacienda pudieron mantenerse al fin los colonos." p. 42. See also vol. iv. pp. 114, 115. On the subsequent history of this settlement, see *Inglis'* Spain, vol. ii. pp. 29–31, London, 1831.

Nearly all over Spain the roads were repaired ; a fund having been, so early as 1760, specially set apart for that purpose.[306] Many new works were begun ; and such improvements were introduced, while at the same time such vigilance was employed to prevent peculation on the part of officials, that in a very few years the cost of making public highways was reduced to less than half of what it used to be.[307] Of the undertakings which were brought to a successful issue, the most important were a road now first constructed from Malaga to Antequera,[308] and another from Aquilas to Lorca.[309] In this way, means of intercourse were supplied between the Mediterranean and the interior of Andalusia and of Murcia. While these communications were established in the south and south-east of Spain, others were opened up in the north and north-west. In 1769 a road was begun between Bilbao and Osma ;[310] and soon after, one was completed between Galicia and Astorga.[311] These and similar works were so skilfully executed that the Spanish highways, formerly among the worst in Europe, were now classed among the best. Indeed a competent and by no means overfriendly judge gives it as his opinion that at the death of Charles III. better roads were to be found in Spain than in any other country.[312]

In the interior, rivers were made navigable, and canals were formed to connect them with each other. The Ebro runs through the heart of Aragon and part of Old Castile, and is available for purposes of traffic as high up as Logroño, and from thence down to Tudela. But between Tudela and Saragossa the navigation is interrupted by its great speed, and by the rocks in its bed. Consequently, Navarre is deprived of its natural communication with the Mediterranean. In the enterprizing reign of Charles V. an attempt was made to remedy this evil ; but the plan failed, was laid aside, and was forgotten, until it was revived, more than two hundred years later, by Charles III. Under his auspices the great canal of Aragon was projected, with the magnificent idea of uniting the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. This, however, was one of many instances in which the government of Spain was too far in advance of Spain itself ; and it was necessary to abandon a scheme to which the resources of the country were unequal. But what was really effected was of immense value. A canal was actually carried to Saragossa, and the waters of the Ebro were made available

306 "En 1760 se destinó por primera vez un fondo especial para la construccion de caminos." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 123.

307 Indeed, M. Rio says that the expense was reduced by two-thirds, and, in some parts, by three-fourths. "Antes se regulaba en un millon de reales la construccion de cada legua ; ahora solo ascendia á la tercera ó cuarta parte de esta suma." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. p. 117.

308 A note in *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. 158, terms this "un camino alineado y sólido." In *Cook's Spain*, London, 1834, vol. i. p. 209, it is called "a magnificent road.'

309 "Para dar salida á los frutos, que regaban los pantanos de Lorca, ejecutóse una bien trazada via al puerto de las Aguilas." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.* vol. iv. pp. 115, 116.

310 In 1769 Baretti writes, in great surprise, "the Biscayans are actually making a noble road, which is to go from Bilbao to Osma." *Baretti's Journey through England, Portugal, Spain, and France*, London, 1770, vol. iv. p. 311.

311 "Otras diferentes carreteras, construidas de nuevo ó rehabilitadas, multiplicaron las comunicaciones durante los nueve primeros años de estar á cargo de Floridablanca la superintendencia general de caminos, haciéndose de fácil y cómodo tránsito puntos escabrosos como el del Puerto de la Cadena y los que médian entre Astorga y Galicia, y Málaga y Antequera." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. p. 115.

312 "The reigns of Ferdinand the Sixth and Charles the Third produced the most beneficial changes in this important branch of political economy. New roads were opened, which were carefully levelled, and constructed with solidity. There are at the present time in Spain several superb roads, such as may vie with the finest in Europe ; indeed they have been made with superior judgment, and upon a grander scale." *Laborde's Spain*, edit. London, 1809, vol. iv. p. 427.

not only for transport, but also for irrigating the soil. The means of a safe and profitable trade were now supplied even to the western extremity of Aragon. The old land, becoming more productive, rose in value, and new land was brought under the plough. From this other parts of Spain also benefited. Castile, for example, had in seasons of scarcity always depended for supplies on Aragon, though that province could under the former system only produce enough for its own consumption. But by this great canal, to which, about the same time, that of Tauste was also added,[313] the soil of Aragon became far more productive than it had ever yet been ; and the rich plains of the Ebro yielded so abundantly that they were able to supply wheat and other food to the Castilians as well as to the Aragonese.[314]

The government of Charles III., moreover, constructed a canal between Amposta and Altaques,[315] which irrigated the southern extremity of Catalonia, and brought into cultivation a large district which, from the constant lack of rain, had hitherto been untilled. Another and still greater enterprise belonging to the same reign was an attempt, only partly successful, to establish a water-communication between the capital and the Atlantic, by running a canal from Madrid to Toledo, whence the Tagus would have conveyed goods to Lisbon, and all the trade of the west would have been opened up.[316] But this and many other noble projects were nipped in the bud by the death of Charles III., with whom every thing vanished. When he passed away the country relapsed into its former inactivity, and it was clearly seen that these great works were not national, but political ; in other words, that they were due merely to individuals, whose most strenuous exertions always come to naught if they are opposed by the operation of those general causes which are often undiscerned, but to which even the strongest of us do, in our own despite, pay implicit obedience.

Still, for a time, much was done ; and Charles, reasoning according to the ordinary maxims of politicians, might well indulge the hope that what he had effected would permanently change the destiny of Spain. For these and other works which he not only planned but executed[317] were not paid for, as is too

[313] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 287.

[314] *Ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 198, 199, 286, 287. *Townsend's Spain*, vol. i. pp. 212–215. *Laborde's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 271. This canal, which was intended to establish a free communication between the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean, is slightly noticed in *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv. pp. 95, 96 ; a learned and valuable work, but very imperfect as regards Spain. The economical value of this great enterprise, and the extent to which it succeeded, are seriously under-estimated in *Ford's Spain*, p. 587 ; a book which, notwithstanding the praise that has been conferred upon it, is carelessly composed, and is sure to mislead readers who have not the means of comparing it with other authorities. M. Rio's History of Charles III. contains some interesting information on the subject ; but unfortunately I omitted to mark the passages.

[315] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. pp. 288, 289, on the authority of Florida Blanca himself.

[316] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 199. *Townsend's Spain*, vol. i. p. 304.

[317] See Florida Blanca's statement, in *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 289. "In many other parts similar works have been promoted, for canals of irrigation, and for encouraging agriculture and traffic. The canals of Manzanares and Guadarrama are continued by means of the national bank, which has appropriated one-half of the profits derived from the export of silver to this end." . . . "The town of Almuradiel, formed in the middle of the *campo nuevo* of Andalusia, for the rugged pass of Despeña Perros, is another example of agriculture for the neighbouring places ; since, instead of woods and frightful deserts, we have seen in a few years public buildings, houses, plantations, and cultivated lands, producing every species of grain and fruits, which border the road, and banish the danger of robbers and banditti." See also *Muriel, Gobierno del Rey Don Carlos III.*, p. 5. "Habiendo sido el reinado de Carlos III. una serie continua de mejoras en todos ramos ;" and the striking picture (p. 15), "Agricultura, artes mecánicas, comercio, enseñanza, milicia, navegacion, ciencias,

often the case, by taxes which oppressed the people and trammelled their industry. At his side, and constantly advising him, there were men who really aimed at the public good, and who never would have committed so fatal an error. Under his rule the wealth of the country greatly increased, and the comforts of the lower classes, instead of being abridged, were multiplied. The imposts were more fairly assessed than they had ever been before. Taxes which in the seventeenth century all the power of the executive could not wring from the people, were now regularly paid, and, owing to the development of the national resources, they became at once more productive and less onerous. In the management of the public finances an economy was practised, the first example of which had been set in the preceding reign, when the cautious and pacific policy of Ferdinand VI. laid a foundation for many of the improvements just narrated. Ferdinand bequeathed to Charles III. a treasure which he had not extorted, but saved. Among the reforms which he introduced, and which an unwillingness to accumulate details has compelled me to omit, there is one very important and also very characteristic of his policy. Before his reign Spain had annually been drained of an immense amount of money, on account of the right which the Pope claimed of presenting to certain rich benefices, and of receiving part of their produce ; probably as a recompense for the trouble he had taken. Of this duty the Pope was relieved by Ferdinand VI., who secured to the Spanish crown the right of conferring such preferment, and thus saved to the country those enormous sums on which the Roman Court had been wont to revel.[318] This was just the sort of measure which would be hailed with delight by Charles III., as harmonizing with his own views ; and we accordingly find that in his reign it was not only acted upon but extended still further. For perceiving that, in spite of his efforts, the feeling of the Spaniards on these matters was so strong as to impel them to make offerings to him whom they venerated as the Head of the Church, the king determined to exercise control over even these voluntary gifts. To accomplish this end various devices were suggested ; and at length one was hit upon which was thought sure to be effectual. A royal order was issued, directing that no person should send money to Rome, but that if he had occasion to make remittances there, they should pass not through the ordinary channels, but through the ambassadors, ministers, or other agents of the Spanish Crown.[319]

If we now review the transactions which I have narrated, and consider them as a whole, extending from the accession of Philip V. to the death of Charles III., over a period of nearly ninety years, we shall be struck with wonder at their unity, at the regularity of their march, and at their apparent success. Looking at them merely in a political point of view, it may be doubted if such vast and uninterrupted progress has ever been seen in any country either before or since. For three generations there was no pause on the part of the government ; not one reaction, not one sign of halting. Improvement upon improvement, and reform upon reform, followed each other in swift succession. The power of the

letras, legislacion, en una palabra, todo cuanto puede influir en la prosperidad del Estado, todo llamó la atencion de los ministros, y en todo hicieron las mejoras que permitian las circunstancias." On the improvements in internal communications, see the same valuable work, pp. 187–192.

318 Respecting this step, which was effected in 1754, see *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iv. pp. 81, 82. " Fué este tratado utilísimo para la España, pues por él se libertó del pago de enormes sumas que hasta entonces habian pasado á los estados pontificos. En el informe canónico-legal escrito á virtud de real órden en 1746 por el fiscal de la cámara de Castilla Don Blas de Jover, se decia ; que segun el testimonio del historiador Cabrera, en el espacio de 30 años el solo renglon de las coadjutorias y dispensas habia hecho pasar á Roma de la corona de Castilla millon y medio de ducados romanos. Y añade el mismo Jover que á principios del siglo xviii. subia aun esta contribucion cada año en todos los estados de la monarquia española á 500,000 escudos romanos, que era *un tercio poco mas ó menos de lo que Roma percibia de toda la cristiandad.*"

319 See Appendix I. to *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 334.

Church, which has always been the crying evil of Spain, and which hitherto none of the boldest politicians had dared to touch, was restricted in every possible way by a series of statesmen, from Orry to Florida Blanca, whose efforts were latterly, and for nearly thirty years, zealously aided by Charles III., the ablest monarch who has sat on the throne since the death of Philip II. Even the Inquisition was taught to tremble, and made to loosen its hold over its victims. The burning of heretics was stopped. Torture was disused. Prosecutions for heresy were discouraged. Instead of punishing men for imaginary offences, a disposition was shown to attend to their real interests, to alleviate their burdens, to increase their comforts, and to check the tyranny of those who were set over them. Attempts were made to restrain the cupidity of the clergy, and prevent them from preying at will upon the national wealth. With this view, the laws of mortmain were revised, and various measures taken to interpose obstacles in the way of persons who desired to waste their property by bequeathing it for ecclesiastical purposes. In this as in other matters the true interests of society were preferred to the fictitious ones. To raise the secular classes above the spiritual; to discountenance the exclusive attention hitherto paid to questions respecting which nothing is known, and which it is impossible to solve; to do this, and, in the place of such barren speculations, to substitute a taste for science or for literature, became the object of the Spanish government for the first time since Spain had possessed a government at all. As part of the same scheme, the Jesuits were expelled, the right of sanctuary was infringed, and the whole hierarchy, from the highest bishop down to the lowest monk, were taught to fear the law, to curb their passions, and to restrain the insolence with which they had formerly treated every rank except their own. These would have been great deeds in any country; in such a country as Spain they were marvellous. Of them I have given an abridged and therefore an imperfect account, but still sufficient to show how the government laboured to diminish superstition, to check bigotry, to stimulate intellect, to promote industry, and to rouse the people from their death-like slumber. I have omitted many measures of considerable interest, and which tended in the same direction; because here as elsewhere I seek to confine myself to those salient points which most distinctly mark the general movement. Whoever will minutely study the history of Spain during this period will find additional proof of the skill and vigour of those who were at the head of affairs, and who devoted their best energies to regenerating the country which they ruled. But for these special studies special men are required; and I shall be satisfied if I have firmly grasped the great march and outline of the whole. It is enough for my purpose if I have substantiated the general proposition, and have convinced the reader of the clearness with which the statesmen of Spain discerned the evils under which their country was groaning, and of the zeal with which they set themselves to remedy the mischief, and to resuscitate the fortunes of what had once not only been the chief of European monarchies, but had borne sway over the most splendid and extensive territory that had been united under a single rule since the fall of the Roman Empire.

They who believe that a government can civilize a nation, and that legislators are the cause of social progress, will naturally expect that Spain reaped permanent benefit from those liberal maxims which now, for the first time, were put into execution. The fact however is that such a policy, wise as it appeared, was of no avail, simply because it ran counter to the whole train of preceding circumstances. It was opposed to the habits of the national mind, and was introduced into a state of society not yet ripe for it. No reform can produce real good unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative. In Spain, during the eighteenth century, foreign influence, and the complications of foreign politics, bestowed enlightened rulers upon an unenlightened country.[320] The consequence was that for a time great things were done.

[320] It is important to observe that the Cortes, where alone the voice of the people had a chance of being heard, was assembled but three times during the whole of the

Evils were removed, grievances were redressed, many important improvements were introduced ; and a spirit of toleration was exhibited such as had never before been seen in that priest-ridden and superstitious land. But the mind of Spain was untouched. While the surface, and as it were the symptoms, of affairs were ameliorated, affairs themselves remained unchanged. Below that surface, and far out of reach of any political remedy, large general causes were at work which had been operating for many centuries, and which were sure, sooner or later, to force politicians to retrace their steps, and compel them to inaugurate a policy which would suit the traditions of the country, and harmonize with the circumstances under which those traditions had been formed.

At length the reaction came. In 1788 Charles III. died ; and was succeeded by Charles IV., a king of the true Spanish breed, devout, orthodox, and ignorant.[321] It was now seen how insecure everything was, and how little reliance can be placed on reforms which, instead of being suggested by the people, are bestowed on them by the political classes. Charles IV., though a weak and contemptible prince,[322] was so supported in his general views by the feelings of the Spanish nation that in less than five years he was able completely to reverse that liberal policy which it had taken three generations of statesmen to build up. In less than five years everything was changed. The power of the Church was restored ; the slightest approach towards free discussion was forbidden ; old and arbitrary principles, which had not been heard of since the seventeenth century, were revived ; the priests re-assumed their former importance ; literary men were intimidated, and literature was discouraged ; while the Inquisition, suddenly starting up afresh, displayed an energy which caused its enemies to tremble, and proved that all the attempts which had been made to weaken it had been unable to impair its vigour, or to daunt its ancient spirit.

The ministers of Charles III., and the authors of those great reforms which signalized his reign, were dismissed to make way for other advisers, better suited to this new state of things. Charles IV. loved the Church too well to tolerate the presence of enlightened statesmen. Aranda and Florida Blanca were both removed from office, and both were placed in confinement.[323] Jovellanos was banished from court, and Cabarrus was thrown into prison.[324] For now work had to be done to which these eminent men would not put their hands. A policy which had been followed with undeviating consistency for nearly ninety years was about to be rescinded, in order that the old empire of the seventeenth century, which was the empire of ignorance, of tyranny, and of superstition, might be resuscitated, and if possible restored to its pristine vigour.

Once more was Spain covered with darkness ; once more did the shadows of night overtake that wretched land. The worst forms of oppression, says a distinguished writer, seemed to be settling on the country with a new and porten-

eighteenth century, and then merely for the sake of form. " Les Cortès ne se réunirent que trois fois pendant le dix-huitième siècle, et plutôt encore comme des solennités formulaires pour la prestation du serment aux princes héritiers de la couronne, que comme étant nécessaires pour de nouvelles lois et des contributions." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, Bordeaux, 1815, p. 270.

321 By combining these three qualities he has deserved and received the cordial approbation of the present Bishop of Barcelona, who, in his recent work on the Spanish Church, styles him " un monarca tan piadoso." *Observaciones sobre El Presente y El Porvenir de la Iglesia en España, por Domingo Costa y Borras*, Barcelona, 1857, p. 80.

322 Even in *Alison's History of Europe*, where men of his character are usually made much of, he is treated with moderate disdain. " Charles IV. was not destitute of good qualities, but he was a weak, incapable prince." Vol. viii. p. 382, Edinburgh, 1849.

323 *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 167. I need hardly say that not the slightest credit is to be attached to the account given in Godoy's Memoirs. Every one tolerably acquainted with Spanish history will see that his book is an attempt to raise his own reputation by defaming the character of some of the ablest and most high-minded of his contemporaries.

324 *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278.

tous weight.[325] At the same time, and indeed as a natural part of the scheme, every investigation likely to stimulate the mind was prohibited, and an order was actually sent to all the universities, forbidding the study of moral philosophy; the minister who issued the order justly observing that the king did not want to have philosophers.[326] There was, however, little fear of Spain producing anything so dangerous. The nation not daring, and, what was still worse, not wishing to resist, gave way, and let the king do as he liked. Within a very few years he neutralized the most valuable reforms which his predecessors had introduced. Having discarded the able advisers of his father, he conferred the highest posts upon men as narrow and incompetent as himself; he reduced the country to the verge of bankruptcy; and, according to the remark of a Spanish historian, he exhausted all the resources of the state.[327]

Such was the condition of Spain late in the eighteenth century. The French invasion quickly followed; and that unhappy country underwent every form of calamity and of degradation. Herein, however, lies a difference. Calamities may be inflicted by others; but no people can be degraded except by their own acts. The foreign spoiler works mischief; he cannot cause shame. With nations, as with individuals, none are dishonoured if they are true to themselves. Spain, during the present century, has been plundered and oppressed, and the opprobrium lights on the robbers, not on the robbed. She has been overrun by a brutal and licentious soldiery; her fields laid waste, her towns sacked, her villages burned. It is to the criminal, rather than to the victim, that the ignominy of these acts must belong. And even in a material point of view such losses are sure to be retrieved, if the people who incur them are inured to those habits of self-government, and to that feeling of self-reliance, which are the spring and the source of all real greatness. With the aid of these every damage may be repaired, and every evil remedied. Without them the slightest blow may be fatal. In Spain they are unknown; and it seems impossible to establish them. In that country men have so long been accustomed to pay implicit deference to the Crown and the Church, that loyalty and superstition have usurped the place of those nobler emotions to which all freedom is owing, and in the absence of which the true idea of independence can never be attained.

More than once, indeed, during the nineteenth century, a spirit has appeared, from which better things might have been augured. In 1812, in 1820, and in 1836, a few ardent and enthusiastic reformers attempted to secure liberty to the Spanish people by endowing Spain with a free constitution. They succeeded for a moment, and that was all. The forms of constitutional government they could bestow; but they could not find the traditions and the habits by which the forms are worked. They mimicked the voice of liberty; they copied her institutions; they aped her very gestures. And what then? At the first stroke of adverse fortune their idol fell to pieces. Their constitutions were broken up, their assemblies dissolved, their enactments rescinded. The inevitable reaction quickly followed. After each disturbance the hands of the government were strengthened, the principles of despotism were confirmed, and the Spanish liberals were taught to rue the day in which they vainly endeavoured to impart freedom to their unhappy and ill-starred country.[328]

[325] "In all its worst forms, therefore, oppression, civil, political, and religious, appeared to be settling down, with a new and portentous weight, on the whole country." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 318.

[326] "Caballero, fearing the progress of all learning which might disturb the peace of the Court, sent, not long since, a circular order to the universities, forbidding the study of moral philosophy. 'His Majesty,' it was said in the order, 'was not in want of philosophers, but of good and obedient subjects.'" *Doblado's Letters from Spain*, p. 358.

[327] "Le gouvernement de Charles IV avait épuisé toutes les ressources de l'état." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, p. 323.

[328] In Spain, the voice of the people has always been opposed to the liberal party, as many writers have observed, without being aware of the reason. Mr. Walton (*Revolu-*

What makes these failures the more worthy of observation is that the Spaniards did possess, at a very early period, municipal privileges and franchises, similar to those which we had in England, and to which our greatness is often ascribed. But such institutions, though they preserve freedom, can never create it. Spain had the form of liberty without its spirit; hence the form, promising as it was, soon died away.* In England the spirit preceded the form, and therefore the form was durable. Thus it is that, though the Spaniards could boast of free institutions a century before ourselves, they were unable to retain them, simply because they had the institutions and nothing more. We had no popular representation till 1264;[329] but in Castile they had it in 1169,[330] and in Aragon in 1133.[331] So, too, while the earliest charter was granted to an English town in the twelfth century,[332] we find in Spain a charter conferred on Leon as early as 1020; and in the course of the eleventh century the enfranchisement of towns was as secure as laws could make it.[333]

The fact however is that in Spain these institutions, instead of growing out of the wants of the people, originated in a stroke of policy on the part of their rulers. They were conceded to the citizens, rather than desired by them.† For, during the war with the Mohammedans, the Christian kings of Spain, as they advanced southwards, were naturally anxious to induce their subjects to settle in the frontier towns, where they might face and repel the enemy. With this object, they granted charters to the towns, and privileges to the inhabitants.[334] And as the Mohammedans were gradually beaten back from the Asturias to Granada, the frontiers changed, and the franchises were extended

tions of Spain, London, 1837, vol. i. pp. 322, 323) says of the Cortes, "Public indignation hurled them from their seats in 1814; and in 1823 they were overpowered, not by the arms of France, but by the displeasure of their own countrymen," &c. See also p. 290; and *Quin's Memoirs of Ferdinand the Seventh*, London, 1824, p. 121, where it is mentioned that "in all the towns through which the King passed, the multitude, excited by the friars and clergy, overturned the constitutional stone, and uttered the most atrocious insults against the Constitution, the Cortes, and the Liberals." Compare *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès*, p. 335, and *Bacon's Six Years in Biscay*, p. 40. Indeed, a very intelligent writer on Spanish affairs in 1855 asserts, with, I believe, perfect truth, that Spain is "un pays où les populations sont toujours à coup sûr moins libérales que les gouvernemens." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1854, 1855, Paris, 1855, p. 266.

[329] Above, p. 352.

[330] *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. xlviii.

[331] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. xcvi.

[332] *Hallam's Middle Ages*, ninth edition, London, 1846, vol. ii. pp. 153–157, which must be compared with *Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, London, 1848, pp. 323–327.

[333] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 373. *Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. pp. xlv. xlvi. [From these remarks it appears that Buckle had framed his earlier argument as to Spanish submissiveness before he had noted the details of the history of early Spanish constitutionalism. The facts here mentioned should have been dealt with in the survey of Spanish development during the Moorish period. They are now briefly noted and disposed of *à priori* in such a way as to save the preceding argument.—Ed.]

[334] "Ce fut alors que les successeurs de Pélage descendirent de leurs montagnes dans les plaines, de leurs forteresses perchées sur des rocs inaccessibles dans les villes populeuses, le long des fleuves, dans de fertiles vallées et sur les côtes de la mer; ce fut alors que la ville d'Astorgue revint du pouvoir des Arabes à celui des Asturiens et chassa toute

[* Here the formula is shaped by the supposed needs of the argument. In Old Spain there had been plenty of the "spirit" of freedom, otherwise the "forms" could not have existed. Spanish freedom was lost through causes which would have been equally efficient in any other country. Compare the relative "freedom" in England under Henry VIII. and in Spain before Ferdinand and Isabella.—Ed.]

[† The language here confutes itself. It is impossible to "concede" what is not desired. If, further, the people were attracted by the offer of privileges, they must have wanted them.—Ed.]

to the new conquests, in order that what was the post of danger might also be the place of reward. But meanwhile those general causes which I have indicated were predetermining the nation to habits of loyalty and of superstition, which grew to a height fatal to the spirit of liberty. That being the case, the institutions were of no avail. They took no root ; and as they were originated by one political combination, they were destroyed by another. Before the close of the fourteenth century the Spaniards were so firmly seated in the territories they had lately acquired, that there was little danger of their being again expelled ; [335] while on the other hand there was no immediate prospect of their being able to push their conquests further, and drive the Mohammedans from the strongholds of Granada. The circumstances, therefore, which gave rise to the municipal privileges had changed ; and as soon as this was apparent, the privileges began to perish. Being unsuited to the habits of the people, they were sure to fall on the first opportunity.[336] Late in the fourteenth century their decline was perceptible ; by the close of the fifteenth century they were almost extinct ; and early in the sixteenth century they were finally overthrown.[337]

la partie musulmane de ses habitants : ce fut alors, enfin, que commencèrent en Espagne ces concessions de franchises municipales par lesquelles les rois et les seigneurs chrétiens cherchèrent à attirer des populations chrétiennes dans les lieux d'où ils avaient chassé les Musulmans." *Fauriel, Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, Paris, 1836, vol. iii. p. 215. See also *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257. [In similar ways were granted many municipal charters in England. Kings gave them in order to win support against the nobles. Cp. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, B. iii. ch. 3.—Ed.]

[335] On the increasing confidence of the Spaniards in the middle of the fourteenth century, see an interesting passage in *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. iv. pp. 172, 173.

[336] The deputies of the towns did in fact eventually overthrow their own liberties, as a Spanish historian truly remarks. " Il n'est pas étonnant que les Monarques espagnols tâchassent d'affermir leur autorité autant que possible, et encore moins que leurs conseillers et leurs ministres coopérassent à leurs desseins. L'histoire de toutes les nations nous offre de nombreux exemples de cette politique ; mais *ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans celle d'Espagne, c'est que les députés des villes qui auraient dû être les plus zélés défenseurs de leurs droits, conspirèrent ouvertement contre le tiers-état*, et tentèrent d'anéantir les restes de l'ancienne représentation nationale." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, p. 213. It strikes one as singular that M. Sempere should never have inquired why this happened in Spain, and not elsewhere. A later writer, reflecting on the destruction of the municipal element by the royal authority, gives a solution which, like many other so-called solutions, is merely a statement of the same fact in different words. " Al fin la autoridad real logró alcanzar un gran predominio en el gobierno municipal de los pueblos, *porque* los corregidores y alcaldes mayores llegaron á eclipsar la influencia de los adelantados y alcaldes elegidos por los pueblos." *Antequera, Historia de la Legislacion Española*, Madrid, 1849, p. 287. This, instead of explaining the event, is simply narrating it afresh. [The phrase " on the first opportunity " is confuted in the sentence which follows. See U. R. Burke's *History of Spain*, Hume's ed. i. 372–3, for an account of the process of decay. First the commons helped to put down the nobles ; then king and nobles put down the commons. But in the great revolt at the beginning of the reign of Charles V. the deputies who had truckled to him were hanged by their enraged constituents. Burke, ed. cited, ii. 291.—Ed.]

[337] The final destruction of popular liberty is ascribed by many writers to the battle of Villalar, in 1521 ; though it is quite certain that, if the royalists had lost that battle instead of gaining it, the ultimate result would have been the same. At one time I had purposed tracing the history of the municipal and representative elements during the fifteenth century ; and the materials which I then collected convinced me that the spirit of freedom never really existed in Spain, and that therefore the marks and forms of freedom were sure, sooner or later, to be effaced. [This summary solution is quite indefensible. It amounts to saying that the spirit of freedom has never existed where freedom is suppressed—an argument in a circle. The parliamentary liberties of England were often in great jeopardy up to the fifteenth century. See refs. in the editor's *Intro-*

It is thus that general causes eventually triumph over every obstacle. In the average of affairs, and on a comparison of long periods, they are irresistible. Their operation is often attacked, and occasionally, for a little time, stopped by politicians, who are always ready with their empirical and short-sighted remedies. But when the spirit of the age is against those remedies they can at best only succeed for a moment ; and after that moment has passed, a reaction sets in, and the penalty for violence has to be paid. Evidence of this will be found in the annals of every civilized country by whoever will confront the history of legislation with the history of opinion. The fate of the Spanish towns has afforded us one good proof ; the fate of the Spanish Church will supply us with another. For more than eighty years after the death of Charles II. the rulers of Spain attempted to weaken the ecclesiastical power * ; and the end of all their efforts was that even such an insignificant and incompetent king as Charles IV. was able, with the greatest ease, rapidly to undo what they had done. This is because, during the eighteenth century, while the clergy were assailed by law, they were favoured by opinion. The opinions of a people invariably depend on large general causes, which influence the whole country ; but their laws are too often the work of a few powerful individuals, in opposition to the national will.† When the legislators die or lose office, there is always a chance of their successors holding opposite views, and subverting their plans. In the midst, however, of this play and fluctuation of political life, the general causes remain steady, though they are often kept out of sight, and do not become visible until politicians, inclining to their side, bring them to the surface, and invest them with open and public authority.

This is what Charles IV. did in Spain ; and when he took measures to favour the Church, and to discourage free inquiry, he merely sanctioned those national habits which his predecessors had disregarded. The hold which the hierarchy of that country possess over public opinion has always been proverbial ; but it is even greater than is commonly supposed. What it was in the seventeenth century we have already seen ; and in the eighteenth century there were no signs of its diminution, except among a few bold men, who could effect nothing while the popular voice was so strong against them. Early in the reign of Philip V., Labat, who travelled in Spain, informs us that when a priest performed mass, nobles of the highest rank deemed it an honour to help him to dress, and that they would go down on their knees to him, and kiss his hands.[338] When this was

duction to English Politics, pp. 403, 409–10, 415. Broadly speaking, Castile succumbed to despotism after the suppression of the revolt of the communes in 1521 as France did after the suppression of the Fronde, and as England would have done after the reformation had Charles II. and James II. governed with the prudence of Charles V. and Louis XIV. As already noted, Buckle cannot have had the present problem before him when he wrote his account of the earlier political evolution of Spain.—Ed.]

[338] " Ceux qui servent la Messe en Espagne, soit Religieux, ou Seculiers, ne manquent jamais d'aider le Prêtre à s'habiller, et le font avec beaucoup de respect. Les plus grands Seigneurs s'en font honneur, et à mesure qu'ils présentent au Prêtre quelque partie des ornemens, ils lui baisent la main. On se met à genoux pour donner à laver au Prêtre pendant la Messe, et après qu'il a essuyé ses doigts, celui qui lui a donné l'eau demeurant à genoux lui présente le bassin retourné, sur lequel le Prêtre met sa main pour la lui laisser baiser. Au retour à la Sacristie, il ne manque pas d'aider le Prêtre à se déshabiller, après quoi il se met à genoux pour recevoir sa bénédiction, et baiser sa main." *Labat, Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, Paris, 1730, vol. i. p. 36.

[* Not till Charles III., however, was popular education thought of—the one thing needful.—Ed.]

[† Precisely of this character were the laws which first set up the Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabella. It was these laws, proximately, which wrought the growth of the " opinion " specified in the text. And if the successors of these monarchs, or of Charles V., had chanced to hold opposite views, Spanish history might have gone very differently.—Ed.]

done by the proudest aristocracy in Europe, we may suppose what the general feeling must have been. Indeed, Labat assures us that a Spaniard would hardly be considered of sound faith if he did not leave some portion of his property to the Church ; so completely had respect for the hierarchy become an essential part of the national character.[339]

A still more curious instance was exhibited on the occasion of the expulsion of the Jesuits. That once useful but now troublesome body was during the eighteenth century what it is in the nineteenth—the obstinate enemy of progress and of toleration. The rulers of Spain, observing that it opposed all their schemes of reform, resolved to get rid of an obstacle which met them at every turn. In France, the Jesuits had just been treated as a public nuisance, and suppressed at a blow, and without difficulty. The advisers of Charles III. saw no reason why so salutary a measure should not be imitated in their country ; and in 1767 they, following the example which had been set by the French in 1764, abolished this great mainstay of the Church.[340] Having done this, the government supposed that it had taken a decisive step towards weakening ecclesiastical power, particularly as the sovereign cordially approved of the proceeding. The year after this occurred, Charles III., according to his custom, appeared in the balcony of the palace, on the festival of Saint Charles, ready to grant any request which the people might make to him, and which usually consisted of a prayer for the dismissal of a minister, or for the repeal of a tax. On this occasion, however, the citizens of Madrid, instead of occupying themselves with such worldly matters, felt that still dearer interests were in peril ; and to the surprise and terror of the court they demanded with one voice that the Jesuits should be allowed to return and wear their usual dress, in order that Spain might be gladdened by the sight of these holy men.[341]

What can you do with a nation like this ? What is the use of laws when the current of public opinion thus sets in against them ? In the face of such

[339] " Telle est la coûtume du Païs, on s'exposeroit à laisser douter de sa foi, et passer au moins pour Maran, ou Chrétien nouveau, si on ne laissoit pas le tiers de ses biens mobiliers à l'Eglise." *Labat, Voyages en Espagne,* vol. i. p. 268.

[340] It was the opinion of the Pope that Charles by this act had endangered his own soul. " Dans un bref adressé à Charles III, il déclara : ' Que les actes du Roi contre es Jésuites mettaient évidemment son salut en danger.' " *Crétineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus,* Paris, 1845, vol. v. p. 302.

[341] As this circumstance, which is noticed by Crétineau-Joly (*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus,* vol. v. p. 311) and other writers (*Dunham's History of Spain,* vol. v. p. 180), has been much misrepresented, and has even been doubted by one author, I will transcribe the statement of Coxe, whose information respecting the reign of Charles III. was derived from eye-witnesses. " A remarkable and alarming proof of their influence was given at Madrid, the year after their expulsion. At the festival of St. Charles, when the monarch showed himself to the people from the balcony of the palace, and was accustomed to grant their general request ; to the surprise and confusion of the whole Court the voice of the immense multitude, with one accord, demanded the return of the Jesuits, and the permission for them to wear the habit of the secular clergy. This unexpected incident alarmed and mortified the King ; and, after a vigilant inquiry, he thought proper to banish the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and his Grand Vicar, as the secret instigators of this tumultuary petition." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain,* 2nd edit., London, 1815, vol. iv. pp. 368, 369. The remarks made on this event by M. Rio (*Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.,* Madrid, 1856, vol. ii. pp. 197–199) are not very creditable either to his criticism or to his candour. It is uncritical to doubt the statement of a contemporary, when that statement relates what is probable in itself, and what those who lived nearest to the period never denied. Indeed, so far from denying it, M. Muriel, the learned translator of Coxe's work into Spanish, gave it the sanction of his name. And it is surely, to say the least, very uncandid on the part of M. Rio to impute to Coxe the error of placing this occurrence in 1767, and then proving that, owing to circumstances connected with the Archbishop of Toledo, it could not have happened in that year. For Coxe distinctly asserts that it was in 1768 ; " the year *after* their expulsion."

obstacles the government of Charles III., notwithstanding its good intentions, was powerless. Indeed it was worse than powerless: it did harm; for, by rousing popular sympathy in favour of the Church, it strengthened what it sought to weaken. On that cruel and persecuting Church, stained as it was with every sort of crime, the Spanish nation continued to bestow marks of affection which, instead of being diminished, were increased. Gifts and legacies flowed in freely and from every side; men being willing to beggar themselves and their families in order to swell the general contribution. And to such a height was this carried, that in 1788 Florida Blanca, minister of the crown, stated that within the last fifty years the ecclesiastical revenues had increased so rapidly that many of them had doubled in value.[342]

Even the Inquisition, the most barbarous institution which the wit of man has ever devised, was upheld by public opinion against the attacks of the crown. The Spanish government wished to overthrow it, and did everything to weaken it; but the Spanish people loved it as of old, and cherished it as their best protection against the inroads of heresy.[343] An illustration of this was exhibited in 1778, when, on occasion of a heretic being sentenced by the Inquisition, several of the leading nobles attended as servants, being glad to have an opportunity of publicly displaying their obedience and docility to the Church.[344]

All these things were natural and in order. They were the result of a long train of causes, the operation of which I have endeavoured to trace, during thirteen centuries, since the outbreak of the Arian war. Those causes forced the Spaniards to be superstitious, and it was idle mockery to seek to change their nature by legislation. The only remedy for superstition is knowledge. Nothing else can wipe out that plague spot of the human mind. Without it, the leper remains unwashed, and the slave unfreed. It is to a knowledge of

[342] See the statement of Florida Blanca, in Appendix I. to *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 282. Another Spaniard, the Prince of the Peace, says that at the accession of Charles IV. in 1788 "the cloisters were encumbered with an ever-increasing number of monks of all orders and of all ages." *Godoy's Memoirs*, edit. London, 1836, vol. i. p. 126. See also, on the state of ecclesiastical establishments in the same year, some interesting remarks in the Letters of Cabarrus; "con qué horrible desproporcion superabundan los individuos estériles á los operarios útiles y preciosos." *Cartas escritas por el Conde de Cabarrus*, Madrid, 1813, p. 133.

[343] Of it, a celebrated writer in the reign of Philip V. boastfully says, "Su exacta vigilancia comprehende igualmente á Naturales y Estrangeros." *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, tercera impression, Madrid, 1757, folio, p. 27. When such a man as Uztariz could pen a sentence like this, we may imagine what was felt by the people, who were far more ignorant than he, and far more orthodox. M. Tapia, in a remarkable and unusually bold passage, frankly admits that it was the pressure of public opinion which prevented Charles III. from abolishing the Inquisition. "Estraño pareceria que habiéndose hecho tanto en aquel reinado para limitar el poder escesivo del clero, y acabar con absurdas preocupaciones, no se suprimiese el monstruoso tribunal de la inquisicion; pero es necesario tener presente quel el rey despues del motin de Madrid procedia con timidez en toda providencia que pudiese contrariar la opinion pública: y él creia que los españoles querian la inquisicion, como se lo manifestó al ministro Roda y al conde de Aranda, añadiendo que en nada coartaba su autoridad." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 98, Madrid, 1840. To us the Inquisition seems rather a singular object for men to set their affections on; but of the existence of the passion there can be no doubt. "L'Inquisition si révérée en Espagne." *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. i. p. 36. And Geddes (*Tracts*, London, 1730, vol. i. p. 400) tells us that "the Inquisition is not only established by law, but by a wonderful fascination is so fixed in the hearts and affections of the people, that one that should offer the least affront to another for having been an informer or witness in the Inquisition would be torn in a thousand pieces."

[344] "The familiars of the Inquisition, Abrantes, Mora, and others, grandees of Spain, attended as servants, without hats or swords." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 418, 419. This was in the great case of Olavide.

the laws and relations of things that European civilization is owing; but it is precisely this in which Spain has always been deficient. And until that deficiency is remedied, until science, with her bold and inquisitive spirit, has established her right to investigate all subjects, after her own fashion, and according to her own method, we may be assured that in Spain neither literature, nor universities, nor legislators, nor reformers of any kind, will ever be able to rescue the people from that helpless and benighted condition into which the course of affairs has plunged them.*

That no great political improvement, however plausible or attractive it may appear, can be productive of lasting benefit unless it is preceded by a change in public opinion, and that every change of public opinion is preceded by changes in knowledge, are propositions which all history verifies, but which are particularly obvious in the history of Spain. The Spaniards have had everything except knowledge. They have had immense wealth, and fertile and well-peopled territories, in all parts of the globe. Their own country, washed by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and possessed of excellent harbours, is admirably situated for the purposes of trade between Europe and America, being so placed as to command the commerce of both hemispheres.[345] They had, at a very early period, ample municipal privileges; they had independent parliaments; they had the right of choosing their own magistrates, and managing their own cities. They have had rich and flourishing towns, abundant manufactures, and skilful artizans, whose choice productions could secure a ready sale in every market in the world. They have cultivated the fine arts with eminent success; their noble and exquisite paintings, and their magnificent churches, being justly ranked among the most wonderful efforts of the human hand. They speak a beautiful, sonorous, and flexible language, and their literature is not unworthy of their language. Their soil yields treasures of every kind. It overflows with wine and oil, and produces the choicest fruits in an almost tropical exuberance.[346] It contains the most valuable minerals, in a profuse variety unexampled in any other part of Europe. Nowhere else do we find such rare and costly marbles, so easily accessible, and in such close communication with the sea, where they might safely be shipped, and sent to countries which require them.[347] As to the metals, there is hardly one which Spain does not possess in large quantities. Her mines of silver and of quicksilver are well known. She abounds in copper,[348] and her supply

[345] An accomplished modern geographer says: "From the extent of its coast-line, its numerous ports, its geographical position, and natural products, Spain possesses greater commercial advantages than any other country of Europe." *Johnston's Dictionary of Physical, Statistical, and Historical Geography*, London, 1850, p. 1213.

[346] "No quiero hablar de los frutos de España, no obstante que los produzca tan exquisitos de todas especies. Solo diré que sus naranjas dulces las traxeron de la China los Portugueses, y que de Portugal se ha difundido su planta por lo restante de Europa. En fin, España es celebrada entre otras cosas por sus limones, por la fragancia de sus cidras, por sus limas dulces, por sus granadas, por sus azeytunas, que merecieron ser alabadas hasta del gran Ciceron, y sus almendras, sus higos, sus uvas, etc." *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. 236.

[347] "The marbles of Spain are in greater variety and beauty than those of any country in Europe, and most valuable kinds of them are in situations of easy access and communication with the sea; but they have long been entirely neglected, the greater part being unknown, even to the more intelligent of the natives." *Cook's Spain*, London, 1834, vol. ii. p. 51. In the Cabinet of Natural History at Madrid, "the specimens of marbles are splendid, and show what treasures yet remain buried in the Peninsula." *Ford's Spain*, London, 1847, p. 413.

[348] "Hay infinitas minas de cobre en España las quales nunca se han tocado." *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Discurso Preliminar, p. 34.

[* Buckle here appears to say that until Spaniards are educated they cannot be educated. The rational proposition is that education must come gradually.—Ed.]

of lead is enormous.[349] Iron and coal, the two most useful of all the productions of the inorganic world,[350] are also abundant in that highly favoured country. Iron is said to exist in every part of Spain, and to be of the best quality;[351] while the coal-mines of Asturias are described as inexhaustible.[352] In short, nature has been so prodigal of her bounty, that it has been observed, with hardly an hyperbole, that the Spanish nation possesses within itself nearly every natural production which can satisfy either the necessity or the curiosity of mankind.[353]

These are splendid gifts; it is for the historian to tell how they have been used. Certainly the people who possess them have never been deficient in natural endowments. They have had their full share of great statesmen, great kings, great magistrates, and great legislators. They have had many able and vigorous rulers; and their history is ennobled by the frequent appearance of courageous and disinterested patriots, who have sacrificed their all that they might help their country. The bravery of the people has never been disputed; while, as to the upper classes, the punctilious honour of a Spanish gentleman has passed into a bye-word, and circulated through the world. Of the nation generally, the best observers pronounce them to be high-minded, generous, truthful, full of integrity, warm and zealous friends, affectionate in all the private relations of life, frank, charitable, and humane.[354] Their sincerity in religious matters is unquestionable;[355] they

[349] In 1832, Cook writes, "The lead-mines of the Sierra de Gador are in a state of repletion at present from the enormous quantity of the mineral, and the facility of raising it." . . . "Lead abounds in other parts of the same chain, nearer to Almeria." *Cook's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 75. "The most valuable of the existing Spanish mines are those of lead in Granada; and the supplies obtained from them during the last twenty years have been so large that they have occasioned the abandonment of several less productive mines in other countries, and a considerable fall in the price of lead." *M'Culloch's Geographical and Statistical Dictionary*, London, 1849, vol. ii. p. 705.

[350] I use the popular language in referring coal to the inorganic world, despite its cellular tissue and vegetable origin.

[351] "The most valuable of the whole mineral riches of Spain will be in all probability, in a few years, the iron, which is found everywhere, and of the best qualities." *Cook's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 78. See also *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, pp. 56, 67, 106, 273, 346, 415, and *Ford's Spain*, pp. 565, 618.

[352] "The quantity is inexhaustible, the quality excellent, the working of extraordinary facility, and they possess an easy communication with the sea; yet they are practically useless, and afford only a miserable existence to a few labourers and mules used in conveying the mineral to Gijon." *Cook's Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80. "In the immediate neighbourhood of Oviedo are some of the largest coal-fields in Europe." *Ford's Spain*, p. 381; compare pp. 392, 606.

[353] "La nacion española posee casi quantas producciones naturales puede apetecer la necesidad, ó curiosidad de los hombres." *Campomanes, Apéndice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iv. p. vi., Madrid, 1777.

[354] "Ils sont fort charitables, tant à cause du mérite que l'on s'acquiert par les aumônes, que par l'inclination naturelle qu'ils ont à donner, et la peine effective qu'ils souffirent lorsqu'ils sont obligés, soit par leur pauvreté, soit par quelqu'autre raison, de refuser ce qu'on leur demande. Ils ont encore la bonne qualité de ne point abandonner leurs amis pendant qu'ils sont malades." . . . "De manière que des personnes qui ne se voyent point quatre fois en un an, se voyent tous les jours deux ou trois fois, dès qu'ils souffrent." *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. p. 374. "They are grave, temperate, and sober; firm and warm in their friendships, though cautious and slow in contracting them." *A Tour through Spain by Udal ap Rhys*, second edition, London, 1760, p. 3. "When they have once professed it, none are more faithful friends." . . . "They have great probity and integrity of principle." *Clarke's Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, London, 1763, 4to, p. 334. "To express all that I feel, on the recollection of their goodness, would appear like adulation; but I may venture at least to say that simplicity, sincerity, generosity, a high sense of

are moreover eminently temperate and frugal.[356] Yet, all these great qualities have availed them nothing, and will avail them nothing so long as they remain ignorant. What the end of all this will be, and whether in their unhappy country the right path will ever be taken, is impossible for any one to say.[357] But if it is not taken, no amelioration which can possibly be effected will penetrate below the surface. The sole course is to weaken the superstition of the people; and this can only be done by that march of physical science which, familiarizing men with conceptions of order and of regularity, gradually encroaches on the old notions of perturbation, of prodigy, and of miracle, and by this means accustoms the mind to explain the vicissitudes of affairs by natural considerations, instead of, as heretofore, by those which are purely supernatural.*

dignity, and strong principles of honour, are the most prominent and striking features of the Spanish character." *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, second edition, London, 1792, vol. iii. p. 353. "The Spaniards, though naturally deep and artful politicians, have still something so nobly frank and honest in their disposition." *Letters from Spain by an English Officer*, London, 1788, vol. ii. p. 171. "The Spaniards have fewer bad qualities than any other people that I have had the opportunity to know." *Croker's Travels through Spain*, London, 1799, pp. 237, 238. "Spanish probity is proverbial, and it conspicuously shines in commercial relations." *Laborde's Spain*, London, 1809, vol. iv. p. 423. "Certainly, if it be taken in the mass, no people are more humane than the Spaniards, or more compassionate and kind in their feelings to others. They probably excel other nations, rather than fall below them, in this respect." *Cook's Spain*, London, 1834, vol. i. p. 189. "The Spaniards are kind-hearted in all the relations of life." *Hoskins' Spain*, London, 1851, vol. ii. p. 58. Finally, I will adduce the testimony of two professional politicians, both of whom were well acquainted with the Spaniards. In 1770 Mr. Harris, afterwards Lord Malmesbury, writes, "They are brave, honest, and generous." *Diaries and Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury*, London, 1844, vol. i. p. 48. And Lord Holland, according to Moore, deemed "that the Spaniards altogether are amongst the best people of Europe." *Moore's Memoirs, edited by Lord John Russell*, vol. iii. p. 253, London, 1853.

[355] This their whole history decisively proves; and as to their more recent state, the author of *Revelations of Spain in* 1845, vol. i. p. 340, says: "But religion is so deeply rooted in the national character, that the most furious political storms, which prostrate everything else, blow over this and leave it unscathed. It is only amongst the educated male population that any lack of fervour is witnessed."

[356] "The habitual temperance of these people is really astonishing: I never saw a Spaniard drink a second glass of wine. With the lower order of people, a piece of bread with an apple, an onion, or pomegranate, is their usual repast." *Croker's Travels in Spain*, London, 1799, p. 116. "They are temperate, or rather abstemious, in their living to a great degree: *borracho* is the highest term of reproach; and it is rare to see a drunken man, except it be among the carriers or muleteers." *Dalrymple's Travels through Spain*, London, 1777, 4to, p. 174. "Drunkenness is a vice almost unknown in Spain among people of a respectable class, and very uncommon even among the lower orders." Esménard's note in *Godoy's Memoirs*, London, 1836, vol. ii. p. 321.

[357] "This is the most wonderful country under the sun; for here intellect wields no power." *Inglis' Spain*, London, 1831, vol. i. p. 101. "Tandis que l'activité publique, en Espagne, se porte depuis quelques années dans la sphère des intérêts pratiques et matériels, il semble, au contraire, qu'il y ait une sorte de ralentissement dans la vie intellectuelle." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes for* 1850, p. 410. "La vie intellectuelle n'est point malheureusement la sphère où se manifeste le plus d'activité en Espagne." *Ibid. for* 1856–1857, p. 356. Now, listen to the practical consequences of not giving free and fearless scope to the intellect. "It is singular, upon landing in the Peninsula, and making a short excursion for a few miles in any direction, to see reproduced the

[* Buckle would probably not have disputed, on challenge, that a knowledge of historical (including anthropological) science would avail for much, as well as that of physical science.—Ed.]

To this, in the most advanced countries of Europe, everything has been tending for nearly three centuries. But in Spain, unfortunately, education has always remained, and still remains, in the hands of the clergy, who steadily oppose that progress of knowledge which they are well aware would be fatal to their own power.[358] The people, therefore, resting ignorant, and the causes which kept them in ignorance continuing, it avails the country nothing that, from time to time, enlightened rulers have come forward, and liberal measures been adopted. The Spanish reformers have, with rare exceptions, eagerly attacked the Church, whose authority they clearly saw ought to be diminished. But what they did not see is that such diminution can be of no real use unless it is the result of public opinion urging on politicians to the work.* In Spain, politicians took the initiative, and the people lagged behind. Hence, in Spain, what was done at one time was sure to be undone at another. When the liberals were in power, they suppressed the Inquisition; but Ferdinand VII. easily restored it, because, though it had been destroyed by Spanish legislators, its existence was suited to the habits and traditions of the Spanish nation.[359]

manners of England *five centuries back*,—to find yourself thrown into the midst of a society which is a close counterpart of that *extinct semi-civilization* of which no trace is to be found in our history later than the close of the fourteenth century and the reign of Richard the Second." *Revelations of Spain in* 1845 *by an English Resident*, vol. ii. p. 1.

358 "That the Spaniards, as a people, are ignorant, supremely ignorant, it is impossible to dissemble; but this comes from the control of education being altogether in the hands of the clergy, who exert themselves to maintain that ignorance to which they are indebted for their power." *Spain by an American*, vol. ii. p. 360. "The schools in Madrid are all conducted by Jesuits; and the education received in them is such as might be expected from their heads." *Inglis' Spain*, vol. i. p. 156. "Private education here is almost entirely in the hands of the clergy." *Revelations of Spain in* 1845, vol. ii. p. 27. In Spain, as in all countries, Catholic or Protestant, the clergy, considered as a body, inculcate belief instead of inquiry, and by a sort of conservative instinct discourage that boldness of investigation without which there can be no real knowledge, although there may be much erudition and mere book-learning. In Spain the clergy are stronger than in any other country; therefore in Spain they display this tendency more fearlessly. A good instance of this may be seen in a work lately published by the Bishop of Barcelona, in which a violent attack upon all physical and philosophical knowledge is concluded in the following terms: "No intento recriminar á ningun católico de los que se asocian al nuevo sistema de filosofar y de extender indefinidamente el imperio de esta ciencia, pero deseo que fijen toda su atencion en los puntos que no haré sino indicar. Primero, que las escuelas de Holanda, Alemania, Inglaterra y Francia desafectas al Catolicismo, han iniciado y promovido con el mayor empeño ciertas discusiones filosóficas, presentándolas como un triunfo de la razon sobre la Religion, de la filosofía sobre la teología, del materialismo sobre el espiritualismo. Segundo, que sus máximas no son, en gran parte, mas que reproducciones ó nuevas evoluciones de errores mil veces refutados y condenados por la sana filosofía y por la Iglesia; bajo cuyo concepto no tienen por qué felicitarse en razon de su progreso, sino mas bien avergonzarse por su retroceso." *Costa y Borras. Iglesia en España*, Barcelona, 1857, p. 150.

359 "Immediately after his arrival in Madrid, Ferdinand re-established the Inquisition; and his decree for that purpose was hailed throughout all Spain with illuminations, thanksgivings, and other rejoicings." *Quin's Memoirs of Ferdinand VII.*, London, 1824, pp. 189, 190. This and similar acts gave such delight to the Church as well as to the people that, according to a great divine, the return of Ferdinand to Spain is to

[* This is one of too many passages in which Buckle lapses into something like fatalism. If the reformers are to wait till "public opinion" advances, there can be no advance whatever. Somebody must begin, and the beginner is a "reformer." The history of the Anti-Corn Law League in England gives the object lesson. The League had to *create* public opinion.—ED.]

Fresh changes occurring, this odious tribunal was in 1820 again abolished. Still, though its form is gone, its spirit lives.[360] The name, the body, and the visible appearance of the Inquisition are no more; but the spirit which generated the Inquisition is enshrined in the hearts of the people, and on slight provocation would burst forth and reinstate an institution which is the effect, far more than the cause, of the intolerant bigotry of the Spanish nation.

In the same way, other and more systematic attacks which were made on the Church during the present century succeeded at first, but were sure to be eventually baffled.[361] Under Joseph, in 1809, the monastic orders were suppressed, and their property was confiscated.[362] Little, however, did Spain gain by this. The nation was on their side; [363] and as soon as the storm passed away, they were restored. In 1836 there was another political movement, and the liberals being at the head of affairs, Mendizabal secularized all the Church property, and deprived the clergy of nearly the whole of their enormous and ill-gotten wealth.[364] He did not know how foolish it is to attack an institution, unless you can first lessen its influence. Overrating the power of legislation, he underrated the power of opinion. This the result clearly showed. Within a very few years the reaction began. In 1845 was enacted what was called the law of devolution, by which the first step was taken towards the re-endowment of the clergy.[365] In 1851 their position was still further improved by the celebrated Concordat, in which the right of acquiring as well

be deemed the immediate act of Divine Providence, watching over the interests of Spain. "La divina Providencia abrevió los dias de prueba, y la católica España respiró ceñida con los laureles del triunfo, recobrando luego á su tan deseado monarca, el señor rey don Fernando VII." *Costa y Borras, Observaciones sobre la Iglesia en España*, Barcelona, 1857, p. 91.

[360] "The spirit of the Inquisition is still alive; for no king, cortes, or constitution, ever permits in Spain any approach to any religious toleration." *Ford's Spain*, London, 1847, p. 60. "Les cortès auraient beau permettre l'exercice du culte protestant ou juif, il n'est point certain que cela ne suscitât de périlleux conflits." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes, ou Histoire Générale des Divers États*, 1854–1855, vol. v. p. 272, Paris, 1855; a work of considerable ability, planned on the same scheme as the *Annual Register*, but far superior to it. Respecting the chance of the Inquisition being again restored, compare two interesting passages in *Spain by an American*, 1831, vol. ii. p. 330, and *Inglis' Spain*, 1831, vol. i. p. 85. Since then the balance of affairs has on the whole been in favour of the Church, which received a further accession of strength by the success of the essentially religious war recently waged against the Moors. Hence, if any fresh political catastrophe were to occur in Spain, I should not be at all surprised to hear that the Inquisition was re-established.

[361] Compare some very sensible remarks in *Bacon's Six Years in Biscay*, London, 1838, pp. 40, 41, 50, with *Quin's Memoirs of Ferdinand the Seventh*, pp. 192, 193.

[362] *Walton's Revolutions of Spain*, London, 1837, vol. ii. p. 343.

[363] Very shortly before the suppression of the monastic orders, "Le respect pour le froc en général est poussé si loin, qu'on lui attribue une vertue préservative, même au-delà de la vie, quelque peu régulière qu'elle ait été. Aussi n'y a-t-il rien de si commun que de voir les morts ensevelis en robe de moines, et conduits ainsi à leur dernière demeure à visage découvert." . . . "De même que le froc accompagne les Espagnols au tombeau, de même il en saisit quelques-uns au sortir du berceau. Il n'est pas rare de rencontrer de petits moines de quatre à cinq ans polissonnant dans la rue." *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1808, vol. ii. pp. 330, 331.

[364] The confiscation took place at different periods between 1835 and 1841. Compare *Ford's Spain*, p. 48. *Revelations of Spain by an English Resident*, vol. i. p. 366. *Costa y Borras, Iglesia en España*, p. 95. *Annuaire des Deux Mondes for* 1850, Paris, 1851, p. 369. I have sought in vain for any detailed history of these transactions.

[365] "Dès 1845, une loi dite de *dévolution*, en attendant un règlement définitif, applique à la dotation du clergé une portion des biens ecclésiastiques non vendus." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1851–2, Paris, 1852, p. 318.

as of possessing was solemnly confirmed to them.[366] With all this the nation heartily concurred.[367] Such, however, was the madness of the liberal party that only four years afterwards, when they for a moment obtained power, they forcibly annulled these arrangements, and revoked concessions which had been made to the Church, and which, unhappily for Spain, public opinion had ratified.[368] The results might have been easily foreseen. In Aragon and in other parts of Spain the people flew to arms ; a Carlist insurrection broke out, and a cry ran through the country that religion was in danger. [369] It is impossible to benefit such a nation as this.* The reformers were of course overthrown, and by the autumn of 1856 their party was broken up. The political reaction now began, and advanced so rapidly that by the spring of 1857 the policy of the two preceding years was completely reversed. Those who idly thought that they could regenerate their country by laws, saw all their hopes confounded. A ministry was formed whose measures were more in accordance with the national mind. In May, 1857, Cortes assembled. The representatives of the people sanctioned the proceedings of the executive government, and by their united authority the worst provisions of the Concordat of 1851 were amply confirmed, the sale of Church property was forbidden, and all the limitations which had been set to the power of the bishops were at once removed.[370]

The reader will now be able to understand the real nature of Spanish civilization. He will see how, under the high-sounding names of loyalty and religion, lurk the deadly evils which those names have always concealed, but which it is the business of the historian to drag to light and expose. A blind spirit of reverence, taking the form of an unworthy and ignominious submission to the Crown and the Church, is the capital and essential vice of the Spanish people. It is their sole national vice, and it has sufficed to ruin them. From it all nations have grievously suffered, and many still suffer. But nowhere in

[366] " Il y a ici un règlement solennel, sous la forme d'un traité, de toutes les affaires relatives à l'église ; c'est le concordat de 1851. Le concordat reconnaît à l'église le droit d'acquérir et de posséder." *Ibid.*, 1854, 1855, p. 273, Paris, 1855.

[367] The very year in which the Concordat became law, Mr. Hoskins, the well-known traveller in Africa, a gentleman evidently of considerable intelligence, published, on his return from Spain, an account of that country. His work is valuable as showing the state of public feeling just before the Concordat, and while the Spanish clergy were still suffering from the well-intentioned but grossly injudicious acts of the liberal party. " We visited these churches on a Sunday, and were surprised to find them all crowded to excess. The incomes of the clergy are greatly reduced, but their fortunes are gradually reviving." *Hoskins' Spain*, London, 1851, vol. i. p. 25. " The priests are slowly re-establishing their power in Spain." vol. ii. p. 201. " The crowded churches, and, notwithstanding the appropriation of their revenues, the absence of all appearance of anything like poverty in the chapels and services, prove that the Spaniards are now as devout worshippers, and as zealous friends of the Church, as they were in her palmy days." vol. ii. p. 281.

[368] " La loi de désamortissement promulguée le 1er mai, 1855, ordonne, comme on sait, la mise en vente de tous les biens de main-morte, et en particulier des biens qui restent encore à l'église." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1855, 1856, p. 310. See also *Annuaire*, 1854, 1855, p. 274. For an account of other steps taken against the Church in the spring and summer of 1855, see *Costa y Borras, Observaciones sobre la Iglesia en España*, Barcelona, 1857, pp. 119, 286, 292 ; and respecting the law of the 1st of May, see p. 247.

[369] " Aussi le premier mot d'ordre de l'insurrection a été la défense de la religion." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1854, 1855, p. 275.

[370] *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1856, 1857, pp. 315–317, 324–331, 336.

[* Here again the proposition lapses into fatalism. The Spanish people have fought for their Church as did the English under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and as did the Vendeans in revolutionary France. But each struggle weakens the power of the Church, as the preceding note shows.—Ed.]

Europe has this principle been so long supreme as in Spain. Therefore, nowhere else in Europe are the consequences so manifest and so fatal. The idea of liberty is extinct, if, indeed, in the true sense of the word, it ever can be said to have existed. Outbreaks, no doubt, there have been, and will be; but they are bursts of lawlessness, rather than of liberty.* In the most civilized countries the tendency always is to obey even unjust laws, but while obeying them to insist on their repeal. This is because we perceive that it is better to remove grievances than to resist them. While we submit to the particular hardship, we assail the system from which the hardship flows. For a nation to take this view requires a certain reach of mind which in the darker periods of European history was unattainable. Hence we find that in the Middle Ages, though tumults were incessant, rebellions were rare. But since the sixteenth century, local insurrections, provoked by immediate injustice, are diminishing, and are being superseded by revolutions which strike at once at the source from whence the injustice proceeds. There can be no doubt that this change is beneficial; partly because it is always good to rise from effects to causes, and partly because, revolutions being less frequent than insurrections, the peace of society would be more rarely disturbed if men confined themselves entirely to the larger remedy. At the same time, insurrections are generally wrong; revolutions are always right. An insurrection is too often the mad and passionate effort of ignorant persons who are impatient under some immediate injury, and never stop to investigate its remote and general causes. But a revolution, when it is the work of the nation itself, is a splendid and imposing spectacle, because to the moral quality of indignation produced by the presence of evil it adds the intellectual qualities of foresight and combination; and, uniting in the same act some of the highest properties of our nature, it achieves a double purpose, not only punishing the oppressor but also relieving the oppressed.

In Spain, however, there never has been a revolution, properly so called; there never has even been one grand national rebellion. The people, though often lawless, are never free. Among them we find still preserved that peculiar taint of barbarism which makes men prefer occasional disobedience to systematic liberty. Certain feelings there are of our common nature which even their slavish loyalty cannot eradicate, and which, from time to time, urge them to resist injustice. Such instincts are happily the inalienable lot of humanity, which we cannot forfeit if we would, and which are too often the last resource against the extravagances of tyranny. And this is all that Spain now possesses. The Spaniards, therefore, resist, not because they are Spaniards, but because they are men. Still, even while they resist, they revere. While they will rise up against a vexatious impost, they crouch before a system of which the impost is the smallest evil. They smite the tax-gatherer, but fall prostrate at the feet of the contemptible prince for whom the tax-gatherer plies his craft. They will even revile the troublesome and importunate monk, or sometimes they will scoff at the sleek and arrogant priest; while such is their infatuation that they would risk their lives in defence of that cruel Church which has inflicted on them hideous calamities, but to which they still cling as if it were the dearest object of their affections.†

[* The same could more justly be said of the beginnings of the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain. Cp. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 1-vol. ed. 1863, pp. 462–7, 506, 527, 829; Prescott, *Hist. of Philip* II., Kirk's ed. 1894, pp. 249, 264–8, 335.—Ed.]

[† A few years after Buckle wrote, these words were disproved by the revolutions of 1868 and 1873, which proved that among the Spanish reformers were many republicans, and not a few freethinkers. In the past thirty years their numbers have been constantly growing. The whole of the concluding paragraph is thus an over-statement. The account of Spain as a homogeneous entity is substantially wrong. The priests are steadily losing power; and since the loss of Cuba and the Philippines the reform movement gains ground more rapidly than ever. Buckle failed to recognise the full value of time in evolution.—Ed.]

Connected with these habits of mind, and in sooth forming part of them, we find a reverence for antiquity, and an inordinate tenacity of old opinions, old beliefs, and old habits, which remind us of those tropical civilizations which formerly flourished. Such prejudices were once universal even in Europe; but they began to die out in the sixteenth century, and are now, comparatively speaking, extinct, except in Spain, where they have always been welcomed. In that country they retain their original force, and produce their natural results. By encouraging the notion that all the truths most important to know are already known, they repress those aspirations, and dull that generous confidence in the future, without which nothing really great can be achieved. A people who regard the past with too wistful an eye will never bestir themselves to help the onward progress; they will hardly believe that progress is possible. To them antiquity is synonymous with wisdom, and every improvement is a dangerous innovation. In this state Europe lingered for many centuries; in this state Spain still lingers. Hence the Spaniards are remarkable for an inertness, a want of buoyancy, and an absence of hope, which in our busy and enterprizing age isolate them from the rest of the civilized world. Believing that little can be done, they are in no hurry to do it. Believing that the knowledge they have inherited is far greater than any they can obtain, they wish to preserve their intellectual possessions whole and unimpaired; inasmuch as the least alteration in them might lessen their value. Content with what has been already bequeathed, they are excluded from that great European movement which first, clearly perceptible in the sixteenth century, has ever since been steadily advancing, unsettling old opinions, destroying old follies, reforming and improving on every side, influencing even such barbarous countries as Russia and Turkey; but leaving Spain unscathed. While the human intellect has been making the most prodigious and unheard-of strides, while discoveries in every quarter are simultaneously pressing upon us, and coming in such rapid and bewildering succession that the strongest sight, dazzled by the glare of their splendour, is unable to contemplate them as a whole; while other discoveries still more important, and still more remote from ordinary experience, are manifestly approaching, and may be seen looming in the distance, whence they are now obscurely working on the advanced thinkers who are nearest to them, filling their minds with those ill-defined, restless, and almost uneasy feelings which are the invariable harbingers of future triumph; while the veil is being rudely torn, and nature, violated at all points, is forced to disclose her secrets, and reveal her structure, her economy, and her laws, to the indomitable energy of man; while Europe is ringing with the noise of intellectual achievements, with which even despotic governments affect to sympathize, in order that they may divert them from their natural course and use them as new instruments whereby to oppress yet more the liberties of the people; while, amidst this general din and excitement, the public mind, swayed to and fro, is tossed and agitated,—Spain sleeps on, untroubled, unheeding, impassive, receiving no impressions from the rest of the world, and making no impressions upon it. There she lies, at the further extremity of the Continent, a huge and torpid mass, the sole representative now remaining of the feelings and knowledge of the Middle Ages.* And, what is the worst symptom of all, she is satisfied with her own condition. Though she is the most backward country in Europe, she believes herself to be the foremost. She is proud of everything of which she should be ashamed. She is proud of the antiquity of her opinions; proud of her orthodoxy; proud of the strength of her faith; proud of her immeasurable and childish credulity; proud of her unwillingness to amend either her creed or her customs; proud of her hatred of heretics, and proud of the undying vigilance with which she has baffled their efforts to obtain a full and legal establishment on her soil.

All these things conspiring together produce in their aggregate that melancholy exhibition to which we give the collective name of Spain. The history

[* Buckle is here echoing and developing a proposition of Prescott (*Hist. of Philip II.*, Kirk's ed. 1894, p. 181) which however Prescott's editor very properly rejects.—Ed.]

of that single word is the history of nearly every vicissitude of which the human species is capable. It comprises the extremes of strength and of weakness, of unbounded wealth and of abject poverty. It is the history of the mixture of different races, languages, and bloods. It includes almost every political combination which the wit of man can devise ; laws infinite in variety, as well as in number ; constitutions of all kinds, from the most stringent to the most liberal. Democracy, monarchy, government by priests, government by municipalities, government by nobles, government by representative bodies, government by natives, government by foreigners, have been tried, and tried in vain. Material appliances have been lavishly used ; arts, inventions, and machines introduced from abroad, manufactures set up, communications opened, roads made, canals dug, mines worked, harbours formed. In a word, there has been every sort of alteration except alterations of opinion ; there has been every possible change except changes in knowledge. And the result is that in spite of the efforts of successive governments, in spite of the influence of foreign customs, and in spite of those physical ameliorations which just touch the surface of society, but are unable to penetrate beneath, there are no signs of national progress ; the priests are rather gaining ground than losing it ; the slightest attack on the Church rouses the people ; while even the dissoluteness of the clergy, and the odious vices which in the present century have stained the throne, can do naught to lessen either the superstition or the loyalty which the accumulated force of many centuries has graven on the minds, and eaten into the hearts, of the Spanish nation.*

[* Mr. M. A. S. Hume, in his *Modern Spain* (1899, p.551), after practically bearing out all that Buckle has said as to the prematureness of the Spanish reforms in the past century, says : "It may now be safely asserted that during the last thirty years the people themselves have with much painful effort almost reached the level of their present political institutions" ; and in conclusion (p. 563) he pronounces that "absolutism . . . is past revival, and a popular constitutional government, republic or monarchy, is alone possible in Spain, *the most naturally democratic country in Europe.*"—Ed.]

CHAPTER XVI.

Condition of Scotland to the End of the Fourteenth Century.

In the preceding view of the rise and decay of Spain, I have sought to exhibit the successive steps by which what was formerly one of the greatest nations of the earth was broken, and cast down from its high estate. As we look back on that scene, the picture is indeed striking. A country rich in all natural productions, inhabited by a brave, a loyal, and a religious people, removed, too, by its geographical position from the hazards of European revolutions, did by the operation of those general causes which I have indicated, suddenly rise to unparalleled grandeur; and then, without the occurrence of any new combination, but by a mere continuance of the same causes, fall with an equal velocity. Yet these vicissitudes, strange and startling as they appear, were perfectly regular. They were the legitimate consequence of a state of society in which the spirit of protection had reached its highest point, and in which, everything being done for the people, nothing was done by the people. Whenever this happens, there may be great political progress, but there can be no really national progress. There may be accessions of territory, and vast increase of fame and of power. There may be improvements in the practice of administration, in the management of finances, in the organization of armies, in the art and theory of war, in the tricks of diplomacy, and in those various contrivances by which one nation is able to outwit and insult another. So far, however, from this benefiting the people, it will injure them in two different ways. In the first place, by increasing the reputation of the ruling classes, it encourages that blind and servile respect which men are too apt to feel for those who are above them, and which, wherever it has been generally practised, has been found fatal to the highest qualities of the citizen, and therefore to the permanent grandeur of the nation. And, in the second place, it multiplies the resources of the executive government, and thus renders the country unable as well as unwilling to correct the errors of those who are at the head of affairs. Hence, in Spain, as in all countries similarly circumstanced, it was at the very moment when things were most prosperous at the surface that they were most rotten at the foundation.* In presence of the most splendid political success, the nation hastened to its downfall, and the crisis was fast approaching in which, the whole edifice being overturned, nothing would be left except a memorable warning of the consequences which must ensue when the people, giving themselves up to the passions of superstition and loyalty, abdicate their own proper functions, forego their own responsibility, renounce their highest duties, and degrade themselves into passive instruments to serve the will of the Church and the throne.

Such is the great lesson taught by the history of Spain. From the history of Scotland we may gather another lesson, of a different and yet of a similar kind. In Scotland the progress of the nation has been very slow, but on the whole very sure. The country is extremely barren; the executive government has, with rare exceptions, been always weak; and the people have never been burdened with those feelings of loyalty which circumstances had forced upon the Spaniards. Certainly the last charge that will be brought against the Scotch is that of

[* As has been noted above, they were no more prosperous on the surface than anywhere else at the period specified. —Ed.]

superstitious attachment to their princes.[1] We in England have not always been very tender of the persons of our sovereigns, and we have occasionally punished them with what some consider excessive severity. With this we have been frequently taunted by the more loyal nations of the Continent; and in Spain in particular our conduct has excited the greatest abhorrence. But if we compare our history with that of our northern neighbours, we must pronounce ourselves a meek and submissive people.[2] There have been more rebellions in Scotland than in any other country; and the rebellions have been very sanguinary, as well as very numerous. The Scotch have made war upon most of their kings, and put to death many. To mention their treatment of a single dynasty, they * murdered James I. and James III. They rebelled against James II. and James VII. They laid hold of James V., and placed him in confinement. Mary they immured in a castle, and afterwards deposed. Her successor, James VI., they imprisoned; they led him captive about the country, and on one occasion attempted his life. Towards Charles I. they showed the greatest animosity, and they were the first to restrain his mad career. Three years before the English ventured to rise against that despotic prince, the Scotch boldly took up arms, and made war on him. The service which they then rendered to the cause of liberty it would be hard to overrate; but the singular part of the transaction was that having afterwards got possession of the person of Charles they sold him to the English for a large sum of money, of which they, being very poor, had pressing need. Such a sale is unparalleled in history; and although the Scotch might have plausibly alleged that this was the only gain they had derived, or ever could derive, from the existence of their hereditary prince, still the event is one which stands alone; it was unprecedented; it has never been imitated; and its occurrence is a striking symptom of the state of public opinion, and of the feelings of the country in which it was permitted.†

[1] One of their own historians complacently says, "but the Scots were seldom distinguished for loyalty." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 199, edit. 1819. See also p. 366. To the same effect, Brodie (*History of the British Empire*, Edinburgh, 1822, vol. i. p. 383): "The little respect paid to royalty is conspicuous in every page of Scottish history." Or, as Wilkes expressed himself in the House of Commons, "Scotland seems, indeed, the natural *foyer* of rebellion, as Egypt is of the plague." *Parliamentary History*, vol. xix. p. 810, London, 1814; and Nimmo (*History of Stirlingshire*, Edinburgh, 1777, p. 219): "Never was any race of monarchs more unfortunate than the Scottish. Their reigns were generally turbulent and disastrous, and their own end often tragical."

[2] Indeed, a well-known Scotchman of the seventeenth century scornfully says of the English, "such is the obsequiousness, and almost superstitious devotion of that nation

[* The use of "they" is somewhat indiscriminate. A few malcontents killed James I., and factions of nobles rebelled against his successors. In England there were rebellions against nearly every monarch from Richard II. to William III., and before Richard II. against Edward II., Henry III., John, and so on. The contrast thus breaks down.—ED.]

[† Seeing that the Scots Parliament denounced the execution of Charles I. as a crime, and took up at once the cause of his son, the inference in the text is clearly over-strained. The popular account of the "selling" of Charles, here followed by Buckle, is of course a myth. The Scots had an old-standing and long-admitted claim against the English Parliament, and having got the king they "held the king in pawn for their claim" (Burton, *History of Scotland*, vi. 408). But had there been no arrears due to them, the king would have been given up to the English much sooner. The Scots had offered to support and reinstate the king if he would sign their solemn League and Covenant, even after the English Parliament had threatened to make war on them if the king were not delivered up. Charles however refused to sign, preferring to take his risks in England. It was therefore a matter of course that he should be given up. And it was not by those English commissioners to whom he was surrendered that he was put to death, but by their opponents. Buckle gives a somewhat more accurate though still misleading account below (ch. xviii. at *note* 51); and after writing that should have altered the passage above. —ED.]

While, however, in regard to loyalty, the opposition between Scotland and Spain is complete, there is, strange to say, the most striking similarity between those countries in regard to superstition. Both nations have allowed their clergy to exercise immense sway, and both have submitted their actions, as well as their consciences, to the authority of the Church. As a natural consequence, in both countries intolerance has been and still is a crying evil; and in matters of religion a bigotry is habitually displayed, discreditable indeed to Spain, but far more discreditable to Scotland, which has produced many philosophers of the highest eminence, who would willingly have taught the people better things, but who have vainly attempted to remove from the national mind that serious blemish which mars its beauty, and tends to neutralize its many other admirable qualities.

Herein lies the apparent paradox, and the real difficulty, of Scotch history. That knowledge should not have produced the effects which have elsewhere followed it; that a bold and inquisitive literature should be found in a grossly superstitious country, without diminishing its superstition; that the people should constantly withstand their kings, and as constantly succumb to their clergy; that while they are liberal in politics they should be illiberal in religion; and that, as a natural consequence of all this, men who in the visible and external department of facts and of practical life display a shrewdness and a boldness rarely equalled, should nevertheless in speculative life and in matters of theory, tremble like sheep before their pastors, and yield assent to every absurdity they hear, provided their Church has sanctioned it; that these discrepancies should coexist, seems at first sight a strange contradiction, and is surely a phenomenon worthy of our careful study. To indicate the causes of this anomaly, and to trace the results to which the anomaly has led, will be the business of the remaining part of this volume; and although the investigation will be somewhat lengthy, it will not, I hope, be considered prolix by those who recognize the importance of the inquiry, and are aware how completely it has been neglected, even by those who have written most fully on the history of the Scottish nation

In Scotland as elsewhere, the course of events has been influenced by its physical geography; and by this I mean, not only its own immediate peculiarities, but also its relation to adjoining countries. It is close to Ireland; it touches England; and by the contiguity of the Orkney and Shetland Isles it was eminently exposed to the attacks of that great nation of pirates which for centuries inhabited the Scandinavian peninsula. Considered merely by itself, it is mountainous and sterile; nature has interposed such obstacles that it was long impossible to open regular communications between its different parts, which, indeed, in regard to the Highlands, was not effected till after the middle of the eighteenth century.[3] Finally—and this, as we shall presently see, was a matter

towards their prince." *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 204, edit. Laing, Edinburgh, 1841. [The same writer fiercely denounced the execution of Charles.—Ed.] This, however, was written in 1639, since which we have effectually wiped off that reproach. On the other hand, an English writer of the seventeenth century indignantly, though with evident exaggeration, imputes to the Scotch that "forty of their kings have been barbarously murdered by them; and half as many more have either made away with themselves, for fear of their torturing of them, or have died miserably in strait imprisonment." *Account of Scotland in* 1670, in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 140, edit. Park, 4to, 1810. Compare two curious passages in *Shields' Hind Let Loose*, 1687, pp. 8, 9, 15.

[3] In England the travelling was bad enough; in Scotland it was far worse. Morer, stating what he saw in 1689, says, "Stage-coaches they have none; yet there are a few Hackney's at Edinburgh, which they may hire into the country upon urgent occasions. The truth is, the roads will hardly allow 'em those conveniences, which is the reason that their gentry, men and women, chuse rather to use their horses." *Morer's Account of Scotland*, London, 1702, p. 24.

As to the northern parts, we have the following account, written in Inverness, between 1726 and 1730. "The Highlands are but little known even to the inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, for they have ever dreaded the difficulties and dangers of travelling among the mountains; and when some extraordinary occasion has obliged any one of

of great importance, the most fertile land in Scotland is in the south, and was therefore constantly ravaged by the English borderers. Hence the accumulation of wealth was hindered, the growth of towns was discouraged by the serious hazards to which they were liable ; and it was impossible to develop that municipal spirit which might have existed if the districts most favoured by nature had been situated in the north of Scotland, instead of in the south. If the actual state of things had been reversed, so that the Highlands were in the south[4] and the Lowlands in the north, it can hardly be doubted that after the cessation in the thirteenth century of the great Scandinavian invasions the most fertile parts of Scotland, being comparatively secure, would have been the seat of towns which the active spirit of the people would have caused to prosper, and the prosperity of which would have introduced a new element into Scotch affairs, and changed the course of Scotch history. This, however, was not to be ; and, as we have to deal with events as they actually are, I will now endeavour to trace the consequences of the physical peculiarities which have just been noticed ; and by co-ordinating their results I will, so far as I am able, show their general meaning, and the way in which they have shaped the national character.

The earliest fact with which we are acquainted respecting the history of Scotland is the Roman invasion under Agricola, late in the first century. But neither his conquests nor those of his successors made any permanent impression. The country was never really subjugated, and nothing was effected except a military occupation, which, in spite of the erection of numerous forts, walls, and

them to such a progress, he has, generally speaking, made his testament before he set out, as though he were entering upon a long and dangerous sea-voyage, wherein it was very doubtful if he should ever return." *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, edit. London, 1815, vol. i. p. 4. Between 1720 and 1730, military roads were cut through parts of the Highlands, but they were "laid down by a practical soldier, and destined for warlike purposes, with scarcely any view towards the ends for which free and peaceful citizens open up a system of internal transit." *Burton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 255. See also *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 36. This is confirmed by the fact that, even between Inverness and Edinburgh, "until 1755, the mail was conveyed by men on foot." Account of Inverness-shire, in *M'Culloch's British Empire*, London, 1847, vol. i. p. 299 ; to which I may add that in *Anderson's Essay on the Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1827, pp. 119, 120, it is stated that "A postchaise was first seen in Inverness itself in 1760, and was for a considerable time the only four-wheeled carriage in the district." As to the communications in the country about Perth, see *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, pp. 131, 132, Perth, 1836 ; and as to those from Aberdeen to Inverness, and from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, see *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. pp. 269, 270, London, 4to, 1818.

The history of the improvement of the roads during the latter half of the eighteenth century has never been written ; but it is of the greatest importance for its intellectual results, in causing national fusion, as well as for its economical results, in helping trade. Some idea may be formed of the extraordinary energy displayed by Scotland in this matter, by comparing the following passages : *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 494, 865, 939, vol. iii. pp. 599, 799 ; *Crawfurd's History of the Shire of Renfrew*, part ii. pp. 128, 160 ; *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, pp. 245, 246 ; *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 109, 210, 367, 430, 496 ; vol. ii. p. 498 ; vol. iii. pp. 331, 352, 353 ; vol. iv. p. 313 ; vol. v. pp. 128, 234, 235, 315, 364, 365 ; vol. vi. pp. 107, 154, 180, 458 ; vol. vii. pp. 135, 251, 275, 299, 417 ; vol. viii. pp. 81, 243, 344, 345, 541 ; vol. ix. pp. 414, 530 ; vol. x. pp. 221, 237, 238, 466, 618 ; vol. xi. pp. 127, 380, 418, 432, 522, 541 ; vol. xii. p. 59 ; vol. xiii. pp. 42, 141, 488, 542, 663 ; vol. xiv. pp. 217, 227, 413, 443, 466, 506 ; vol. xv. pp. 54, 88, 276 ; vol. xvi. p. 120 ; vol. xvii. pp. 5, 267, 297, 377, 533 ; vol. xviii. p. 309 ; vol. xx. p. 156.

[4] I use the word Highlands in the common though improper sense of including all Scotland from the Pentland Firth to the beginning of the mountains, a few miles north of Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Dundee. All such distinctions are necessarily somewhat vague, because the boundaries of nature are never clearly marked. Compare *Macky's Scotland*, p. 124, London, 1732, with *Anderson's Guide to the Highlands*. Edinburgh, 1847, pp. 17, 18.

ramparts,* left the spirit of the inhabitants unbroken. Even Severus, who in the year 209 undertook the last and most important expedition against Scotland, does not appear to have penetrated beyond the Firth of Moray ;[5] and directly he retired, the natives were again in arms, and again independent. After this, nothing was attempted upon a scale large enough to give a chance of success. Indeed the Romans, far from being equal to such an effort, were themselves deteriorating. In their best days their virtues were the virtues of barbarians, and even those they were now about to lose. From the beginning, their scheme of life was so one-sided and imperfect that the increase of wealth, which improves the civilization of really civilized countries, was to the Romans an irreparable mischief ; and they were corrupted by luxury, instead of being refined by it. In our time, if we compare the different nations of Europe, we find that the richest are also the most powerful, the most humane, and the most happy. We live in that advanced state of society in which wealth is both the cause and the effect of progress, while poverty is the fruitful parent of weakness, of misery, and of crime. But the Romans, when they ceased to be poor, began to be vicious. So unstable was the foundation of their greatness that the very results which their power produced were fatal to the power itself. Their empire gave them wealth, and their wealth overthrew their empire. Their national character, notwithstanding its apparent strength, was in truth of so frail a texture that it was ruined by its own development. As it grew, it dwarfed.† Hence it was that, in the third and fourth centuries, their hold on mankind visibly slackened. Their authority being undermined, other nations of course stepped in ; so that the inroads of those strange tribes which came pouring from the north, and to whose appearance the final catastrophe is often ascribed, were at best the occasion, but by no means the cause, of the fall of the Roman Empire. Towards that great and salutary event everything had long been pointing. The scourges and oppressors of the world, whom a false and ignorant sympathy has invested with noble qualities which they never possessed, had now to look to themselves ; and when, after receding on all sides, they in the middle of the fifth century withdrew their forces from the whole of Britain, they merely executed a movement which a train of circumstances, continued through several generations, had made inevitable.

It is at this point that we begin to discern the operation of those physical and geographical peculiarities which I have mentioned as influencing the fortunes of Scotland. The Romans gradually losing ground, the proximity of Ireland caused repeated attacks from that fertile island, whose rich soil and great natural advantages gave rise to an exuberant and therefore a restless population. An

[5] Browne (*History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 33) says that "he traversed the whole of North Britain, from the wall of Antoninus to the very extremity of the island." The same thing is stated in *Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. p. 90. Neither of these writers quotes his authority for this ; but they probably relied on a passage in *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. iv. p. 94. "Neque tamen desideratis quinquaginta millibus (ut scribit Dion) prius ab incœpto destiterunt, quam ad finem insulæ penetrassent." I believe, however, that Scotch antiquaries are now agreed that this is wrong, as Chalmers was one of the first to perceive. See his *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 187 ; a very valuable and learned but unhappily ill-arranged book, and written in a style which is absolutely afflicting. See also *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, 4to, 1860, p. 14.

[* There was only one "wall" or "rampart"—the vallum of Antonine. Recent research reduces the number of accredited Roman remains in Scotland. Compare the opening chapters in the Histories of Mr. Lang and Mr. Hume Brown.—Ed.]

[† Buckle has here failed to apply his own theories. He has previously treated wealth as a beneficent force, promoting knowledge. It is inconsistent with his doctrine to fall back on a bald proposition of "frailty" of character. He should have recognized that the *manner of acquisition* of wealth by a nation is all-important ; and further should have realized that deterioration of character resulting (not merely from wealth but) from despotism, was accompanied by an economic paralysis, and that the empire fell because of the exhaustion of its fiscal resources as well as of "national character."—Ed.]

overflow, which in civilized times is an emigration, is in barbarous times an invasion. Hence the Irish, or Scotti as they were termed, established themselves by force of arms in the west of Scotland, and came into collision with the Picts, who occupied the eastern part. A deadly struggle ensued, which lasted four centuries after the withdrawal of the Romans, and plunged the country into the greatest confusion. At length, in the middle of the ninth century, Kenneth M'Alpine, king of the Scotti, gained the upper hand, and reduced the Picts to complete submission.[6] The country was now united under one rule; and the conquerors, slowly absorbing the conquered, gave their name to the whole, which in the tenth century received the appellation of Scotland.[7]

But the kingdom was to have no rest. For, in the meantime, circumstances which it would be tedious to relate had raised the inhabitants of Norway to be the greatest maritime power in Europe. The use which that nation of pirates made of their strength forms another and very important link in the history of Scotland, and moreover illustrates the immense weight which, in an earlier period of society, should be assigned to mere geographical considerations. The nearest land to the centre of the long coast of Norway is the Shetland Isles, whence it is an easy sail to the Orkneys. The northern pirates naturally seized these small but to them most useful islands, and as naturally made them intermediate stations, from which they could conveniently pillage the coasts of Scotland. Being constantly reinforced from Norway, they in the ninth and tenth centuries advanced from the Orkneys, made permanent settlements in Scotland itself, and occupied not only Caithness, but also great part of Sutherland. Another body of them got possession of the Western Islands; and as Skye is only separated from the mainland by a very narrow channel, these pirates easily crossed over, and fixed themselves in Western Ross.[8] From their new abodes they waged incessant and destructive war against every district within their reach; and, keeping a large part of Scotland in constant alarm, they for about three centuries prevented the possibility of its social improvement.* Indeed, that unhappy country was never free from the dangers of Norwegian

[6] The history of Scotland in this period is in great confusion, and perhaps will never be recovered. For the statements made in the text I have chiefly used the following authorities: *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. i.; *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. v. pp. 121–132, and the beginning of the sixth book. Also various parts of *Bede*; *Pinkerton's Enquiry into the Early History of Scotland*; *Chalmers' Caledonia*; the first volume of *Browne's History of the Highlands*; and, above all, Mr. Skene's acute and learned work on the Highlanders. In the last-named book, the western boundary of the Picts is traced with great ingenuity, though perhaps with some uncertainty. *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 26–33, London, 1837.

[7] Here again we are involved in doubt; it being uncertain when the name Scotia was first applied to Scotland. The date therefore which I have given is only intended as an approximate truth. In arriving at it I have compared the following different and often conflicting passages: *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 339. *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 34. *Pinkerton's Enquiry into the Early History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 253, 254, vol. ii. pp. 151, 228, 237, 240. *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, edit. Russell, 1851, vol. i. p. 16, note, where, however, Pinkerton's authority is appealed to for an assertion which he did not make. *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 45, 61, 244. *Anderson's Prize Essay on the Highlands*, p. 34. [Pinkerton repeatedly insists, in the passages cited, that Scotland was not so called till the *eleventh* century. This is the correct view. Cp. *Hume Brown, History of Scotland*, 1896, i. 51.—Ed.]

[8] *Pinkerton's Enquiry into the Early History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 136, 317, vol. ii. pp. 179, 298. *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91, 94, 106, 114, 258, 259. *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 340–347.

[* Considerable "improvement" had certainly taken place between the time of Malcolm Canmore and Alexander III., in whose reign Scotland seems to have been in some respects richer than she was for nearly two centuries afterwards. Cp. Burton, *History of Scotland*, ii. 105–111, 325. And see below, *note* 28.—Ed.]

invasion until the failure of the last great attack, in 1263, when Haco left Norway with a prodigious armament, which he further strengthened by reinforcements from the Orkneys and Hebrides. Scotland could offer but little resistance. Haco, with his allies, sailed along the western coast to the Mull of Kentire, wasted the country with fire and sword, took Arran and Bute, entered the Firth of Clyde, suddenly fell upon Loch Lomond, destroyed all the property on its shores and on its islands, ravaged the whole county of Stirling, and threatened to descend with all his force upon Ayrshire. Fortunately the inclemency of the weather broke up this great expedition, and scattered or destroyed the entire fleet.[9] After its dispersal, the course of affairs in Norway prevented the attempt from being renewed; and danger from that quarter being over, it might have been hoped that Scotland would now enjoy peace, and would have leisure to develop the natural resources which she possessed, particularly those in the southern and more favoured districts.

This, however, was not to be. For scarcely were the attacks from Norway at an end when those from England began. Early in the thirteenth century the lines of demarcation which separated Normans from Saxons were in our country becoming so obliterated that in many cases it was impossible to distinguish them.[10] By the middle of the same century the two races were fused into one powerful nation; and, as that nation had a comparatively feeble neighbour, it was certain that the stronger people would try to oppress the weaker.[11] In an ignorant and barbarous age, military success is preferred to all other kinds of fame; and the English, greedy for conquest, set their eyes upon Scotland, which they were sure to invade at the first opportunity. That Scotland was near, made it tempting; that it was believed to be defenceless, made the temptation irresistible. In 1290 Edward I. determined to avail himself of the confusion into which Scotland was thrown by disputes respecting the succession to the crown. The intrigues which followed need not be related; it is enough to say that in 1296 the sword was drawn, and Edward invaded a country which he had long desired to conquer. But he little recked of the millions of treasure, and the hundreds of thousands of lives, which were to be squandered before that war was over.[12] The contest that ensued was of unexampled length and severity; and in its sad course the Scotch, notwithstanding their heroic resistance, and the victories they occasionally gained, had to endure every evil which could be inflicted by their proud and insolent neighbour. The darling object of the English was to subjugate the Scotch; and if anything could increase the disgrace of so base an enterprise, it would be that, having undertaken it, they ignominiously failed.[13] The suffering, however, was incalculable, and was aggravated by the

[9] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 38–54. The account in *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i. pp. 399–403, ascribes too much to the prowess of the Scotch, and too little to the elements which dispersed the fleet. Compare *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, second edition, 4to. 1860, pp. 48, 49.

[10] Above, vol. i. pp. 565, 566.

[11] In *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 18, "the early part of the reign" of Alexander III. is indicated as the period in which "the first approaches were made towards the great plan for the reduction of Scotland" by the English. Alexander III. came to the throne in 1249. Earlier, the feeling was very different. Thus, late in the twelfth century, "the two nations, according to Fordun, seemed one people; Englishmen travelling at pleasure through all the corners of Scotland (?); and Scotchmen in like manner through England." *Ridpath's Border History*, p. 76. Compare *Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 158. At that time, England, being weak, was peaceably disposed.

[12] An old Scotch writer says, with some exaggeration, "The year 1296, at which tyme the bloodyest and longest warr that ever was betwixt two nationes fell out, and continued two hundreth and sextie years, to the undoeing and ruineing of many noble families, with the slaughter of a million of men." *Somerville's Memoire of the Somervilles*, vol. i. p. 61.

[13] See some just and biting remarks in *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. p. 85.

important fact that it was precisely the most fertile part of Scotland which was most exposed to the English ravages. This, as we shall presently see, produced some very curious results on the national character; and for that reason I will, without entering into many details, give a slight summary of the more immediate consequences of this long and sanguinary struggle.

In 1296 the English entered Berwick, the richest town Scotland possessed, and not only destroyed all the property, but slew nearly all the inhabitants.[14] They then marched on to Aberdeen and Elgin; and so completely desolated the country that the Scotch, flying to the mountains, and stripped of their all, had no resource left but to wage from their native fastnesses a war similar to that which their savage ancestors, twelve centuries earlier, had conducted against the Romans.[15] In 1298 the English again broke in, burnt Perth and St. Andrews, and ravaged the whole territory south and west.[16] In 1310 they invaded Scotland by the eastern march, and carrying off such provisions as were left, caused so terrible a dearth, that the people were forced to feed on horses and other carrion.[17] All over southern Scotland, both east and west, the inhabitants were now reduced to a horrible condition, being for the most part houseless and starved.* In 1314,

[14] "Anno gratiæ MCCXCVI. tertio kalendas Aprilis, villa et castro de Berevvico, per magnificum regem Angliæ Eadvvardum captis, omnes ibidem inuentos Angli gladio occiderunt, paucis exceptis, qui ipsam villam postmodum abiurarùt." *Flores Historiarum per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem collecti*, Lond. 1570, folio, lib. ii. p. 403. "Atque modo prædicto villâ captâ, civibus prostratis, rex Angliæ prædictus nulli ætati parcens aut sexui, duobus diebus rivulis de cruore occisorum fluentibus, septem millia et quingentas animas promiscui sexûs jusserat, in sua tyrannide desæviens, trucidari." *Fordun's Scotichronicon, cura Goodall*, Edinb. 1775, folio, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160. "Secutus Rex cum peditum copiis miserabilem omnis generis cædem edit." *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, Abredoniæ, 1762, lib. viii. p. 200. "They left not one creature alive of the Scotish blood within all that toune." *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, Arbroath, 1805, 4to. vol. i. p. 418. In 1286, that is, only ten years earlier, "No other port of Scotland, in point of commercial importance, came near to a comparison with Berwick." *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, London, 4to, 1805, vol. i. p. 446. Such were the brutal crimes of our wretched and ignorant ancestors.

[15] "The Scots assembled in troops and companies, and betaking themselves to the woods, mountains, and morasses, in which their fathers had defended themselves against the Romans, prepared for a general insurrection against the English power." *Scott's History of Scotland*, London, 1830, vol. i. p. 70. Elgin appears to have been the most northern point of this expedition. See *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 119, and *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 657. The general results are summed up by Buchanan: "Hanc stragem ex agrorum incultu consecuta est fames, et famem pestis, unde major, quàm e bello clades timebatur." *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. viii. p. 203.

[16] "The army then advanced into Scotland by moderate marches, wasting and destroying everything on their way." . . . "A party of Edward's army, sent northwards, wasted the country, and burnt Perth and Saint Andrews." *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 146, 147.

[17] "The king entered Scotland by the eastern march with a great army." . . . "There was this year so terrible a dearth and scarcity of provisions in Scotland, arising from the havoc of war, that many were obliged to feed on the flesh of horses and other carrion." *Ibid.* pp. 164, 165. See also *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. pp. 242, 243. "Quo anno, propter guerrarum discrimina, tanta erat panis inopia et victualium caristia in Scotia, quod in plerisque locis, compellente famis necessitate, multi carnibus equorum et aliorum pecorum immundorum vescebantur."

[* The word "houseless" is misleading. The people were wont to live in huts, easily constructed of boughs, and in general their state was that of hardy barbarians, not of a civilized population reduced to misery. It should be remembered, too, that the Scots frequently devastated the north of England. Cp. Burton, *History of Scotland*, ii. 195, 261, 280–2, 290, 298–302, 354, 356, 357–368, 375, 378.—ED.]

made desperate by their state, they rallied for a moment, and, in the battle of Bannockburn, gloriously defeated their oppressors.* But their unrelenting enemy was at hand, and pressed them so hard that in 1322 Bruce, in order to baffle an English invasion, was obliged to lay waste all the districts south of the Firth of Forth; the people taking refuge as before in the mountains.[18] This time therefore, when Edward II. reached Edinburgh, he plundered nothing, because, the country being a desert, there was nothing to plunder; but on his return he did what he could, and meeting with some convents, which were the only signs of life that he encountered, he fell upon them, robbed the monasteries of Melrose and Holyrood, burnt the abbey of Dryburgh, and slew those monks who from age or disease were unable to escape.[19] In 1336 the next king, Edward III., equipped a numerous army, devastated the Lowlands and great part of the Highlands, and destroyed everything he could find, as far as Inverness.[20] In 1346 the English overran the districts of Tweeddale, the Merse, Ettrick, Annandale, and Galloway;[21] and in 1355 Edward, in a still more barbarous inroad, burnt every church, every village, and every town he approached.[22] And scarcely were these frightful losses somewhat repaired, when another storm burst upon the devoted land. In 1385 Richard II. traversed the southern counties to Aberdeen, scattering destruction on every side, and reducing to ashes the cities of Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee.[23]

[18] Bruce "carefully laid the whole borders waste as far as the Firth of Forth, removing the inhabitants to the mountains, with all their effects of any value. When the English army entered, they found a land of desolation, which famine seemed to guard." *Scott's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 145. See also *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. viii. p. 218. [It must be remembered that in these invasions the people always drove their cattle into the hills and forests, returning with them after the starving invaders had retreated. And the rivers abounded in salmon. Cp. *Hume Brown, Scotland before* 1700, 1893, pp. 10–11, 45, 118, 119, 140, etc.; and *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 1891, p. 44.—Ed.]

[19] "Eadwardus, rex Angliæ, intravit Scotiam cum magno exercitu equitum et peditum, ac navium multitudine copiosa, duodecimo die mensis Augusti, et usque villam de Edinburgh pervenit." . . . "Spoliatis tamen tunc in reditu Anglorum et prædatis monasteriis Sanctæ Crucis de Edinburgh et de Melros, atque ad magnam desolationem perductis. In ipso namque monasterio de Melros dominus Willelmus de Peblis, ejusdem monasterii Prior, unus etiam monachus tunc infirmus, et duo conversi cæci effecti, in dormitorio eorundem ab eisdem Anglis sunt interfecti, et plures monachi lethaliter vulnerati. Corpus Dominicum super magnum altare fuit projectum, ablatâ pixide argenteâ in quâ erat repositum. Monasterium de Driburgh igne penitùs consumptum est et in pulverem redactum. Ac *alia pia loca quamplurima* per prædicti regis violentiam ignis flamma consumpsit: quod, Deo retribuente, eisdem in prosperum non cessit." *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 278. "In redeundo sacra juxta ac prophana spoliata. Monasteria Driburgum et Mulrossia etiam cæsis monachis infirmioribus, qui vel defectu virium, vel senectutis fiducia soli remanserant, incensa." *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. viii. p. 219. [The invading army, however, seems to have suffered more than the invaded. See Burton, ii. 289.—Ed.]

[20] *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. pp. 322, 323. *Dalrymple's Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 232, 447. *Scott's History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 187, 188.

[21] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 451.

[22] *Dalrymple's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 288. *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. pp. 352–354. [The date was 1355 O.S., 1356 N.S.—Ed.]

[23] "Rex Angliæ, Richardus secundus ægrè ferens Scotos et Francos tam atrociter terram suam deprædare, et municipia sua assilire et ad terram prosternere, exercitum

[* The rally was for more than a moment: it lasted, broadly speaking, from 1307 to 1332. And between the immense booty taken at Bannockburn and the great sums received in addition for ransoms, the total movable wealth of Scotland must have been more than doubled at a stroke. See Burton, ii. 269; *Hume Brown, History of Scotland*, 1899, i. 161.—Ed.]

By these disasters the practice of agriculture was everywhere interrupted, and in many places ceased for several generations.[24] The labourers either fled or were murdered; and there being no one to till the ground, some of the fairest parts of Scotland were turned into a wilderness, overgrown with briers and thickets. Between the invasions, a few of the inhabitants, taking courage, issued from the mountains, and raised wretched huts in the place of their former abodes.* But even then they were pursued to their very doors by wolves, searching for food, and maddened with hunger. If they escaped from these famished and ferocious animals, they and their families were exposed to a danger still more horrible. For in those terrible days, when famine stalked abroad, despair perverted the souls of men, and drove them to new crime. There were cannibals in the land; and we have it on contemporary authority that a man and his wife, who were at length brought to justice, subsisted during a considerable period on the bodies of children, whom they caught alive in traps, devouring their flesh, and drinking their blood.[25]

collegit grandem, et intravit Scotiam, ætate tunc novemdecim annorum, in multitudine superba progrediens, omnia circumquaque perdens, et nihil salvans; templa Dei et sanctuaria religiosorum monasteria viz. Driburgh, Melros et Newbottel, ac nobilem villam de Edinburgh, cum ecclesia Sancti Ægidii ejusdem, voraci flammâ incineravit; et, destructione permaximâ factâ per eum in Laudonia, ad propria sine damno repatriavit." *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 401. "En ce séjour que le roi Richard fit en Haindebourch les Anglois coururent tout le pays d'environ et y firent moult de desrois; mais nullui n'y trouvèrent; car tout avoient retrait ens ès forts, et ens és grands bois, et là chassé tout leur bêtail." . . . "Et ardirent les Anglois la ville de Saint-Jean-Ston en Ecosse, où la riviere du Tay cuert, et y a un bon port pour aller partout le monde; et puis la ville de Dondie; et n'épargnoient abbayes ni moûtiers; tout mettoient les Anglois en feu et en flambe; et coururent jusques à Abredane les coureurs et l'avant-garde." *Les Chroniques de Froissart*, edit. Buchon, vol. ii. pp. 334, 335, Paris, 1835. See also, on this ruffianly expedition, *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 592, 593, and *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. ix. p. 253: "Nulli loco, neque sacro, neque profano, nulli homini, qui modo militari esset ætate, parcebat." [See however in Burton, ii. 354–5, how, as soon as the starving invaders had retreated, the people returned from the hills with their cattle, grain, and effects, taking "the devastation of their land with marvellous indifference," rebuilding their huts, and partly replenishing them with the plunder taken in the simultaneous raid made with French help in England, where "the French said among themselves they had burned in the bishoprics of Durham and Carlisle more than the value of all the towns in the kingdom of Scotland."—Ed.]

[24] "Agriculture was ruined; and the very necessaries of life were lost, when the principal lords had scarcely a bed to lye on." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 142. See also, in p. 867 of the same volume of this learned work, some curious extracts from Scotch charters and other sources, illustrating the horrible condition of the country. And on the difficulty of obtaining food, compare *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. pp. 242, 324; *Dalrymple's Annals*, vol. i. p. 307, vol. ii. pp. 238, 330; and *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 94.

[25] Notices of Scotch cannibals will be found in *Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland*, edit. 1814, vol. i. p. 163; and in *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, 4to. 1805, vol. ii. pp. 16, 99. In *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 331, the following horrible account is given; it refers to the neighbourhood of Perth in the year 1339: "Tota illa patria circumvicina eo tempore in tantum fuit vastata, quod non remansit quasi domus inhabitata, sed feræ et cervi de montanis descendentes circa villam sæpius venabantur. Tanta tunc temporis facta est caristia, et victualium inopia, ut passim plebicula deficeret, et tanquam oves herbas depascentes, in foveis mortua reperirentur.

[* As we have seen, not "a few" but the whole of the inhabitants normally returned to their places as soon as an invasion was over. The further details about the wolves and the cannibals are greatly overstated. Cannibalism was an exceptional horror, belonging to times of famine such as fell upon England also in the same age and gave rise there to similar stories. See *Social England*, ed. 1902, i. 641, 679, ii. 161.—Ed.]

Thus the fourteenth century passed away. In the fifteenth century the devastations of the English became comparatively rare; and although the borders were the scene of constant hostilities,[26] there is no instance, since the year 1400, of any of our kings invading Scotland.[27] An end being put to those murderous expeditions which reduced the country to a desert, Scotland drew breath, and began to recover her strength.[28] But though the material losses were gradually repaired; though the fields were again cultivated, and the towns rebuilt, there were other consequences which were less easy to remedy, and from whose effects the people long smarted. These were the inordinate power of the nobles, and the absence of the municipal spirit. The strength of the nobles, and the weakness of the citizens, are the most important peculiarities of Scotland during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and they, as I am about to show, were directly encouraged by the ravages committed by the English troops.* We shall moreover see that this combination of events increased the authority of the clergy, weakened the influence of the intellectual classes,† and made superstition more prevalent than it would otherwise have been. It is in this way that in Scotland as in all other countries everything is linked together; nothing is casual or accidental; ‡ and the whole march of affairs is governed by general causes, which, owing to their largeness and remoteness, often escape attention, but which, when once recognized, are found to be marked by a simplicity and uniformity which are the invariable characteristics of the highest truths that the mind of man has reached.

The first circumstance favourable to the authority of the nobles was the structure of the country. Mountains, fens, lakes, and morasses, which even the resources of modern art have only recently made accessible, supplied the great Scottish chieftains with retreats in which they could with impunity defy the power of the crown.[29] The poverty of the soil also made it difficult for armies

Prope illinc in abditis latitabat quidam robustus rusticus, Crysticleik nomine, cum viragine sua, qui mulierculis et pueris ac juvenibus insidiabantur, et, tanquam lupi eos strangulantes, de ipsorum carnibus victitabant."

[26] Even when the two nations were at peace, the borderers were at war. See *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 240, 308, 394; and for other evidence of this chronic anarchy, compare *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 30. *Lesley's History of Scotland*, pp. 40, 52, 67. *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 300, 301, 444, 449. *State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, 4to, 1836, vol. iv. pp. 366, 370, 569, 570, vol. v. pp. 17, 18, 161. *Historie of James the Sext*, pp. 21, 91, 146.

[27] In 1400 Henry IV. made "the last invasion which an English monarch ever conducted into Scotland." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 406. It is said, however, that it was not till the reign of Elizabeth that an English sovereign "had the policy to disavow any claim of sovereignty over Scotland." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 650.

[28] But very slowly. Pinkerton (*History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 166, 167) says: "The frequent wars between Scotland and England, since the death of Alexander III., had occasioned to the former country the loss of more than a century in the progress of civilization. While in England only the northern provinces were exposed to the Scottish incursions, Scotland suffered in its most civilized departments. It is apparent that in the reign of Alexander III. the kingdom was more abundant in the useful arts and manufactures than it was in the time of Robert III."

[29] Owing to this, their castles were by position the strongest in Europe; Germany

[* Add the many periods in which the king was a minor, from the death of Bruce onwards.—Ed.]

[† It would be hard to specify, in medieval Scotland, any "intellectual classes" apart from the clergy. But an educated layman, Sir David Lyndsay, was able early in the fifteenth century to make head against the clergy as no one of the same period did in England. Cp. Burton, iii. 171, 324, 341, 421.—Ed.]

[‡ If "nothing is accidental," what does "accidental" mean? Buckle seems to have forgotten his remark on the subject in a previous chapter. Above p. 292. Cp. p. 250.—Ed.]

to find means of subsistence ; and from this cause alone, the royal troops were often unable to pursue the lawless and refractory barons.[30] During the fourteenth century Scotland was constantly ravaged by the English ; and in the intervals of their absence it would have been a hopeless undertaking for any king to try to repress such powerful subjects, since he would have had to march through districts so devastated by the enemy that they no longer yielded the common necessaries of life. Besides this, the war with the English lessened the authority of the crown, absolutely as well as relatively. Its patrimony, lying in the south, was incessantly wasted by the borderers, and before the middle of the fourteenth century greatly deteriorated in value.[31] In 1346 David II. fell into the hands of the English, and during his captivity of eleven years the nobles carried all before them, and affected, says an historian, the style and title of princes.[32] The longer the war with England continued, the more these consequences were felt ; so that before the close of the fourteenth century a few of the leading Scotch families had raised themselves to such pre-eminence that it was evident, either that a deadly struggle must ensue between them and the crown, or else that the executive government would have to abdicate its most essential functions, and leave the country a prey to these headstrong and ferocious chiefs.[33]

At this crisis the natural allies of the throne would have been the citizens and free burgesses, who in most European countries were the eager and resolute opponents of the nobles, whose licentious habits interfered not only with their trade and manufactures, but also with their personal liberty. Here again, however, the long war with England was favourable to the aristocracy of Scotland. For, as the invaders ravaged the southern parts of Scotland, which were also the only tolerably fertile parts, it was impossible that towns should flourish in the places which nature had appointed for them. There being no large cities, there was no asylum for the citizens, and there could be no municipal spirit. There being no municipal spirit, the crown was deprived of that great resource which enabled the English kings to curtail the power of the nobles, and to punish a lawlessness which long impeded the progress of society.

During the Middle Ages the Scotch towns were so utterly insignificant that but few notices have been preserved of them ; contemporary writers concentrat-

alone excepted. Respecting their sites, which were such as to make them in many instances almost unassailable, see *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 122, 406, 407, 918, 919, vol. iii. pp. 268, 269, 356–359, 864 ; *Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 175, 177 ; *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 169, vol. vii. p. 510, vol. xi. pp. 102, 212, 407, 408, vol. xii. pp. 25, 58, vol. xiii. p. 598, vol. xv. p. 187, vol. xvi. p. 554, vol. xviii. p. 579, vol. xix. p. 474, vol. xx. pp. 56, 312 ; *Macky's Scotland*, pp. 183, 297 ; and some good remarks in *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, p. 56. Neither England, nor France, nor Italy, nor Spain, afforded such immense natural advantages to their aristocracy.

[30] " By retiring to his own castle, a mutinous baron could defy the power of his sovereign, it being almost impracticable to lead an army through a barren country to places of difficult access to a single man." *History of Scotland*, book i. p. 59, in *Robertson's Works*, edit. London, 1831. Notwithstanding the immense materials which have been brought to light since the time of Robertson, his *History of Scotland* is still valuable ; because he possessed a grasp of mind which enabled him to embrace general views that escape ordinary compilers, however industrious they may be.

[31] " The patrimony of the Crown had been seriously dilapidated during the period of confusion which succeeded the battle of Durham." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 86.

[32] " During the long captivity of David," the nobles had been completely insubordinate and " affected the style and title of princes." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 85. See also, on the state of the barons under David II., *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 63–67.

[33] In 1299 " a superior baron was in every respect a king in miniature." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 150. In 1377 " the power of the barons had been decidedly increasing since the days of Robert the First." p. 332. And by 1398 it had risen still higher. p. 392.

ing their attention upon the proceedings of the nobles and clergy. Respecting the people who found shelter in such miserable cities as then existed, our best accounts are very imperfect; it is however certain that during the long English wars the inhabitants usually fled at the approach of the invaders, and the wretched hovels in which they lived were burned to the ground.[34] Hence the population acquired a fluctuating and vagabond character, which prevented the formation of settled habits of industry, and thus took away one reason which men have for congregating together. This applied more especially to the southern Lowlands; for the north, there were other evils equally threatening. The ferocious Highlanders, who lived entirely by plunder,* were constantly at hand; and to them were not unfrequently added the freebooters of the Western Isles. Anything which bore even the semblance of wealth was an irresistible excitement to their cupidity. They could not know that a man had property without longing to steal it; and next to stealing, their greatest pleasure was to destroy.[35] Aberdeen and Inverness were particularly exposed to their assaults; and twice during the fifteenth century Inverness was totally consumed by fire, besides having to pay at other times a heavy ransom, to save itself from a similar fate.[36]

[34] On this burning of Scotch towns, which appears to have been the invariable practice of our humane forefathers, see *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 592, 593; *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. pp. 18, 27, 375, vol. ii. p. 304; *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, pp. 55, 56; *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. v. p. 485, vol. x. p. 584, vol. xix. p. 161; *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 147, 221, 265.

[35] A curious description of them is given in a Scotch statute of the year 1597. "They hawe lykwayis throche thair barbarus inhumanitie maid and presentlie makis the saidis hielandis and Iles qlk are maist comodious in thame selwes alsueill be the ferteillitie of the ground as be riche fischeingis altogidder vnproffitabill baithe to thame selffis and to all vthuris his hienes liegis within this realme: Thay nathair intertening onie ciuil or honest societie amangis thame selffis neyther zit admittit vtheris his hienesse lieges to trafficque within thair boundis vithe saiftie of thair liues and gudes: for remeid quhairof and that the saidis inhabitantis of the saidis hilandeis and Iles may the better be reduced to ane godlie, honest, and ciuill maner of living, it is statute and ordanit," &c. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 138, edit. folio, 1816.

These little peculiarities of the Highlanders remained in full force until about the middle of the eighteenth century, as will appear in the course of this history. But without anticipating what will be narrated in a subsequent chapter, I will merely refer the reader to two interesting passages in *Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. p. 154, and in *Heron's Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 218, 219; both of which illustrate the state of things a little before 1745.

[36] Inverness was burned in 1429. *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, p. 36; and again in 1455, *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xi. p. 322. "The greatest part" of it was also burned in 1411. See *Anderson on the Highlands*, Edinb. 1827, p. 82.

Aberdeen, being richer, was more tempting, but was likewise more able to defend itself. Still, its burgh records supply curious evidence of the constant fear in which the citizens lived, and of the precautions which they took to ward off the attacks, sometimes of the English, and sometimes of the clans. See the *Council Register of Aberdeen* (published by the Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844–1848, 4to), vol. i pp. 8, 19, 60, 83, 197, 219, 232, 268, vol. ii. p. 82. The last entry, which is dated July 31, 1593, mentions "the disordourit and lawles helandmen in Birss, Glentanner, and their about, nocht onlie in the onmerciful murthering of men and bairnis, bot in the maisterfull and violent robbing and spulzeing of all the bestiall, guidis, and geir of a gryt pairt of the inhabitantis of theas boundis.

[* An obvious over-statement. The account here given of the Highlanders and Islanders, though in harmony with much of the language of Pinkerton and Burton, is out of perspective. The Lowlanders had originally taken the lands of the Highlanders, who simply regarded themselves as at perpetual war with the other race. But an exactly similar life was led by the Lowland clans on the borders. See the account of Bishop Leslie, given in *Hume Brown's Scotland before 1700*, pp. 166–170. And see below, *note* 82.—Ed.]

Such insecurity [37] both on the north and on the south made peaceful industry impossible in any part of Scotland. Nowhere could a town be built without being in danger of immediate destruction. The consequence was that during many centuries there were no manufactures; there was hardly any trade; and nearly all business was conducted by barter.[38] Some of the commonest arts were unknown. The Scotch were unable to make even the arms with which they fought. This, among such a warlike people, would have been a very profitable labour; but they were so ignorant of it that early in the fifteenth century most of the armour which they wore was manufactured abroad, as also were their spears, and even their bows and arrows; and the heads of these weapons were entirely imported from Flanders.[39] Indeed, the Flemish artizans supplied the Scotch with ordinary farming implements, such as cart-wheels and wheel-barrows, which, about the year 1475, used to be regularly shipped from the Low Countries.[40] As to the arts which indicate a certain degree of refinement, they were

rasing of gryt hairschip furth of the samen, being committit to ewous and nar this burgh, within xx mylis theirunto, deuysit and ordanit for preservatioun of this burgh and inhabitantis theirof, fra the tyrannous invasion of the saidis hieland men, quha has na respect to God nor man; that the haill inhabitantis of this burgh, fensiball persones als weill onfrie as frie, salbe in reddiness weill armit for the defence of this burgh, thair awin lyvis, gudis, and geir, and resisting and repressing of the said heland men as occasioun salbe offered, at all tymes and houris as thay salbe requirt and chargit."

Even in 1668 we find complaints that Highlanders had forcibly carried off women from Aberdeen or from its neighbourhood. *Records of the Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 290. Other evidence of their attacks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be seen in *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 133; *Spalding's History of the Troubles*, vol. i. pp. 25, 217; *Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, pp. 62, 73.

[37] Even Perth ceased to be the capital of Scotland, because "its vicinity to the Highlands" made it dangerous for the sovereign to reside there. *Lawson's Book of Perth*, p. xxxi.

[38] On the prevalence of barter, and lack of specie, in Scotland, see the *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. iv. pp. lvii.–lx., Aberdeen, 1849, 4to. In 1492, the treasury of Aberdeen was obliged to borrow £4 16s. Scots. *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 61. Compare *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. x. p. 542. Fynes Moryson, who was in Scotland late in the sixteenth century, says, "the gentlemen reckon their revenues not by rents of money, but by chauldrons of victuals." *Moryson's Itinerary*, part iii. p. 155, London, folio, 1617; a rare and extremely curious book, which ought to be reprinted. [See it in *Hume Brown's Early Travellers in Scotland*, 1891.—Ed.] A hundred years after Moryson wrote, it was observed that "in England the rents are paid in money; in Scotland they are, generally speaking, paid in kind, or victual, as they call it." *De Foe's History of the Union*, p. 130.

[39] In the reign of James I. (1424–1436), "It appears that armour, nay spears, and bows and arrows, were chiefly imported." . . . "In particular, the heads of arrows and of spears seem to have been entirely imported from Flanders." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 163. We learn from Rymer's *Fœdera* that, in 1368, two Scotchmen having occasion to fight a duel, got their armour from London. *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 575. [On the other hand, "the making of brass cannon in Scotland seems to have preceded that art in England" (*The Days of James IV.*, ed. by G. Gregory Smith, 1890, app. L. p. 211), the Scots being well supplied in that respect at Flodden in 1513.—Ed.]

[40] From the *Bibel of English Policy*, supposed to have been written in the reign of Edward IV., we learn that "the Scottish imports from Flanders were mercery, but more haberdashery, cart-wheels, and wheel-barrows." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 408. In *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, p. 61, we are told that, in the fifteenth century, "Even in the best parts of Scotland, the inhabitants could not manufacture the most necessary articles. Flanders was the great mart in those times, and from Bruges chiefly the Scots imported even horse-shoes, harness, saddles, bridles, cart-wheels, and wheel-barrows, besides all their mercery and haberdashery."

then and long afterwards quite out of the question.[41] Until the seventeenth century no glass was manufactured in Scotland,[42] neither was any soap made there.[43] Even the higher class of citizens would have deemed windows absurd in their wretched abodes ;[44] and as they were alike filthy in their persons as in their houses, the demand for soap was too small to induce any one to attempt its manufacture.[45] Other branches of industry were equally backward. In

[41] Aberdeen was for a long period one of the most wealthy, and in some respects the most advanced, of all the Scotch cities. But it appears from the council-registers of Aberdeen that "in the beginning of the sixteenth century there was not a mechanic in the town capable to execute the ordinary repairs of a clock." *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 99. On the Scotch clocks in the middle of the sixteenth century, compare Mr. Morley's interesting *Life of Cardan*, London, 1854, vol. ii. p. 128. Cardan was in Scotland in 1552.

[42] About 1619 Sir George Hay "set up at the village of Wemyss, in Fife, a small glass-work, being the first known to have existed amongst us." *Chambers' Annals*, vol. i. p. 506. See also p. 428. [Hay got his licence in 1590. See *Cochran-Patrick's Mediæval Scotland*, 1892, p. 57, where "1690" is a misprint.—Ed.]

[43] Before this time, soap was imported into Scotland from foreign countries, chiefly from Flanders." *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 507, under the year 1619, where mention is made of the manufactory set up at Leith. "The sope-workes of Leith" are noticed in 1650, in *Balfour's Annales*, vol. iv. p. 68.

[44] Ray, who visited Scotland in 1661, says, "In the best Scottish houses, even the king's palaces, the windows are not glazed throughout, but the upper part only; the lower have two wooden shuts or folds to open at pleasure and admit the fresh air." . . . "The ordinary country-houses are pitiful cots, built of stone, and covered with turves, having in them but one room, many of them no chimneys, the windows very small holes and not glazed." *Ray's Itineraries*, p. 153, edited by Dr. Lankester, London, 1846. "About 1752 the glass window was beginning to make its appearance in the small farm-houses." *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. ii. p. 265, Edinburgh, 1797. [There seems to have been retrogression in this matter after the prosperous period of James IV. and James V.; for De Ayala, the Spanish agent, who visited Scotland in 1496 and 1497, writes that "the houses are good, all built of hewn stone, and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys." He further praises the furniture (cited in *Hume Brown's Early Travellers in Scotland*, 1893, p. 47, and in his *History of Scotland*, 1899, i. 349). Ayala appears to be given to exaggeration, but there is also the testimony of Alesius that in 1529 Edinburgh was "not built of brick, but of natural stones squared" (cited in *Hume Brown's Scotland before 1700*, p. 107.—Ed.]

[45] In 1650 it was stated of the Scotch that "many of their women are so sluttish, that they do not wash their linen above once a month, nor their hands and faces above once a year." *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 468, London, 1732, folio. Six or seven years after this, a traveller in Scotland says, "The linen they supplied us with, were it not to boast of, was little or nothing different from those female complexions that never washed their faces to retain their christendom." *Franck's Northern Memoirs*, edit. Edinburgh, 1821, p. 94. A celebrated Scotchman notices, in 1698, the uncleanly habits of his countrymen, but gives a comical reason for them; since, according to him, they were in a great measure caused by the position of the capital. "As the happy situation of London has been the principal cause of the glory and riches of England, so the bad situation of Edinburgh has been one great occasion of the poverty and uncleanliness in which the greater part of the people of Scotland live." *Second Discourse on the Affairs of Scotland*, in *Fletcher of Saltoun's Political Works*, p. 119, Glasgow, 1749. Another Scotchman, among his reminiscences of the early part of the eighteenth century, says that "table and body linen (were) seldom shifted." *Memoires by Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk*, in *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 100, Aberdeen, 1842, 4to. Finally, we have positive proof that in some parts of Scotland, even at the end of the eighteenth century, the people used, instead of soap, a substitute too disgusting to mention. See the account communicated by the Rev. William Leslie to Sir John Sinclair, in *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 177, Edinburgh, 1793.

1620 the art of tanning leather was for the first time introduced into Scotland ;[46] and it is stated on apparently good authority that no paper was made there until about the middle of the eighteenth century.[47]

In the midst of such general stagnation the most flourishing towns were, as may be easily supposed, very thinly peopled. Indeed, men had so little to do, that if they had collected in large numbers they must have starved. Glasgow is one of the oldest cities in Scotland, and is said to have been founded about the sixth century.[48] At all events, in the twelfth century it was according to the measure of that age a rich and prosperous place, enjoying the privilege of holding both a market and a fair.[49] It had also a municipal organization, and was governed by its own provosts and baillies.[50] Yet even this famous town had no kind of trade before the fifteenth century, when the inhabitants began to cure salmon and export it.[51] That was the only branch of industry with which Glasgow was acquainted. We need not therefore be surprised at hearing that so late as the middle of the fifteenth century the entire population did not exceed fifteen hundred persons, whose wealth consisted of some small cattle and a few acres of ill-cultivated land.[52]

Other cities, though bearing a celebrated name, were equally backward at a still more recent period. Dunfermline is associated with many historic reminiscences ; it was a favourite residence of Scotch kings, and many Scotch parlia-

[46] *Chambers' Annals*, vol. i. p. 512.

[47] A paper-mill was established near Edinburgh in 1675 ; but "there is reason to conclude this paper-mill was not continued, and that paper-making was not successfully introduced into Scotland till the middle of the succeeding century." *Chambers' Annals*. vol. ii. p. 399. I have met with so many proofs of the great accuracy of this valuable work that I should be loath to question any statement made by Mr. Chambers, when, as in this case, I have only my memory to trust to. But I think that I have seen evidence of paper being successfully manufactured in Scotland late in the seventeenth century, though I cannot recall the passages. [A paper mill was set up in Scotland by a German in 1590 (*Cochran-Patrick's Mediæval Scotland*, p. 61). The mill set up in 1675 was burned down, but was going again in 1679, and a company for making superior paper got its Act of Parliament in 1695 (*Id.* p. 62).—Ed.] However, Arnot, in his *History of Edinburgh*, p. 599, edit. 4to, says, "About forty years ago, printing or writing paper began to be manufactured in Scotland. Before that, papers were imported from Holland, or brought from England." As Arnot's work was printed in 1788, this coincides with Mr. Chambers' statement. I may add that at the end of the eighteenth century there were "two paper-mills near Perth." *Heron's Journey through Scotland*, vol. i. p. 117, Perth, 1799 ; and that in 1751 and 1763 the two first paper-mills were erected north of the Forth. *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 593, vol. xvi. p. 373. Compare *Lettice's Letters from Scotland in* 1792, p. 420.

[48] "This city was founded about the sixth century." *M'Ure's History of Glasgow*, edit. 1830, p. 120. Compare *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, p. 2, Glasgow, 1804.

[49] In 1172 a market was granted to Glasgow ; and in 1190, a fair. See the charters in the Appendix to *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, pp. 299, 302, Glasgow, 1777.

[50] By the sale of land made by Robert de Mythyngby to Mr. Reginald de Irewyne, A.D. 1268, it is evident that the town was then governed by provosts, aldermen, or wardens, and baillies, who seem to have been independent of the bishop, and were possessed of a common seal, distinct from the one made use of by the bishop and chapter." *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, p. 72.

[51] "A Mr. William Elphinston is made mention of as the first promoter of trade in Glasgow, so early as the year 1420 the trade which he promoted was in all probability the curing and exporting of salmon." *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, p. 203. See also *M'Ure's History of Glasgow*, p. 93.

[52] Gibson (*History of Glasgow*, p. 74), with every desire to take a sanguine view of the early state of his own city, says that in 1450 the inhabitants "might perhaps amount to fifteen hundred ;" and that "their wealth consisted in a few burrow-roods very ill-cultivated, and in some small cattle, which fed on their commons."

ments have been held there.[53] Such events are supposed to confer distinction; but the illusion vanishes when we inquire more minutely into the condition of the place where they happened. In spite of the pomp of princes and legislators, Dunfermline, which at the end of the fourteenth century was still a poor village, composed of wooden huts,[54] had by the beginning of the seventeenth century advanced so slowly that its whole population, including that of its wretched suburbs, did not exceed one thousand persons.[55] For a Scotch town that was a considerable number. About the same time, Greenock, we are assured, was a village consisting of a single row of cottages, tenanted by poor fishermen.[56] Kilmarnock, which is now a great emporium of industry and of wealth, contained in 1668 between five and six hundred inhabitants.[57] And to come down still lower, even Paisley itself, in the year 1700, possessed a population which, according to the highest estimate, did not amount to three thousand.[58]

Aberdeen, the metropolis of the north, was looked up to as one of the most influential of the Scotch towns, and was not a little envied during the Middle Ages for its power and importance. These, however, like all other words, are relative, and mean different things at different periods. Certainly, we shall not be much struck by the magnitude of that city when we learn, from calculations made from its tables of mortality, that so late as 1572 it could only boast of about two thousand nine hundred inhabitants.[59] Such a fact will dispel many a dream respecting the old Scotch towns, particularly if we call to mind that it refers to a date when the anarchy of the Middle Ages was passing away, and Aberdeen had for some time been improving. That city—if so miserable a collection of persons deserves to be termed a city—was nevertheless one of the

[53] "Dunfermline continued to be a favourite royal residence as long as the Scottish dynasty existed. Charles I. was born here; as also his sister Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia, from whom her present Majesty is descended: and Charles II. paid a visit to this ancient seat of royalty in 1650. The Scottish parliament was often held in it." *M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary*, London, 1849, vol. i. p. 723. Compare *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, 1828, pp. 56, 58, and *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline*, 1844, p. 264.

[54] In 1385 it was "only a sorry wooden village, belonging to the monastery." *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, p. 62.

[55] See "Ms. Annals." in *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline*, p. 327. In 1624, we learn from *Balfour's Annales*, edit. 1825, vol. ii. p. 99, that "the quholl bodey of the towne, wich did consist of 120 tenements, and 287 families, was brunt and consumed."

[56] "Greenock, which is now one of the largest shipping towns in Scotland, was in the end of the sixteenth century a mean fishing village, consisting of a single row of thatched cottages, which was inhabited by poor fishermen." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 806, 4to, 1824.

[57] In May, 1668, Kilmarnock was burnt; and "the event is chiefly worthy of notice as marking the smallness of Kilmarnock in those days, when as yet there was no such thing as manufacturing industry in the country. A hundred and twenty families speaks to a population of between five and six hundred." *Chambers' Annals*, Edinburgh, 1858, vol. ii. p. 320. In 1658, their houses are described by an eye-witness as "little better than huts." *Franck's Northern Memoirs*, reprinted Edinburgh, 1821, p. 101.

[58] "Betwixt two and three thousand souls." *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, p. 542, edit. Glasgow, 1804.

[59] In 1572 the registers of Aberdeen show that seventy-two deaths occurred in the year. An annual mortality of 1 in 40 would be a very favourable estimate; indeed rather too favourable, considering the habits of the people at that time. However, supposing it to be 1 in 40, the population would be 2,880; and if, as I make no doubt, the mortality was more than 1 in 40, the population must of course have been less. Kennedy, in his valuable but very uncritical work, conjectures that "one fiftieth part of the inhabitants had died annually;" though it is certain that there was no town in Europe anything like so healthy as that. On this hypothesis, which is contradicted by every sort of statistical evidence that has come down to us, the number would be $72 \times 50 = 3,600$. See *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 103, London, 1818, 4to.

most densely peopled places in Scotland. From the thirteenth century to the close of the sixteenth, nowhere else were so many Scotchmen assembled together, except in Perth, Edinburgh, and possibly in Saint Andrews.[60] Respecting Saint Andrews, I have been unable to meet with any precise information ;[61] but of Perth and Edinburgh some particulars are preserved. Perth was long the capital of Scotland, and after losing that pre-eminence it was still reputed to be the second city in the kingdom.[62] Its wealth was supposed to be astonishing ; and every good Scotchman was proud of it, as one of the chief ornaments of his country.[63] But according to an estimate recently made by a considerable authority in these matters, its entire population in the year 1585 was under nine thousand.[64] This will surprise many readers ; though, considering the state of society at that time, the real wonder is, not that there were so few, but that there were so many. For Edinburgh itself, notwithstanding the officials and numerous hangers-on which the presence of a court always brings, did not contain, late in the fourteenth century, more than sixteen thousand persons.[65] Of their general condition, a contemporary observer has left us some account. Froissart, who visited Scotland, and records what he saw as well as what he heard, gives a lamentable picture of the state of affairs. The houses in Edinburgh were mere huts, thatched with boughs ; and were so slightly put together that when one of them was destroyed it only took three days to rebuild it. As to the people who inhabited these wretched hovels, Froissart, who was by no means given to exaggeration, assures us that the French, unless they had seen them, could not have believed that such destitution existed, and that now, for the first time, they understood what poverty really was.[66]

[60] "St. Andrews, Perth, and Aberdeen, appear to have been the three most populous cities before the Reformation." *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, 1836, p. 26. The same assertion is made in *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, 1843, vol. i. p. 2. But neither of these writers appears to have made many researches on the subject, or else they would not have supposed that Aberdeen was larger than Edinburgh.

[61] I have carefully read the two histories of St. Andrews, by Dr. Grierson and by Mr. Lyon, but have found nothing in them of any value concerning the early history of that city. Mr. Lyon's work, which is in two thick volumes, is unusually superficial, even for a local history ; and that is saying much.

[62] "Of the thirteen parliaments held in the reign of King James I., eleven were held at Perth, one at Stirling, and one at Edinburgh. The National Councils of the Scottish clergy were held there uniformly till 1459. Though losing its pre-eminence by the selection of Edinburgh as a capital, Perth has uniformly and constantly maintained the second place in the order of burghs, and its right to do so has been repeatedly and solemnly acknowledged." *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, Perth, 1836, p. 231. See also p. 305. It appears, however, from Froissart, that Edinburgh was deemed the capital in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

[63] I find one instance of its being praised by a man who was not a Scotchman. Alexander Necham "takes notice of Perth in the following distich, quoted in *Camden's Britannia :*

'Transis ample Tai, per rura, per oppida, per Perth :
Regnum sustentant illius urbis opes.'

Thus Englished in Bishop Gibson's Translation of Camden's Book :

'Great Tay, through Perth, through towns, through country flies :
Perth the whole kingdom with her wealth supplies.'"

Sinclair's Scotland, vol. xviii. p. 511.

[64] $1,427 \times 6 = 8,562$, the computed population in 1584 and 1585, exclusive of the extraordinary mortality caused by the plague. *Chambers' Annals of Scotland*, 1858, vol. i. p. 158.

[65] "The inhabitants of the capital, in the reign of Robert II., hardly exceeded sixteen thousand." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 152.

[66] When the French arrived in Edinburgh, the Scotch said, "'Quel diable les a mandés ? Ne savons-nous pas bien faire notre guerre sans eux aux Anglois ? Nous ne ferons jà bonne besogne tant comme ils soient avec nous. On leur dise que ils s'en revoisent, et que

After this period there was no doubt considerable improvement; but it was very slow, and even late in the sixteenth century skilled labour was hardly known, and honest industry was universally despised.[67] It is not therefore surprising that the citizens, poor, miserable, and ignorant, should frequently purchase the protection of some powerful noble by yielding to him the little independence that they might have retained.[68] Few of the Scotch towns ventured

nous sommes gens assez en Escosse pour parmaintenir notre guerre, et que point nous ne voulons leur compagnie. Ils ne nous entendent point, ni nous eux; nous ne savons parler ensemble; ils auront tantôt riflé et mangé tout ce qui est en ce pays: ils nous feront plus de contraires, de dépits, et de dommages, si nous les laissons convenir, que les Anglois ne feroient si ils s'étoient embattus entre nous sans ardoir. Et si les Anglois ardent nos maisons, que peut il chaloir? Nous les aurons tantôt refaites à bon marché, nous n'y mettons au refaire que trois jours, mais que nous ayons quatre ou six estaches et de la ramée pour lier par dessus.' "

"Ainsi disoient les Escots en Escosse à la venue des seigneurs de France." . . . "Et quand les Anglois y chevauchent ou que ils y vont, ainsi que ils y ont été plusieurs fois, il convient que leurs pourvéances, si ils veulent vivre, les suivent toujours au dos; car on ne trouve rien sur le pays: à grand'peine y recuevre-l'en du fer pour serrer les chevaux, ni du cuir pour faire harnois, selles ni brides. Les choses toutes faites leur viennent par mer de Flandre, et quand cela leur défaut, ils n'ont nulle chose. Quand ces barons et ces chevaliers de France qui avoient appris ces beaux hôtels à trouver, ces salles parées, ces chasteaux et ces bons mols lits pour reposer, se virent et trouverent en celle povreté, si commencerent à rire et à dire: 'En quel pays nous a ci amenés l'amiral? Nous ne sçumes oncques que ce fût de povreté ni de dureté fors maintenant.' " *Les Chroniques de Froissart*, edit. Buchon, Paris, 1835, vol. ii. pp. 314, 315. "The hovels of the common people were slight erections of turf or twigs, which, as they were often laid waste by war, were built merely for temporary accommodation. Their towns consisted chiefly of wooden cottages." . . . "Even as late as 1600 the houses of Edinburgh were chiefly built of wood." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 802. Another account, written in 1670, says, "The houses of the commonalty are very mean, mud-wall and thatch, the best; but the poorer sort live in such miserable huts as never eye beheld." . . . "In some parts, where turf is plentiful, they build up little cabbins thereof, with arched roofs of turf, without a stick of timber in it: when the house is dry enough to burn, it serves them for fuel, and they remove to another." *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 139, 4to, 1810.

[67] "Our manufactures were carried on by the meanest of the people, who had small stocks, and were of no reputation. These were for the most part workmen for home-consumpt, such as masons, house-carpenters, armourers, blacksmiths, taylors, shoemakers, and the like. Our weavers were few in number, and in the greatest contempt, as their employments were more sedentary, and themselves reckoned less fit for war, in which all were obliged to serve when the exigencies of the country demanded their attendance." *The Interest of Scotland Considered*, Edinburgh, 1733, p. 82. Pinkerton (*History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 392), referring to the Sloane manuscripts, says, "The author of an interesting memoir concerning the state of Scotland about 1590 observes that the husbandmen were a kind of slaves, only holding their lands from year to year; that the nobility being too numerous for the extent of the country, there arose too great an inequality of rank and revenue; and there was no middle station between a proud landholder and those who, having no property to lose, were ready for any tumult. A rich yeomanry, numerous merchants and tradesmen of property, and all the denominations of the middle class, so important in a flourishing society, were long to be confined to England." Thirteen years later, we are told that the manufacturers of Scotland "were confined to a few of the coarsest nature, without which the poorest nations are unable to subsist." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 7, under the year 1603.

[68] Thus, for instance, "the town of Dunbar naturally grew up under the shelter of the castle of the same name." . . . "Dunbar became the town, in demesn, of the successive Earls of Dunbar and March, partaking of their influences, whether unfortunate or happy. *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 416. "But when the regal government became at any time feeble, these towns, unequal to their own protection, placed themselves under the shelter of the most powerful lord in their neighbourhood. Thus the town of Elgyn found it

to elect their chief magistrate from among their own people ; but the usual course was to choose a neighbouring peer as provost or baillie.[69] Indeed, it often happened that his office became hereditary, and was looked upon as the vested right of some aristocratic family.[70] To the head of that family everything gave way. His authority was so incontestable that an injury done even to one of his retainers was resented as if it had been done to himself.[71] The burgesses who were sent to parliament were completely dependent on the noble who ruled the town. Down to quite modern times there was in Scotland no real popular representation. The so-called representatives were obliged to vote as they were ordered ; they were in fact delegates of the aristocracy ; and as they possessed no chamber of their own, they sat and deliberated in the midst of their powerful masters, by whom they were openly intimidated.[72]

necessary, at various periods between the years 1389 and 1452, to accept of many charters of protection, and discharges of taxes, from the Earls of Moray, who held it in some species of vassalage." *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. v. p. 3. Compare *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 396 ; and two letters, written in 1543 and 1544, by the magistrates of Aberdeen, to the Earl of Huntly, and printed in the *Council Register of Aberdeen*, vol. i. pp. 190, 201, Aberdeen, 1844, 4to. They say to him, " Ye haf our band as protectour to wss."

[69] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 225. See also p. 131 ; and *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 179. Sometimes the nobles did not leave to the citizens even the appearance of a free election, but fought it out among themselves. An instance of this happened at Perth, in 1544, " where a claim for the office of provost was decided by arms, between Lord Ruthven on the one side, supported by a numerous train of his vassals, and Lord Gray, with Norman Lesley master of Rothes, and Charteris of Kinfauns, on the other." *Tytler*, vol. iv. p. 323.

[70] For illustrations of this custom, see *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 230. *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. ii. p. 154. *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, p. 249. *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, p. 83.

[71] " An injury inflicted on the ' man ' of a nobleman was resented as much as if he himself had been the injured party." *Preface to the Council Register of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. xii.

[72] See, in *Macaulay's History of England*, vol. i. p. 93, 1st edit., a spirited description of Scotland in 1639. " The parliament of the northern kingdom was a very different body from that which bore the same name in England." . . . " The three estates sat in one house. The commissioners of the burghs were considered merely as retainers of the great nobles," &c. To come down much later, Lord Cockburn gives a terrible account of the state of things in Scotland in 1794, the year in which Jeffrey was called to the bar. " There was then, in this country, no popular representation, no emancipated burghs, no effective rival of the established church, no independent press, no free public meetings, and no better trial by jury, even in political cases (except high treason), than what was consistent with the circumstances that the jurors were not sent into court under any impartial rule, and that, when in court, those who were to try the case were named by the presiding judge. The Scotch representatives were only forty-five, of whom thirty were elected for counties, and fifteen for towns. Both from its price and its nature (being enveloped in feudal and technical absurdities), the elective franchise in counties, where alone it existed, was far above the reach of the whole lower, and of a great majority of the middle, and of many even of the higher, ranks. There were probably not above 1,500 or 2,000 county electors in all Scotland ; a body not too large to be held, hope included, in government's hand. The return, therefore, of a single opposition member was never to be expected." . . . " Of the fifteen town members, Edinburgh returned one. The other fourteen were produced by clusters of four or five unconnected burghs electing each one delegate, and these four or five delegates electing the representative. Whatever this system may have been originally, it had grown, in reference to the people, into as complete a mockery as if it had been invented for their degradation. The people had nothing to do with it. It was all managed by town-councils, of never more than thirty-three members ; and every town-council was self-elected, and consequently perpetuated its own interests. The election of either the town or the county member was a matter of

Under these circumstances, it would have been idle for the crown to have expected aid from a body of men who themselves had no influence, and whose scanty privileges existed only on sufferance. But there was another class which was extremely powerful, and to which the Scotch kings naturally turned. That class was the clergy; and the interest which both parties had in weakening the nobles caused a coalition between the church and the throne, against the aristocracy. During a long period, and indeed until the latter half of the sixteenth century, the kings almost invariably favoured the clergy, and increased their privileges in every way they could. The Reformation dissolved this alliance, and gave rise to new combinations, which I shall presently indicate. But while the alliance lasted it was of great use to the clergy, by imparting to their claims a legitimate sanction, and making them appear the supporters of order and of regular government. The result, however, clearly proved that the nobles were more than equal to the confederacy which opposed them. Indeed, looking at their enormous power, the only wonder is that the clergy could have prolonged the contest as they did; since they were not actually overthrown until the year 1560. That the struggle should have been so arduous, and should have extended over so considerable a period, is what, on a superficial view, no one could have expected. The reason of this I shall now endeavour to explain; and I shall, I trust, succeed in proving that in Scotland there was a long train of general causes which secured to the spiritual classes immense influence, and which enabled them not only to do battle with the most powerful aristocracy in Europe, but to rise up, after what seemed their final defeat, fresh and vigorous as ever, and eventually to exercise, as Protestant preachers, an authority nowise inferior to that which they had wielded as Catholic priests.

Of all Protestant countries, Scotland is certainly the one where the course of affairs has for the longest period been most favourable to the interests of superstition. How those interests were encouraged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries I shall hereafter relate. At present, I purpose to examine the causes of their early growth, and to show the way in which they were not only connected with the Reformation, but gave to that great event some peculiarities which are extremely remarkable, and are diametrically opposed to what happened in England.

If the reader will bear in mind what I have elsewhere stated,[73] he will remember that the two principal sources of superstition are ignorance and danger; ignorance keeping men unacquainted with natural causes, and danger making them recur to supernatural ones. Or, to express the same proposition in other words, the feeling of veneration, which under one of its aspects takes the form of superstition, is a product of wonder and of fear;[74] and it is obvious that wonder is connected with ignorance, and that fear is connected with danger.[75] Hence it is that whatever in any country increases the total amount of amazement, or whatever in any country increases the total amount of peril, has a direct tendency

such utter indifference to the people that they often only knew of it by the ringing of a bell, or by seeing it mentioned next day in a newspaper: for the farce was generally performed in an apartment from which, if convenient, the public could be excluded, and never in the open air." *Cockburn's Life of Jeffrey*, Edinburgh, 1852, vol. i. pp. 74–76. On the state of Scotch representation between this and the Reform Bill, compare *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, 4to, 1860, pp. 275, 276, with *Moore's Memoirs*, edited by Lord John Russell, vol. iv. p. 268, vol. vi. p. 163, London, 1853–4.

[73] Above, pp. 68–71, 211-215.

[74] Above, p. 384.

[75] We must discriminate between wonder and admiration. Wonder is the product of ignorance; admiration is the product of knowledge. Ignorance wonders at the supposed irregularities of nature; science admires its uniformities. The earlier writers rarely attended to this distinction, because they were misled by the etymology of the word "admiration." The Romans were very superficial thinkers upon all matters except jurisprudence; and their blundering use of "admirari" gave rise to the error, so common among our old writers, of "I admire," instead of "I wonder."

to increase the total amount of superstition, and therefore to strengthen the hands of the priesthood.

By applying these principles to Scotland, we shall be able to explain several facts in the history of that country. In the first place, the features of its scenery offer a marked contrast to those of England, and are much more likely, among an ignorant people, to suggest effective and permanent superstitions.* The storms and the mists, the darkened sky flashed by frequent lightning, the peals of thunder reverberating from mountain to mountain, and echoing on every side, the dangerous hurricanes, the gusts sweeping the innumerable lakes with which the country is studded, the rolling and impetuous torrent flooding the path of the traveller and stopping his progress, are strangely different to those safer and milder phenomena among which the English people have developed their prosperity, and built up their mighty cities. Even the belief in witchcraft, one of the blackest superstitions which has ever defaced the human mind, has been affected by these peculiarities; and it has been well observed that while according to the old English creed the witch was a miserable and decrepit hag, the slave rather than the mistress of the demons which haunted her, she in Scotland rose to the dignity of a potent sorcerer, who mastered the evil spirit, and, forcing it to do her will, spread among the people a far deeper and more lasting terror.[76]

[76] "Our Scottish witch is a far more frightful being than her supernatural coadjutor on the south side of the Tweed. She sometimes seems to rise from the proper sphere of the witch, who is only the slave, into that of the sorcerer, who is master of the demon." . . . "In a people, so far behind their neighbours in domestic organization, poor and hardy, inhabiting a country of mountains, torrents, and rocks, where cultivation was scanty, accustomed to gloomy mists and wild storms, every impression must necessarily assume a corresponding character. Superstitions, like funguses and vermin, are existences peculiar to the spot where they appear, and are governed by its physical accidents." . . . "And thus it is that the indications of witchcraft in Scotland are as different from those of the superstition which in England receives the same name, as the Grampian Mountains from Shooter's Hill or Kennington Common." *Burton's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 240–243. This is admirably expressed, and exhausts the general view of the subject. The relation between the superstition of the Scotch and the physical aspects of their country is also touched upon, though with much inferior ability, in *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 106, and in *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 560. Hume, in his *Commentaries on the Law of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 556, has an interesting passage on the high pretensions of Scotch witchcraft, which never degenerated, as in other countries, into a mere attempt at deception, but always remained a sturdy and deep-rooted belief. He says, "For, among the many trials for witchcraft which fill the record, I have not observed that there is even one which proceeds upon the notion of a vain or cheating art, falsely used by an impostor to deceive the weak and credulous."† Further information respecting Scotch witchcraft will be found in *Mackenzie's Criminal Laws of Scotland*, Edinburgh, folio, 1699, pp. 42–56; *Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, London, 1844, vol. iii. pp. 186, 187; *Southey's Life of Bell*, London, 1844, vol. i. p. 52; *Vernon Correspondence*, edited by James, London, 1841, vol. ii. p. 301; *Weld's History of the Royal Society*, London, 1848, vol. i. p. 89 *Letters from a Gentleman in the*

[* The weak point in the following eloquent description is that it applies mainly to the Highlands, which were not the seat of the Reformation movement. Even there, the hurricanes and thunderstorms are not more frequent than in England. On the other hand, the description applies well to the bulk of Switzerland, where, in the terms of the argument, the superstition should be enormous. It is true, however, that the early superstitions, Celtic and Teutonic, kept their force longer in Scotland than in Southern England. Broadly, this may be set down to the much longer continuance of barbaric conditions.—Ed.]

[† There is here a complete confusion between the beliefs of the accused and the beliefs of their judges. That there were cheats as well as deluded persons among those *charged* with witchcraft in Scotland, as in other countries, is certain. The passage cited tells only of the unrelieved superstition of their prosecutors.—Ed.]

Similar results were produced by the incessant and sanguinary wars to which Scotland was exposed, and especially by the cruel ravages of the English in the fourteenth century. Whatever religion may be in the ascendant, the influence of its ministers is invariably strengthened by a long and dangerous war, the uncertainties of which perplex the minds of men, and induce them, when natural resources are failing, to call on the supernatural for help. On such occasions the clergy rise in importance; the churches are more than usually filled; and the priest, putting himself forward as the exponent of the wishes of God, assumes the language of authority, and either comforts the people under their losses in a righteous cause, or else explains to them that those losses are sent as a visitation for their sins, and as a warning that they have not been sufficiently attentive to their religious duties; in other words, that they have neglected rites and ceremonies in the performance of which the priest himself has a personal interest.

No wonder therefore that in the fourteenth century, when the sufferings of Scotland were at their height, the clergy flourished more than ever; so that as the country became poorer, the spiritual classes became richer in proportion to the rest of the nation. Even in the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, when industry began somewhat to advance, we are assured that notwithstanding the improvement in the position of laymen, the whole of their wealth put together, and including the possessions of all ranks, was barely equal to the wealth of the Church.[77] If the hierarchy were so rapacious and so successful during a period of comparative security, it would be difficult to overrate the enormous harvest they must have reaped in those earlier days when, danger being much more imminent, hardly any one died without leaving something to them; all being anxious to testify their respect towards those who knew more than their fellows, and whose prayers could either avert present evil, or secure future happiness.[78]

North of Scotland, edit. 1815, vol. i. pp. 220, 221; *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 41, Edinburgh, 1845; *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1843, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57. The work of James I., and that of Sir Walter Scott, need hardly be referred to, as they are well known to every one who is interested in the history of witchcraft; but Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, though less read, are in every respect more valuable, on account of the materials they contain for a study of this department of Scotch superstition.

[77] Pinkerton (*History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 414) says that in the reigns of James II. and James III., "the wealth of the Church was at least equivalent to that of all the lay interest." See also *Life of Spottiswoode*, p. liii., in volume i. of his *History of the Church of Scotland*. "The numerous devices employed by ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, for enriching the several Foundations to which they were attached, had transferred into their hands more than half of the territorial property of Scotland, or of its annual produce."

In regard to the first half of the sixteenth century, it is stated by a high authority that just before the Reformation "the full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy." *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 10. And another writer says, "If we take into account the annual value of all these abbeys and monasteries, in conjunction with the bishoprics, it will appear at once that the Scottish Catholic hierarchy was more munificently endowed, considering the extent and resources of the kingdom, than it was in any other country in Europe." *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 22. See also, respecting the incomes of the Scotch bishops, which, considering the poverty of the country, were truly enormous, *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1843, vol. i. pp. 97, 125.

[78] "They could employ all the motives of fear and of hope, of terror and of consolation, which operate most powerfully on the human mind. They haunted the weak and the credulous; they besieged the beds of the sick and of the dying; they suffered few to go out of the world without leaving marks of their liberality to the Church, and taught them to compound with the Almighty for their sins by bestowing riches upon those who called themselves his servants." *History of Scotland*, book ii. p. 89, in *Robertson's Works*, London, 1831. It is interesting to observe the eagerness with which the clergy of one persuasion expose the artifices of those of another. By comparing their different statements, laymen gain an insight into the entire scheme.

Another consequence of these protracted wars was that a more than ordinary proportion of the population embraced the ecclesiastical profession, because in it alone there was some chance of safety; and the monasteries in particular were crowded with persons who hoped, though frequently in vain, to escape from the burnings and slaughterings to which Scotland was exposed. When the country, in the fifteenth century, began to recover from the effects of these ravages, the absence of manufactures and of commerce made the Church the best avenue to wealth;[79] so that it was entered by peaceful men for the purpose of security, and by ambitious men as the surest means of achieving distinction.

Thus it was that the want of great cities, and of that form of industry which belongs to them, made the spiritual classes more numerous than they would otherwise have been; and what is very observable is that it not only increased their number, but also increased the disposition of the people to obey them. Agriculturists are naturally, and by the very circumstances of their daily life, more superstitious than manufacturers, because the events with which they deal are more mysterious, that is to say, more difficult to generalize and predict.[80] Hence it is that, as a body, the inhabitants of agricultural districts pay greater respect to the teachings of their clergy than the inhabitants of manufacturing districts. The growth of cities has therefore been a main cause of the decline of ecclesiastical power; and the fact that until the eighteenth century Scotland had nothing worthy of being called a city, is one of many circumstances which explain the prevalence of Scotch superstition, and the inordinate influence of the Scotch clergy.

To this we must add another consideration of great moment. Partly from the structure of the country, partly from the weakness of the crown, and partly from the necessity of being constantly in arms to repel foreign invaders, the predatory habits incidental to an early state of society were encouraged, and consequently the reign of ignorance was prolonged. Little was studied, and nothing was known. Until the fifteenth century there was not even an university in Scotland, the first having been founded at St. Andrews in 1412.[81] The nobles, when they were not making war upon the enemy, occupied themselves in cutting each other's throats, and stealing each other's cattle.[82] Such was their ignorance, that even late in the fourteenth century there is said to be no instance of a Scotch baron being able to sign his own name.[83] And as nothing approaching to a middle class had

[79] Pinkerton observes, under the year 1514, that "ecclesiastical dignities presented almost the only path to opulence." *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 123.

[80] Above, pp. 213-215.

[81] Arnot (*History of Edinburgh*, p. 386) says that the University of St. Andrews was founded in 1412; and the same thing is stated in *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 83. Grierson, in his *History of St. Andrews*, Cupar, 1838, p. 14, says, "In 1410 the city of St. Andrews first saw the establishment of its famous university, the most ancient institution of the kind that exists in Scotland;" but at p. 144 of the same work we are told that the charter, "constituting and declaring it to be a university," is "dated at St. Andrews, the 27th of February, 1411." See also *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. i. pp. 203–206, vol. ii. p. 223. At all events, "at the commencement of the fifteenth century, no university existed in Scotland; and the youth who were desirous of a liberal education were under the necessity of seeking it abroad." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 211. The charter granted by the Pope, confirming the university, reached Scotland in 1413. *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 12.

[82] Those were times when, as a Scotch lawyer delicately expresses himself, "thieving was not the peculiar habit of the low and indigent, but often common to them with persons of rank and landed estate." *Hume's Commentaries on the Law of Scotland*, 4to, 1797, vol. i. p. 126. The usual form of robbery being cattle-stealing, a particular name was invented for it; see p. 148, where we learn that it "was distinguished by the name of Hership or Herdship, being the driving away of numbers of cattle, or other bestial, by the masterful force of armed people."

[83] Tytler, who was a great patriot, and disposed to exaggerate the merit of everything which was Scotch, does nevertheless allow that, "from the accession of Alexander III.

been yet formed, we may from this gain some idea of the amount of knowledge possessed by the people at large.[84] Their minds must have been immersed in a darkness which we can now barely conceive. No trades or arts being practised which required skill or dexterity, there was nothing to exercise their intellects. They consequently remained so stupid and brutal that an intelligent observer who visited Scotland in the year 1360 likens them to savages, so much was he struck by their barbarism and their unsocial manners.[85] Another writer, early in the fifteenth century, uses the same expression; and, classing them with the animals which they tended, he declares that Scotland is fuller of savages than of cattle.[86]

By this combination of events, and by this union of ignorance with danger, the clergy had in the fifteenth century obtained more influence in Scotland than in any other European country, Spain alone excepted. And as the power of the nobles had increased quite as rapidly, it was natural that the crown, completely overshadowed by the great barons, should turn for aid to the Church. During the fifteenth century and part of the sixteenth, this alliance was strictly preserved;[87] and the political history of Scotland is the history of a struggle by the kings and the clergy against the enormous authority of the nobles. The contest, after lasting about a hundred and sixty years, was brought to a close in 1560, by the triumph of the aristocrary and the overthrow of the Church. With such force, however, had the circumstance just narrated engrained superstition into the Scotch character, that the spiritual classes quickly rallied, and under their new name of Protestants they became as formidable as under their old name of Catholics. Forty-three years after the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, James VI. ascended the throne of England, and was able to array the force of the southern country against the refractory barons of the northern.* From that moment the Scotch aristocracy began to decline; and the equipoise to the clergy being removed, the Church became so powerful that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was the most effectual obstacle to the progress of Scotland; and even now it exercises a sway which is incomprehensible to those who have not carefully studied the whole chain of its antecedents. To

to the death of David II. (*i.e.* in 1370), it would be impossible, I believe, to produce a single instance of a Scottish baron who could sign his own name." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240. Early in the sixteenth century, I find it casually mentioned that "David Straiton, a cadet of the house of Laureston," . . . "could not read." *Wodrow's Collections*, vol. i. pp. 5, 6. The famous chief, Walter Scott of Harden, was married in 1567; and "his marriage contract is signed by a notary, because none of the parties could write their names." *Chambers' Annals*, vol. i. p. 46. Crawfurd (*History of Renfrew*, part iii. p. 313) says: "the modern practice of subscribing names to writs of moment was not used in Scotland till about the year 1540:" but he forgets to tell us why it was not used. In 1564 Robert Scot of Thirlstane, "ancestor of Lord Napier," could not sign his name. See *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 394.

[84] A Scotchman of considerable learning says: "Scotland was no less ignorant and superstitious at the beginning of the fifteenth century than it was towards the close of the twelfth." *Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 428.

[85] "Et sont ainsi comme gens sauvages qui ne se savent avoir ni de nulli accointer." *Les Chroniques de Froissart*, edit. Buchon, Paris, 1835, vol. ii. p. 315.

[86] "Plus pleine de sauvagine que de bestail." *Hist. de Charles VI., par Le Laboureur*, quoted in *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 149.

[87] Occasionally we find evidence of it earlier, but it was hardly systematic. Compare *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 66, with *Dalrymple's Annals*, vol. i. pp. 72, 110, 111, 194, vol. iii. p. 296; *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, p. 88; *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline*, pp. 133, 134.

[* In reality, no such array ever took place, save in so far as James could summon a troublesome subject like Andrew Melville to England. By that time the barons were glutted with the spoils of the Church.—Ed.]

trace with minuteness the long course of affairs which has led to this unfortunate result, would be incompatible with the object of an Introduction whose only aim it is to establish broad and general principles. But to bring the question clearly before the mind of the reader, it will be necessary that I should give a slight sketch of the relation which the nobles bore to the clergy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of the way in which their relative position, and their implacable hatred of each other, brought about the Reformation. By this means we shall perceive that the great Protestant movement which in other countries was democratic, was in Scotland aristocratic. We shall also see that in Scotland the Reformation, not being the work of the people, has never produced the effects which might have been expected from it, and which it did produce in England. It is indeed but too evident that while in England Protestantism has diminished superstition, has weakened the clergy, has increased toleration, and, in a word, has secured the triumph of secular interests over ecclesiastical ones, its result in Scotland has been entirely different ; and that in that country the Church, changing its form without altering its spirit, not only cherished its ancient pretensions, but unhappily retained its ancient power ; and that, although that power is now dwindling away, the Scotch preachers still exhibit, whenever they dare, an insolent and domineering spirit which shows how much real weakness there yet lurks in the nation, where such extravagant claims are not immediately silenced by the voice of loud and general ridicule.

CHAPTER XVII

Condition of Scotland in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.

Early in the fifteenth century the alliance between the Crown and the Church, and the determination of that alliance to overthrow the nobles, became manifest. Indications of this may be traced in the policy of Albany, who was Regent from 1406 to 1419, and who made it his principal object to encourage and strengthen the clergy.[1] He also dealt the first great blow upon which any government had ventured against the aristocracy. Donald, who was one of the most powerful of the Scottish chieftains,* and who, indeed, by the possession of the Western Isles, was almost an independent prince, had seized the earldom of Ross, which, if he could have retained, would have enabled him to set the Crown at defiance. Albany, backed by the Church, marched into his territories in 1411, forced him to renounce the earldom, to make personal submission, and to give hostages for his future conduct.[2] So vigorous a proceeding on the part of the executive was extremely unusual in Scotland ;[3] and it was the first of a series of aggressions which ended in the Crown obtaining for itself not only Ross, but also the Western Isles.[4] The policy inaugurated by Albany was followed up with still greater energy by James I.† In 1424 this bold and active prince procured an enactment,

[1] "The Church was eminently favoured by Albany." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 86. But Pinkerton misunderstands his policy in regard to the nobles. [The statement as to the Church appears to be an error. See note on next page.—Ed.]

[2] *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 72–74 ; *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 162, vol. iv. pp. 435, 436. [Donald had been resisted by the whole Lowland nobility. It was a struggle not of church with nobles, but of race with race. Donald's son, however, kept the earldom.—Ed.]

[3] Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 826, 827), referring to the state of things before Albany, says, "There is not a trace of any attempt by Robert II. to limit the power of the nobles, whatever he may have added, by his improvident grants, to their independence. He appears not to have attempted to raise the royal prerogative from the debasement in which the imprudence and misfortunes of David II. had left it." And of his successor, Robert III., "So mild a prince, and so weak a man, was not very likely to make any attempt upon the power of others, when he could scarcely support his own."

[4] In 1476, "the Earldom of Ross was inalienably annexed to the Crown ; and a great

[* Buckle has not realized that the Lord of the Isles, a Gaelic prince, always hitherto hostile to the Scoto-Norman kings, was on quite a different footing from the Scoto-Norman nobles. Albany attacked him only after the battle of Harlaw, in which Donald, the aggressor, was defeated (*Tytler, History of Scotland*, ed. 1869, ii. 42). So far from seeking to strengthen the crown against the nobles, Albany merely sought to maintain his own position ; and the sending of Prince James to France—frustrated by his capture by the English—was planned by the loyal nobles in the interest of the crown.—Ed.]

[† James's policy was entirely new. Albany had been his enemy, perhaps his betrayer. The nobles whom James arrested, as noted below, were of Albany's party ; and those whom he put to death were of Albany's house—his own kindred. See Tytler, ii. 56–59. Tytler notes "the *indulgence* to which the aristocracy were accustomed under Albany" (p. 58).—Ed.]

obliging many of the nobles to show their charters, in order that it might be ascertained what lands they held which had formerly belonged to the Crown.[5] And to conciliate the affections of the clergy, he in 1425 issued a commission, authorizing the Bishop of Saint Andrews to restore to the Church whatever had been alienated from it* ; while he at the same time directed that the justiciaries should assist in enforcing execution of the decree.[6] This occurred in June ; and what shows that it was part of a general scheme is that in the preceding spring the king suddenly arrested, in the parliament assembled at Perth, upwards of twenty of the principal nobles, put four of them to death, and confiscated several of their estates.[7] Two years afterwards, he with equal perfidy summoned the Highland chiefs to meet him at Inverness, laid hands on them also, executed three, and imprisoned more than forty, in different parts of the kingdom.[8]

By these measures, and by supporting the Church with the same zeal that he attacked the nobles, the king thought to reverse the order of affairs hitherto established, and to secure the supremacy of the throne over the aristocracy.[9] But herein he overrated his own power. Like nearly all politicians, he exaggerated the value of political remedies. The legislator and the magistrate may for a moment palliate an evil ; they can never work a cure. General mischiefs depend upon general causes, and these are beyond their art. The symptoms of the disease they can touch, while the disease itself baffles their efforts, and is too often exasperated by their treatment. In Scotland the power of the nobles was a cruel malady, which preyed on the vitals of the nation ; but it had long been

blow was thus struck at the power and grandeur of a family which had so repeatedly disturbed the tranquillity of Scotland." *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 50. In 1493 " John, fourth and last Lord of the Isles, was forfeited, and deprived of his title and estates." *Ibid.* p. 58.

[5] As those who held crown lands were legally, though not in reality, the king's tenants, the act declared, that " gif it like the king, he may ger sumonde all and sindry his tenand at lauchfull day and place to schawe thar chartis." *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 4, § 9, edit. folio, 1814.

[6] " On the 8th June, 1425, James issued a commission to Henry, Bishop of St. Andrews, authorizing him to resume all alienations from the Church, with power of anathema, and orders to all justiciaries to assist. This curious paper is preserved in Harl. MS. 4637, vol. iii. f. 189." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 116. Archbishop Spottiswoode, delighted with his policy, calls him a " good king," and says that he built for the Carthusians " a beautiful monastery at Perth, bestowing large revenues upon the same." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 113. And Keith assures us that on one occasion James I. went so far as to give to one of the bishops " a silver cross, in which was contained a bit of the wooden cross on which the apostle St. Andrew had been crucified." *Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1755, 4to, p. 67.

[7] Compare *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. pp. 153–156, with *Pinkerton's History*, vol. i. pp. 113–115. Between these two authorities there is a slight but unimportant discrepancy.

[8] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 95–98 ; *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 75 ; and an imperfect narrative in *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, p. 35.

[9] Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 126), under the year 1433, says: " In the midst of his labours for the pacification of his northern dominions, and his anxiety for the suppression of heresy, the king never forgot his great plan for the diminution of the exorbitant power of the nobles." See also p. 84. " It was a principle of this enterprising monarch, in his schemes for the recovery and consolidation of his own power, to cultivate the friendship of the clergy, whom he regarded as a counterpoise to the nobles." Lord Somerville (*Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. i. p. 173), says that the superior noblity were " never or seldome called to counsell dureing this king's reign."

[* The statement of Tytler (ed. 1869, ii. 64) is that the bishop (of *Aberdeen*) was authorized " to resume all alienations of the lands of the church which had been made *during the regencies of the two Albanies* "—a proof that the first Albany had *not* strengthened the Church against the nobles.—ED.]

preparing ; it was a chronic disorder ; and, having worked into the general habit, it might be removed by time, it could never be diminished by violence. On the contrary, in this as in all matters, whenever politicians attempt great good, they invariably inflict great harm. Overaction on one side produces reaction on the other, and the balance of the fabric is disturbed. By the shock of conflicting interests, the scheme of life is made insecure. New animosities are kindled, old ones are embittered, and the natural jar and discordance are aggravated, simply because the rulers of mankind cannot be brought to understand that, in dealing with a great country, they have to do with an organization so subtle, so extremely complex, and withal so obscure, as to make it highly probable that whatever they alter in it they will alter wrongly, and that while their efforts to protect or to strengthen its particular parts are extremely hazardous, it does undoubtedly possess within itself a capacity of repairing its injuries, and that to bring such capacity into play, there is merely required that time and freedom which the interference of powerful men too often prevents it from enjoying.

Thus it was in Scotland in the fifteenth century. The attempts of James I. failed because they were particular measures directed against general evils. Ideas and associations, generated by a long course of events, and deeply seated in the public mind, had given to the aristocracy immense power ; and if every noble in Scotland had been put to death, if all their castles had been razed to the ground, and all their estates confiscated, the time would unquestionably have come when their successors would have been more influential than ever, because the affection of their retainers and dependants would be increased by the injustice that had been perpetrated. For every passion excites its opposite. Cruelty to-day produces sympathy to-morrow. A hatred of injustice contributes more than any other principle to correct the inequalities of life and to maintain the balance of affairs. It is this loathing at tyranny which, by stirring to their inmost depth the warmest feelings of the heart, makes it impossible that tyranny should ever finally succeed. This, in sooth, is the noble side of our nature. This is that part of us which, stamped with a godlike beauty, reveals its divine origin, and, providing for the most distant contingencies, is our surest guarantee that violence shall never ultimately triumph ; that sooner or later despotism shall always be overthrown ; and that the great and permanent interests of the human race shall never be injured by the wicked counsels of unjust men.

In the case of James I., the reaction came sooner than might have been expected; and, as it happened in his lifetime, it was a retribution as well as a reaction. For some years he continued to oppress the nobles with impunity ;[10] but in 1436 they turned upon him and put him to death, in revenge for the treatment to which he had subjected many of them.[11] Their power now rose as suddenly as it had fallen. In the south of Scotland, the Douglases were supreme,[12] and the earl of that family possessed revenues about equal to those of the Crown.[13] And to show that his authority was equal to his wealth, he, on the marriage of James II. in 1449, appeared at the nuptials with a train composed of five thousand followers.[14] These were his own retainers, armed and resolute men, bound to

[10] Compare *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 263, with *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. x. p. 286.

[11] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 157, 158. [The statement in the text is misleading. James was assassinated by a few malcontents, who took him by surprise, and there was no combination of " the nobles " for the purpose. Finally, his widow was able to put the assassins to death.—Ed.]

[12] Lindsay of Pitscottie (*Chronicles*, vol. i. p. 2) says that directly after the death of James I., " Alexander, Earle of Douglas, being uerie potent in kine and friendis, contemned all the kingis officeris, in respect of his great puissance." The best account I have seen of the rise of the Douglases is in Chalmers' learned but ill-digested work, *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 579–583.

[13] In 1440 " the chief of that family had revenues, perhaps equivalent to those of the Scottish monarch." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 192.

[14] " It may give us some idea of the immense power possessed at this period by the Earl

obey any command he might issue to them. Not, indeed, that compulsion was needed on the part of a Scotch noble to secure the obedience of his own people. The servitude was a willing one, and was essential to the national manners. Then and long afterwards it was discreditable, as well as unsafe, not to belong to a great clan ; and those who were so unfortunate as to be unconnected with any leading family were accustomed to take the name of some chief, and to secure his protection by devoting themselves to his service.[15]

What the Earl of Douglas was in the south of Scotland, that were the Earls of Crawford and of Ross in the north.[16] Singly they were formidable ; united they seemed irresistible. When, therefore, in the middle of the fifteenth century they actually leagued together, and formed a strict compact against all their common enemies, it was hard to say what limit could be set to their power, or what resource remained to the government, except that of sowing disunion among them.[17]

But in the meantime, the disposition of the nobles to use force against the Crown had been increased by fresh violence. Government, instead of being warned by the fate of James I., imitated his unscrupulous acts, and pursued the very policy which had caused his destruction. Because the Douglases were the most powerful of all the great families, it was determined that their chiefs should be put to death ; and because they could not be slain by force, they were to be murdered by treachery. In 1440 the Earl of Douglas, a boy of fifteen, and his brother, who was still younger than he, were invited to Edinburgh on a friendly visit to the king.* Scarcely had they arrived, when they were seized by order of

of Douglas, when we mention that on this chivalrous occasion the military suite by which he was surrounded, and at the head of which he conducted the Scottish champions to the lists, consisted of a force amounting to five thousand men." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 215. The old historian of his family says : " He is not easy to be dealt with ; they must have mufles that would catch such a cat. Indeed, he behaved himself as one that thought he would not be in danger of them ; he entertained a great family ; he rode ever well accompanied when he came in publick ; 1,000 or 2,000 horse were his ordinary train." *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 273, 274, reprinted Edinburgh, 1743.

[15] In the seventeenth century, " to be without a chief, involved a kind of disrepute ; and those who had no distinct personal position of their own would find it necessary to become a Gordon or a Crichton, as prudence or inclination might point out." *Burton's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 207. Compare *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 250, on " the protective surname of Douglas ; " and *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 252, on the extreme importance attached to the name of Macgregor.

[16] " Men of the greatest puissance and force next the Douglasses, that were in Scotland in their times." *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. p. 344. The great power of the Earls of Ross in the north dates from the thirteenth century. See *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 133, 134, vol. ii. p. 52.

[17] In 1445 the Earl of Douglas concluded " ane offensiue and defensiue league and combinatione aganist all, none excepted, (not the king himselue), with the Earle of Crawfurd, and Donald, Lord of the Isles ; wich was mutually sealled and subscriued by them three, the 7 day of Marche." *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. p. 173. This comprised the alliance of other noble families. " He maid bandis with the Erle of Craufurd, and with Donald lorde of the Ylis, and Erle of Ross, to take part every ane with other, and with dyvers uther noble men also." *Lesley's History of Scotland*, from 1436 to 1561, p. 18. [There is some error here. It appears to be certain that Donald, Lord of the Isles, was dead about 1420 (*Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, ed, 1881, p. 33). Mr. Lang (*Hist. of Scotland*, 1900

[* Buckle has here been misled by the family history of the Douglases. The young earl was seventeen years old at his accession in 1439 (Tytler, ed. cited, ii. 125 ; Burton, ii. 414), so that at the time of his execution he was eighteen. He was certainly no " child," but rode with a train of a thousand men-at-arms, defied the laws openly, and appears to have had some idea of claiming the succession to the throne, as he might do with some plausibility (Tytler and Burton, as cited). He was charged with high treason.—Ed.]

the chancellor, subjected to a mock trial, declared guilty, dragged to the castle-yard, and the heads of the poor children cut off.[18]

Considering the warm feelings of attachment which the Scotch entertained for their chiefs, it is difficult to overrate the consequences of this barbarous murder in strengthening a class it was hoped to intimidate. But this horrible crime was committed by the government only, and it occurred during the king's minority: the next assassination was the work of the king himself. In 1452 the Earl of Douglas [19] was, with great show of civility, requested by James II. to repair to the court then assembled at Stirling. The earl hesitated, but James overcame his reluctance by sending to him a safe-conduct with the royal signature, and issued under the great seal.[20] The honour of the king being pledged, the fears of Douglas were removed. He hastened to Stirling, where he was received with every distinction. The evening of his arrival, the king, after supper was over, broke out into reproaches against him, and, suddenly drawing his dagger, stabbed him. Gray then struck him with a battle-axe, and he fell dead on the floor, in presence of his sovereign, who had lured him to court that he might murder him with impunity.[21]

The ferocity of the Scotch character, which was the natural result of the ignorance and poverty of the nation, was no doubt one cause, and a very important one, of the commission of such crimes as these, not secretly, but in the open light of day, and by the highest men in the State.* It cannot however be denied

i. 328), disputes the narrative of Tytler (who follows Lesley and Balfour), arguing that there is "no evidence for the early date of this bond." But such a league does seem to have been entered into about 1451. *Hume Brown, Hist. of Scotland*, i. (1899) 232.—Ed.]

[18] [The executions were not simultaneous; the younger brother and another kinsman were beheaded some days later.—Ed.] An interesting account of this dastardly crime is given in *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 274–288, where great, but natural, indignation is expressed. On the other hand, Lesley, Bishop of Ross, narrates it with a cold-blooded indifference, characteristic of the ill-will which existed between the nobles and the clergy, and which prevented him from regarding the murder of two children as an offence. "And eftir he was set doun to the burd with the governour, chancellour, and otheris noble men present, the meit was sudantlie removed, and ane bullis heid presented, quhilk in thay daies was ane signe of executione; and incontinent the said erle, David his broder, and Malcolme Fleming of Cummernald, wer heidit before the castell yett of Edenburgh." *Lesley's History*, p. 16.

[19] The cousin of the boys who were murdered in 1440. See *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 297, 316. [His father and predecessor, the grand-uncle of the slain youths, seems to have connived at their death (Tytler, ii. 133).—Ed.]

[20] "With assurance under the broad seal." *Hume's House of Douglas*, vol. i. p. 351, See also *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, Edinb. 1777, pp. 246, 322, 323.

[21] *Hume's House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 351–353. The king "stabbed him in the breast with a dagger. At the same instant Patrick Gray struck him on the head with a pole-ax. The rest that were attending at the door, hearing the noise, entred, and fell also upon him; and, to show their affection to the king, gave him every man his blow after he was dead." Compare *Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 103. "He strak him throw the bodie thairwith; and thairefter the guard, hearing the tumult within the chamber, rusched in and slew the earle out of hand." [It is not at all likely that the king had premeditated the assassination. (Burton, ii. 425, insists that there was no plan. Cp. Hume Brown, i. 233; Lang, i. 329). The only narratives of the episode represent the king as appealing to Douglas (his former friend) to break his treasonable league: and Douglas as replying with an insolence which provoked the king to fury. What is certain is that Douglas was an open and brutal violator of the laws, and guilty of many infamous slaughters, friends of the king being among his victims. It seems clear, however, that he came on a safe-conduct. Tytler, ed. cited, ii. 153–7.—Ed.]

[* The period was that of the Wars of the Roses. It is doubtful whether there was a pin to choose between the Scottish and the English character at that period.—Ed.]

that another cause was the influence of the clergy, whose interest it was to humble the nobles, and who were by no means scrupulous as to the means that they employed.[22] As the crown became more alienated from the aristocracy, it united itself still closer with the Church. In 1443 a statute was enacted, the object of which was to secure ecclesiastical property from the attacks made upon it by the nobles.[23] And although, in that state of society, it was easier to pass laws than to execute them, such a measure indicated the general policy of the government, and the union between it and the Church. Indeed, as to this, no one could be mistaken.[24] For nearly twenty years, the avowed and confidential adviser of the Crown was Kennedy, Bishop of Saint Andrews, who retained power until his death, in 1466, during the minority of James III.[25] He was the bitter enemy of the nobles, against whom he displayed an unrelenting spirit, which was sharpened by personal injuries; for the Earl of Crawford had plundered his lands, and the Earl of Douglas had attempted to seize him, and had threatened to put him into irons.[26] The mildest spirit might well have been roused by this; and as James II., when he assassinated Douglas, was more influenced by Kennedy than by any one else, it is probable that the bishop was privy to that foul transaction.* At all events, he expressed no disapprobation of it; and when, in consequence of the murder, the Douglases and their friends rose in open rebellion, Kennedy gave to the king a crafty and insidious counsel, highly characteristic of the cunning of his profession. Taking up a bundle of arrows, he showed James, that when they were together, they were not to be broken; but that if separated they

[22] In *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, pp. 99, 100, the alienation of the nobles from the Church is dated "from the middle of the fifteenth century;" and this is perhaps correct in regard to general dislike, though the movement may be clearly traced fifty years earlier.

[23] See *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 33, edit. folio, 1814; respecting the "statute of haly kirk quhilk is oppressit and hurt."

[24] In 1449 James II., "with that affectionate respect for the clergy, which could not fail to be experienced by a prince who had successfully employed their support and advice to escape from the tyranny of his nobles, granted to them some important privileges." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 226. See also p. 309. Among many similar measures, he conceded to the monks of Paisley some important powers of jurisdiction that belonged to the Crown. Charter, 13th January, 1451-2, in *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 823.

[25] *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 188, 209, 247, 254. *Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, p. 19. *Ridpath's Border History*, p. 298. *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol ii. p. 101. In *Somerville's Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. i. p. 213, it is stated, under the year 1452, that fear of the great nobles "had once possest his majestie with some thoughts of going out of the countrey; but that he was perswaded to the contrary by Bishop Kennedie, then Arch-bishop of Saint Andrewes, whose counsell at that tyme and eftirward in most things he followed, which at length proved to his majesties great advantage." See also *Lesley's History*, p. 23. "The king wes put to sic a sharp point, that he wes determinit to haif left the realme, and to haif passit in Fraunce by sey, were not that bischop James Kennedy of St. Androis causit him to tarrye."

[26] "His lands were plundered by the Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie of Inveraritie, at the instigation of the Earl of Douglas, who had farther instructed them to seize, if possible, the person of the bishop, and to put him in irons." Memoir of Kennedy, in *Chambers' Lives of Scotchmen*, vol. iii. p. 307, Glasgow, 1834. "Sed Kennedus et ætate, et consilio, ac proinde auctoritate cæteros anteibat. In eum potissimum ira est versa. Crafordiæ comes et Alexander Ogilvius conflato satis magno exercitu, agros ejus in Fifa latè populati, dum prædam magis, quam causam sequuntur, omni genere cladis in vicina etiam prædia grassati, nemine congredi auso pleni prædarum in Angusiam revertuntur. Kennedus ad sua arma conversus comitem Crafordiæ disceptationem juris fugientem diris ecclesiasticis est prosecutus." *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xi. p. 306.

[* There being no appearance of premeditation, there is no basis for the charge against Kennedy.—ED.]

were easily destroyed. Hence he inferred that the aristocracy should be overthrown by disuniting the nobles, and ruining them one by one.[27]

In this he was right, so far as the interests of his own order were concerned; but looking at the interest of the nation, it is evident that the power of the nobles, notwithstanding their gross abuse of it was on the whole beneficial, since it was the only barrier against despotism. The evil they actually engendered was indeed immense. But they kept off other evils which would have been worse. By causing present anarchy, they secured future liberty. For as there was no middle class, there were only three orders in the commonwealth; namely, government, clergy, and nobles. The two first being united against the last, it is certain that if they had won the day Scotland would have been oppressed by the worst of all yokes to which a country can be subjected. It would have been ruled by an absolute king and an absolute Church, who, playing into each other's hands, would have tyrannized over a people who, though coarse and ignorant, still loved a certain rude and barbarous liberty, which it was good for them to possess, but which, in the face of such a combination, they would most assuredly have forfeited.*

Happily, however, the power of the nobles was too deeply rooted in the popular mind† to allow of this catastrophe. In vain did James III. exert himself to discourage them,[28] and to elevate their rivals, the clergy.[29] Nothing could shake their authority; and in 1482 they, seeing the determination of the king, assembled together, and such was their influence over their followers that they had no

[27] "This holie bischop schew ane similitud to the king, quhilk might bring him to experience how he might invaid againes the Douglass, and the rest of the conspiratouris. This bischop tuik furth ane great scheife of arrowes knitt togidder werrie fast, and desired him to put thame to his knie, and break thame. The king said it was not possible, becaus they war so many, and so weill fastened togidder. The bischop answeired, it was werrie true, bot yitt he wold latt the king sea how to break thame; and pulled out on be on, and tua be tua, quhill he had brokin thame all; then said to the king, 'Yea most doe with the conspiratouris in this manner, and thair complices that are risen againes yow, quho are so many in number, and so hard knit togidder in conspiracie againes yow, that yea cannot gett thame brokin togidder. Butt be sick pratick as I have schowin yow be the similitud of thir arrowes, that is to say, yea must conqueis and break lord by lord be thamselffis, for yea may not deall with thame all at once.'" *Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173. [As this story is proverbial, there is no reason to believe that it is true as told by Pitscottie. It is therefore gratuitous to charge it on the "cunning" of the bishop's profession. Kennedy has by far the best character of all the Scots statesmen of his age. See Tytler, ed. 1869, ii. 138, 196; and Buchanan, as there cited.—Ed.]

[28] "He wald nocht suffer the noblemen to come to his presence, and to governe the realme be thair counsell." *Lesley's History of Scotland*, p. 48. "Wald nocht use the counsall of his nobillis." p. 55. "Excluding the nobility." *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 33. "The nobility seeing his resolution to ruin them." p. 46. "Hes conteming his nobility." *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. p. 206.

[29] Also to aggrandize them. See, for instance, what "has obtained the name of the golden charter, from the ample privileges it contains, confirmed to Archbishop Shevez by James III. on 9th July, 1480." *Grierson's History of Saint Andrews*, p. 58, Cupar, 1838.

[* Buckle's words read strangely to a student of Scots history of the period in question. The nobles were as brutal tyrants as ever lived, and the Douglases in particular respected neither laws nor liberties which crossed their will. The Church *could not* in such an age tyrannize as they did; and Kennedy was a protector of the people against them.—Ed.]

[† The "popular mind" counted for little in the matter. The nobles maintained themselves by their own armed forces, and in the revolt which ended in the death of James III. the popular feeling was on the side of the king. See Burton, iii. 38.—Ed.]

difficulty in seizing his person and imprisoning him in the Castle of Edinburgh.[30] After his liberation, fresh quarrels arose;[31] and in 1488 the principal nobles collected troops, met him in the field, defeated him, and put him to death.[32] He was succeeded by James IV., under whom the course of affairs was exactly the same ; that is to say, on one side the nobles, and on the other side the Crown and the Church. Everything that the king could do to uphold the clergy he did cheerfully.* In 1493 he obtained an act to secure the immunities of the sees of Saint Andrews and of Glasgow, the two most important in Scotland.[33] In 1503 he procured a general revocation of all grants and gifts prejudicial to the Church, whether they had been made by the Parliament or by the Council.[34] And in 1508 he, by the advice of Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, ventured on a measure of still greater boldness. That able and ambitious prelate induced James to revive against the nobility several obsolete claims, by virtue of which the king could under certain circumstances take possession of their estates, and could, in every instance in which the owner held of the Crown, receive nearly the whole of the proceeds during the minority of the proprietor.[35]

To make such claims was easy ; to enforce them was impossible. Indeed, the nobles were at this time rather gaining ground than losing it ; and after the death of James IV. in 1513, they, during the minority of James V., became so powerful that the regent, Albany, twice threw up the government in despair, and at length abandoned it altogether.[36] He finally quitted Scotland in 1524, and

[30] " Such was the influence of the aristocracy over their warlike followers, that the king was conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, without commotion or murmur." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 308.

[31] " The king and his ministers multiplied the insults which they offered to the nobility." . . . " A proclamation was issued, forbidding any person to appear in arms within the precincts of the court ; which, at a time when no man of rank left his own house without a numerous retinue of armed followers, was in effect debarring the nobles from all access to the king." . . . " His neglect of the nobles irritated, but did not weaken them." *History of Scotland*, book i. p. 68, in *Robertson's Works*, edit. London, 1831.

[32] *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. pp. 213, 214 ; *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xii. p. 358. Lindsay of Pitscottie (*Chronicles*, vol. i. p. 222) says : " This may be ane example to all kingis that cumes heirefter, not to fall from God." . . . " For, if he had vsed the counsall of his wyse lordis and barrones, he had not cum to sick disparatioun."

[33] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, folio, 1814, vol. ii. p. 232. " That the said abbaceis confiirmit be thame sall neid na prouisioun of the court of Rome."

[34] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 240 ; and the summary of the statute (p. 21), " Revocation of donations, statutis, and all uthir thingis hurtand the croune or hali kirk." In the next year (1504) the king " greatly augmented " the revenues of the bishoprick of Galloway. *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 417.

[35] *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 63 ; *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 135, edit. Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1849. The latter authority states that " The bishop devysed wayes to King James the Fourth, how he might attaine to great gaine and profit. He advised him to call his barons and all those that held any lands within the realme, to show their evidents by way of recognition ; and, if they had not sufficient writings for their warrant, to dispone upon their lands at his pleasure ; for the which advice he was greatlie hated. But the king perceaving the countrie to grudge, agreed easilie with the possessors."

[36] The Regency of Albany, little understood by the earlier historians, has been carefully examined by Mr. Tytler, in whose valuable though too prolix work the best account of it will be found. *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 98–160, Edinburgh, 1845. On the hostility between Albany and the nobles, see *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, p. 99 ; and, on the revival of their power in the north, after the death of James IV., see *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, pp. 114, 115.

[* This was precisely the kind of period Buckle had formerly described as one in which the Church could do something for progress as against mere feudal tyranny ; and the reign of James IV. was one of great national progress in industry, culture, and well-being. Compare Burton, iii. 68, 401, 424, 440, 448.—Ed.]

with him the authority of the executive seemed to have vanished. The Douglases soon obtained possession of the person of the king, and compelled Beaton, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, the most influential man in the Church, to resign the office of chancellor.[37] The whole command now fell into their hands; they or their adherents filled every office; secular interests predominated, and the clergy were thrown completely into the shade.[38] In 1528, however, an event occurred by which the spiritual classes not only recovered their former position but gained a pre-eminence which, as it turned out, was eventually fatal to themselves. Archbishop Beaton, impatient at proceedings so unfavourable to the Church, organized a conspiracy by means of which James effected his escape from the Douglases, and took refuge in the castle of Stirling.[39] This sudden reaction was not the real and controlling cause, but it was undoubtedly the proximate cause, of the establishment of Protestantism in Scotland. For the reins of government now passed into the hands of the Church; and the most influential of the nobles were consequently persecuted, and some of them driven from the country. But though their political power was gone, their social power remained They were stripped of their honours and their wealth. They became outcasts, traitors, and beggars. Still the real foundation of their authority was unshaken, because that authority was the result of a long train of circumstances, and was based on the affections of the people.* Therefore it was that the nobles, even those who were exiled and attainted, were able to conduct an arduous but eventually a successful struggle against their enemies. The desire of revenge whetted their exertions, and gave rise to a deadly contest between the Scotch aristocracy and the Scotch Church. This most remarkable conflict was in some degree a continuation of that which began early in the fifteenth century. But it was far more bitter; it lasted without interruption for thirty-two years; and it was only concluded by the triumph of the nobles, who in 1560 completely overthrew the Church, and destroyed almost at a blow the whole of the Scotch hierarchy.

[37] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 180–182: "Within a few months, there was not an office of trust or emolument in the kingdom which was not filled by a Douglas, or by a creature of that house." See also pp. 187, 194; and *Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, pp. 22, 23. Beaton, who was so rudely dispossessed of the chancellorship that, according to Keith, he was, in 1525, obliged "to lurk among his friends for fear of his life," is mentioned, in the preceding year, as having been the main supporter of Albany's government; "that most hath favoured the Duke of Albany." *State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. p. 97, 4to, 1836.

[38] The complete power of the Douglases lasted from the cessation of Albany's regency to the escape of the king, in 1528. *Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, edit. Edinburgh, 1835, vol. i. pp. 33–35. Compare *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. p. 257. "The Earle of Angus violently takes one him the gouerniment, and retanes the king in effecte a prisoner with him; during wich tyme he, the Earle of Lennox, and George Douglas, his auen brother, frely disposses vpone all affaires both of churche and staite."

[39] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 195, 196. The curious work, entitled *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 10, says, "In the zeir of God 1500, tuantie aucht zeiris, the kingis grace by slicht wan away fra the Douglassis." From Stirling he repaired to Edinburgh, on 6th July, 1528, and went to "the busshop of Sainct Andros loegeing." See a letter written on the 18th of July, 1528, by Lord Dacre to Wolsey, in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. p. 501, 4to, 1836. Compare a proclamation on 10th September, 1528, in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. part i. pp. 138*, 139*, Edinburgh, 4to, 1833. I particularly indicate these documents, because Lindsay of Pitscottie (in his *Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 335) erroneously places the flight of James in 1527; and he is generally one of the most accurate of the old writers, if indeed he be the author of the work which bears his name. [This view of Pitscottie's narrative is not now held by students of Scottish history. It is very untrustworthy as to dates. Compare Hume Brown, i. 374; and Lang, vol. ii., preface, as to his story of the king's escape.—Ed.]

[* This is an over-statement. The nobles had the "affections" of their own retainers but hardly that of other people.—Ed.]

The events of this struggle, and the vicissitudes to which during its continuance both parties were exposed, are related, though somewhat confusedly, in our common histories; it will be sufficient if I indicate the salient points, and, avoiding needless detail, endeavour to throw light on the general movement. The unity of the entire scheme will thus be brought before our minds, and we shall see that the destruction of the Catholic Church was its natural consummation, and that the last act of that gorgeous drama, so far from being a strained and irregular sequence, was in fit keeping with the whole train of the preceding plot.

When James effected his escape in 1528, he was a boy of sixteen, and his policy, so far as he can be said to have had any mind of his own, was of course determined by the clergy, to whom he owed his liberty, and who were his natural protectors. His principal adviser was the Archbishop of Saint Andrews; and the important post of chancellor, which under the Douglases had been held by a layman, was now conferred on the Archbishop of Glasgow.[40] These two prelates were supreme; while at the same time the Abbot of Holyrood was made treasurer, and the Bishop of Dunkeld was made privy seal.[41] All nobles, and even all followers, of the house of Douglas, were forbidden to approach within twelve miles of the court, under pain of treason.[42] An expedition was fitted out and sent against the Earl of Caithness, who was defeated and slain.[43] Just before this occurred, the Earl of Angus was driven out of Scotland, and his estates confiscated.[44] An act of attainder was passed against the Douglases.[45] The government, moreover, seized and threw into prison the Earl of Bothwell, Home, Maxwell, the two Kerrs, and the barons of Buccleuch, Johnston, and Polwarth.[46]

All this was vigorous enough, and was the consequence of the Church recovering her power. Other measures, equally decisive, were preparing. In 1531 the king deprived the Earl of Crawford of most of his estates, and threw the Earl of Argyle into prison.[47] Even those nobles who had been inclined to follow him, he now discouraged. He took every opportunity of treating them with coldness, while he filled the highest offices with their rivals, the clergy.[48] Finally, he in

[40] *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. p. 501.

[41] "Archibald was depryvit of the thesaurarie, and placit thairin Robert Cairncorse, abbot of Halyrudhous. And als was tane fra the said Archibald the privie seill, and was givin to the bischope of Dunkell." *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 11.

[42] Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 196) says: "His first act was to summon a council, and issue a proclamation, that no lord or follower of the house of Douglas should dare to approach within *six* miles of the court, under pain of treason." For this, no authority is cited; and the historian of the Douglas family distinctly states, "within *twelve* miles of the king, under pain of death." *Hume's House of Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 99. See also *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 10: "that nane of thame nor thair familiaris cum neir the king be tuelf myllis." The reason was, that "the said kingis grace haid greit suspicioun of the temporall lordis, becaus thaj favourit sum pairt the Douglassis." *Diurnal*, p. 12.

[43] "The Erle of Caithnes and fyve hundreth of his men wes slayne an drownit in the see." *Lesley's History of Scotland*, p. 141.

[44] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 203, 204.

[45] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 324, edit. folio, 1814.

[46] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 207.

[47] *Tytler*, vol. iv. p. 212.

[48] "His preference of the clergy to the temporal lords disgusted these proud chiefs." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 230. See also p. 236. His reasons are stated by himself, in a curious letter, which he wrote so late as 1541, to Henry VIII. "We persaif," writes James, "be zoure saidis writingis yat Ze ar informyt yat yair suld be sum thingis laitlie attemptat be oure kirkmen to oure hurte and skaith, and contrar oure mynde and plesure. We can nocht understand, quhat suld move Zou to beleif the samyn, assuring Zou *We have nevir fund bot faithfull and trew obedience of yame at all tymes*, nor yai seik nor attemptis nouthir jurisdictioun nor previlegijs, forthir nor yai have usit sen the first institutioun of the Kirk of Scotland, quhilk We may nocht apoun oure conscience alter nor change in the respect We have to the honour and faith of God and Halikirk, and

1532 aimed a deadly blow at their order by depriving them of a large part of the jurisdiction which they were wont to exercise in their own country, and to the possession of which they owed much of their power. At the instigation of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he established what was called the College of Justice, in which suits were to be decided, instead of being tried as heretofore by the barons at home in their castles. It was ordered that this new tribunal should consist of fifteen judges, eight of whom must be ecclesiastics; and, to make the intention still more clear, it was provided that the president should invariably be a clergyman.[49]

This gave the finishing touch to the whole, and it, taken in connexion with previous measures, exasperated the nobles almost to madness. Their hatred of the clergy became uncontrollable; and in their eagerness for revenge they not only threw themselves into the arms of England, and maintained a secret understanding with Henry VIII., but many of them went even further, and showed a decided leaning towards the principles of the Reformation. As the enmity between the aristocracy and the Church grew more bitter, just in the same proportion did the desire to reform the Church become more marked. The love of innovation was encouraged by interested motives, until in the course of a few years an immense majority of the nobles adopted extreme Protestant opinions; hardly caring what heresy they embraced, so long as they were able by its aid to damage a Church from which they had recently received the greatest injuries, and with which they and their progenitors had been engaged in a contest of nearly a hundred and fifty years.[50]

In the meantime, James V. united himself closer than ever with the hierarchy. In 1534 he gratified the Church by personally assisting at the trial of some heretics, who were brought before the bishops and burned.[51] The next year

douttis na inconvenient be yame to come to Ws and oure realme yerthrou; for sen the Kirk wes first institute in our realme, the stait yair of hes nevir failzeit, bot *hes remanyt evir obedient to oure progenitouris, and in our tyme mair thankefull to Ws, nor evir yai wer of before*." This letter, which, in several points of view, is worth reading, will be found in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. pp. 188–190, 4to, 1836.

[49] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 212, 213, and *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, 4to, 1788, p. 468: "fifteen ordinary judges, seven churchmen, seven laymen, and a president, whom it behoved to be a churchman." The statute, as printed in the folio edition of 1814 (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 335), says, "xiiij psouñs half spūale half temporall wt ane president." Mr. Lawson (*Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 81) supposes that it was the Archbishop of St. Andrews who advised the erection of this tribunal. [The costs, however, were met by a tax laid on ecclesiastical benefices, which offended the clergy. (*Hume Brown, History of Scotland*, 1899, i. 380.) The number of them among the judges was not abnormal for the time.—Ed.]

[50] Keith, who evidently does not admire this part of the history of his country, says, under the year 1546, "Several of our nobility found it their temporal interest, as much as their spiritual, to sway with the new opinions as to religious matters." *Keith's Affairs of Church and State*, vol. i. pp. 112, 113. Later, and with still more bluntness: "The noblemen wanted to finger the patrimony of the kirkmen." vol. iii. p. 11. [No proof is here given that "an immense majority of the nobles adopted extreme Protestant opinions," and the statement must be much modified. Extreme Protestant opinions were at this time very rare in England. We know from the correspondence of Sir Ralph Sadler that the nobles were in general hostile to new religious opinions, however ready they might be to plunder the Church. Tytler, ed. 1869, iii. 20. Mr. Hume Brown even holds that after the overthrow of the Church "the great majority of the country—nobles, barons, and commons—were still on the side of the old religion" (*Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 97.) See also below, *note* 73.—Ed.]

[51] "In the month of August (1534), the bishops having gotten fitt opportunitie, renewed their battell aganest Jesus Christ. David Stratilon, a gentelman of the House of Lawrestoune, and Mr. Norman Gowrlay, was brought to judgement in the Abby of Halyrudhouse. The king himself, all cloathed with reid, being present, grait pains war taken upon David Stratoun to move him to recant and burn his bill; bot he, ever standing to his defence, was in end adjudged to the fire. He asked grace at the king. The

he was offered, and he willingly accepted, the title of Defender of the Faith, which was transferred to him from Henry VIII. ; that king being supposed to have forfeited it by his impiety.[52] At all events, James well deserved it. He was a staunch supporter of the Church, and his privy-council was chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, as he deemed it dangerous to admit laymen to too large a share in the government.[53] And in 1538 he still further signalized his policy by taking for his second wife Mary of Guise ; thus establishing an intimate relation with the most powerful Catholic family in Europe, whose ambition, too, was equal to their power, and who made it their avowed object to uphold the Catholic faith, and to protect it from those rude and unmannerly invasions which were now directed against it in most parts of Europe.[54]

This was hailed by the Church as a guarantee for the intentions of the king. And so indeed it proved to be. David Beaton, who negotiated the marriage, became the chief adviser of James during the rest of his reign. He was made Archbishop of Saint Andrews in 1539,[55] and, by his influence, a persecution hotter than any yet known was directed against the Protestants. Many of them escaped into England,[56] where they swelled the number of the exiles, who were waiting till the time was ripe to take a deadly revenge. They, and their adherents at home, coalesced with the disaffected nobles, particularly with the Douglases,[57] who were by far the most powerful of the Scotch aristocracy, and who were connected with most of the great families, either by old associations or by the still closer bond of the interest which they all had in reducing the power of the Church.[58]

bishops answred proudlie, that ' the king's hands war bound, and that he had no grace to give to such as were by law condemned.' So was he, with Mr. Norman, after dinner, upon the 27th day of Agust, led to a place beside the Rude of Greenside, between Leth and Edinbrug, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be striken with terrour and feare." *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. part i. p. 210*. Also *Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 106, 107.

[52] " It appears, by a letter in the State-paper Office, that Henry remonstrated against this title being given to James." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 223. See also p. 258.

[53] In 1535, " his privy council were mostly ecclesiastics." *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 222. And Sir Ralph Sadler, during his embassy to Scotland in 1539-40, writes : " So that the king, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here ; they be never out of the king's ear. And if they smell anything that in the least point may touch them, or that the king seem to be content with any such thing, straight they inculk to him, how catholic a prince his father was, and feed him both with fair words and many, in such wise as by those policies they lead him (having also the whole governance of his affairs) as they will." *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, Edinb., 1809, 4to, vol. i. p. 47. [In 1536, however, Angus writes to his brother that the clergy are much offended by the king's resistance to their exactions in the way of death-duties and tithes. " James had alienated his nobles by repressing their disorders. Now he is alienating his clergy by repressing their greed " (*Lang, History of Scotland*, 1900, i. 433).—Ed.]

[54] *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 128. *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 22. The Reverend Mr. Kirkton pronounces that the new queen was " ane egge of the bloody nest of Guise." *Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland*, edited by Sharpe, Edinburgh, 1817, 4to, p. 7.

[55] " At his return home, he was made coadjutor, and declared future successor to his uncle in the primacy of St. Andrews, in which see he came to be fully invested upon the death of his uncle the next year, 1539." *Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, pp. 23, 24.

[56] *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 20. *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 139. *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 178. *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. p. 100.

[57] Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 241) says that the cruelties of 1539 forced " many of the persecuted families to embrace the interests of the Douglases."

[58] It is asserted of the Douglases that early in the sixteenth century their " alliances

At this juncture the eyes of men were turned towards the Douglases, whom Henry VIII. harboured at his court, and who were now maturing their plans.[59] Though they did not yet dare to return to Scotland, their spies and agents reported to them all that was done, and preserved their connections at home. Feudal covenants, bonds of manrent, and other arrangements, which, even if illegal, it would have been held disgraceful to renounce, were in full force; and enabled the Douglases to rely with confidence on many of the most powerful nobles, who were, moreover, disgusted at the predominance of the clergy, and who welcomed the prospect of any change which was likely to lessen the authority of the Church.[60]

and power were equal to one-half of the nobility of Scotland." *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. i. p. 8. See also, on their connexions, *Hume's House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. xix. 252, 298, vol. ii. p. 293.

[59] Henry VIII., "in the year 1532, sought it directly, among the conditions of peace, that the Douglas, according to his promise, should be restored. For King Henry's own part, he entertained them with all kind of beneficence and honour, and made both the Earl and Sir George of his Privy Council." *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. pp. 105, 106. James was very jealous of any communication taking place between the Douglases and his other subjects; but it was impossible for him to prevent it. See a letter which he wrote to Sir Thomas Erskine (in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. p. 193, Aberdeen, 1842, 4to) beginning, "I commend me rycht hartly to yow, and weit ye that it is murmuryt hyr that ye sould a spolkyn with Gorge and Archebald Dougles in Ingland, quhylk wase again my command and your promys quhan we departyt." See also the cases of Lady Trakware, John Mathesone, John Hume, and others, in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. part i. pp. 161*, 177*, 202*, 243*, 247*.

[60] "The Douglases were still maintained with high favour and generous allowances in England; their power, although nominally extinct, was still far from being destroyed; their spies penetrated into every quarter, followed the king to France, and gave information of his most private motions; their feudal covenants and bands of manrent still existed, and bound many of the most potent nobility to their interest; whilst the vigour of the king's government, and his preference of the clergy to the temporal lords, disgusted these proud chiefs, and disposed them to hope for a recovery of their influence from any change which might take place." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 229, 230. These bonds of manrent, noticed by Tytler, were among the most effective means by which the Scotch nobles secured their power. Without them, it would have been difficult for the aristocracy to have resisted the united force of the Crown and the Church. On this account, they deserve especial attention. Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 824) could find no bond of manrent earlier than 1354; but in Lord Somerville's *Memorie of the Somervilles*, edit. Edinburgh, 1815, vol. i. p. 74, one is mentioned in 1281. This is the earliest instance I have met with; and they did not become very common till the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Compare *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 19. *Somerville's Memorie of the Somervilles*. vol. i. p. 234. *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 83. *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, pp. 142, 143. *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 186. *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, p. 126. *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 55. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. pp. cvi. 93, 251, vol. iv. pp. xlviii. 179. As these covenants were extremely useful in maintaining the balance of power, and preventing the Scotch monarchy from becoming despotic, acts of parliament were of course passed against them. See one in 1457, and another in 1555, respecting "lige" and "bandis of manrent and mantenance," in *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, folio, 1814, vol. ii. pp. 50, 495. Such enactments being opposed to the spirit of the age, and adverse to the exigencies of society, produced no effect upon the general practice, though they caused the punishment of several individuals. Manrent was still frequent until about 1620 or 1630, when the great social revolution was completed by which the power of the aristocracy was subordinated to that of the Church. Then the change of affairs effected, without difficulty, and indeed spontaneously, what the legislature had vainly attempted to achieve. The nobles, gradually sinking into insignificance, lost their spirit, and ceased to resort to those contrivances by which they had long upheld their order. Bonds of manrent became every year less common, and it is doubtful if there is any instance of them after 1661. See *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 32, 33.

With such a combination of parties in a country where, there being no middle class,* the people counted for nothing, but followed wherever they were led, it is evident that the success or failure of the Reformation in Scotland was simply a question of the success or failure of the nobles. They were bent on revenge. The only doubt was as to their being strong enough to gratify it. Against them they had the Crown and the Church. On their side they had the feudal traditions, the spirit of clanship, the devoted obedience of their innumerable retainers, and, what was equally important, that love of names and of family associations for which Scotland is still remarkable, but which in the sixteenth century possessed an influence difficult to exaggerate.

The moment for action was now at hand. In 1540 the government, completely under the control of the clergy, caused fresh laws to be enacted against the Protestants, whose interests were by this time identical with those of the nobles. By these statutes, no one even suspected of heresy could for the future hold any office; and all Catholics were forbidden to harbour or to show favour to persons who professed the new opinions.[61] The clergy, now flushed with conquest, and greedy for the destruction of their ancient rivals, proceeded to still further extremities. So unrelenting was their malice that in that same year they presented to James a list containing the names of upwards of three hundred members of the Scotch aristocracy, whom they formally accused as heretics who ought to be put to death, and whose estates they recommended the king to confiscate.[62]

These hot and vindictive men little knew of the storm which they were evoking, and which was about to burst on their heads, and cover them and their Church with confusion. Not that we have reason to believe that a wiser conduct would have ultimately saved the Scotch hierarchy. On the contrary, the probability is that their fate was sealed; for the general causes which governed the entire movement had been so long at work that at this period it would have,

It is, however, so dangerous to assert a negative that I do not wish to rely on this date and some few cases may exist later: but if so, they are very few, and it is certain that, speaking generally, the middle of the seventeenth century is the epoch of their extinction.

[61] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 370, 371. "That na mañ quhatsueuir stait or conditiouñ he be luge ressauve cherish nor favor ony heretike." . . . "And alswa that na persouñ that hes bene suspectit of heresie howbeit thai be ressauit to pẽnance and grace sall in this realme exers haif nor brouk ony honest estait degre office nor judicator spũall nor tẽporale in burgh nor wtout nor na salbe admittit to be of our counsale."

[62] Lindsay of Pitscottie (*Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 383) says that they "devysed to put ane discord and variance betwixt the lordis and gentlmen with thair prince; for they delaited, and gave vp to the king in writt, to the number of thrittie scoir of earles, lordis, and barrones, gentlmen and craftismen, that is, as thei alledgit, wer all heretickis, and leived not after the Pope's lawis, and ordinance of the hollie kirk; quhilk his grace sould esteme as ane capitall cryme, to ony man that did the same" . . . "all thair landis, rentes, guidis, and geir apperteanis propperlie to your grace, for thair contempt of our hollie father the Pope, and his lawis, and high contempt of your grace's authoritie." This document was found among the king's papers after his death, when it appeared that of the six hundred names on the list, more than three hundred belonged to the principal nobility: "Eum timorem auxerunt codicilli post regis intritum reperti, e quibus supra trecentorum è prima nobilitate nomina continebantur." *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xv. p. 424. Compare *Sadler's State Papers*, 1809, vol. i. p. 94; and *Watson's Historicall Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, 1657, p. 22. According to Watson, it "was called the bloudy scroll."

[* "No middle class" is an over-statement. The total population being small, the burghs were small, but they were "in that dark age the nurseries of industry and freedom" (Tytler, ed. 1869, ii. 357). And where the nobles were in large measure ready to sell the national independence, the traders were not. *Id.* iii. 19.—ED.]

been hardly possible to have baffled them. But even if we admit as certain that the Scotch clergy were doomed, it is also certain that their violence made their fall more grievous, by exasperating the passions of their adversaries. The train indeed was laid ; their enemies had supplied the materials, and all was ready to explode ; but it was themselves who at last applied the match, and sprung the mine to their own destruction.

In 1542 the nobles, seeing that the Church and the Crown were bent on their ruin, took the most decisive step on which they had yet ventured, and peremptorily refused to obey James in making war upon the English. They knew that the war in which they were desired to participate had been fomented by the clergy, with the twofold object of stopping all communication with the exiles, and of checking the introduction of heretical opinions.[63] Both these intentions they resolved to frustrate, and, being assembled on the field, they declared with one voice that they would not invade England. Threats and persuasions were equally useless. James, stung with vexation, returned home, and ordered the army to be disbanded. Scarcely had he retired when the clergy attempted to rally the troops, and to induce them to act against the enemy. A few of the peers, ashamed at what seemed a cowardly desertion of the king, appeared willing to march. The rest however refused ; and while they were in this state of doubt and confusion, the English, taking them unawares, suddenly fell upon their disorderly ranks, utterly routed them, and made a large number prisoners. In this disgraceful action ten thousand Scotch troops fled before three hundred English cavalry.[64] The news being brought to James, while he was still smarting from the disobedience of the nobles, was too much for his proud and sensitive mind. He reeled under the double shock ; a slow fever wasted his strength ; he sunk into a long stupor ; and, refusing all comfort, he died in December, 1542, leaving the Crown to his infant daughter, Mary, during whose reign the great contest between the aristocracy and the Church was to be finally decided.[65]

[63] In the autumn of 1542 James "was encouraged by the clergy to engage in a war against King Henry, who both assured him of victory, since he fought against an heretical prince, and advanced an annuity of 50,000 crowns for prosecuting the war." *Crawfurd's History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 1782, 4to, part i. p. 48. Compare in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 154, a letter written in 1539 by Norfolk to Cromwell : "By diverse other waies I am advertised that the clergie of Scotlande be in such feare that their king shold do theire, as the kinges highnes hath done in this realme, that they do their best to bring their master to the warr ; and by many waies I am advertised that a great parte of the temporaltie there wold their king shold followe our insample, wich I pray God yeve hym grace to come unto." Even after the battle of Solway, the policy of the clergy was notoriously the same. "And undoubtedlie the kyrkemen labor, by all the meanes they can, to empeche the unitie and establishment of thiese two realmes ; uppon what groundes ye can easelie conjecture." Letter from Sadler to Parr, dated Edinburgh, 27th March 1543, in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 271, 4to, 1836. [The nobles argued primarily that the war was in the interest of France and not of Scotland. It seems to have been on their urging the risk of his being killed and leaving no heir (and thus leaving the country to the troubles which had followed on the death of his father) that he stayed behind. Hume Brown i, 393.—ED.]

[64] "Ten thousand Scottish troops fled at the sight of three hundred English cavalry, with scarce a momentary resistance." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 264. [This, the traditional narrative, deriving from Knox, is now discredited. Despatches found in the Hamilton Papers show that the English numbered 3,000, not 300 ; that the disputes of the nobles threw the Scots army into confusion, though the leaders sought to steady it; and that the rout took place at the ford of the Esk, which was crossed in confusion. Compare Hume Brown, i. 393–4 ; Lang, i. 453–5.—ED.]

[65] The best account of these events will be found in *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 260–267. I have also consulted *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 372, 373. *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. pp. 207–209. *Lesley's History*, pp. 163–166. *Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles*, vol. ii. pp. 399–406. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 145–152. *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xiv, pp. 420 421.

The influence of the nobles was increased by the death of James V., and yet more by the bad repute into which the clergy fell for having instigated a war of which the result was so disgraceful.[66] Their party was still further strengthened by the exiles, who, as soon as they heard the glad tidings, prepared to leave England.[67] Early in 1543 Angus and Douglas returned to Scotland,[68] and were soon followed by other nobles, most of whom professed to be Protestants, though, as the result clearly proved, their Protestantism was inspired by a love of plunder and of revenge. The late king had in his will appointed Cardinal Beaton to be guardian of the queen, and governor of the realm.[69] Beaton, though an unprincipled man,*was very able, and was respected as the head of the national church; he being Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and primate of Scotland. The nobles, however, at once arrested him,[70] deprived him of his regency, and put in his place the Earl of Arran, who at this time affected to be a zealous Protestant, though on a fitting occasion he afterwards changed his opinions.[71] Among the sup-

[66] "This defeat being so very dishonourable, especially to the clergy, who stirred up the king to that attempt, and promised him great success from it; and there being such a visible evidence of the anger of God, fighting by his providence against them, all men were struck with fear and astonishment; the bishops were ashamed to show their faces for a time." *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, reprinted, Edinburgh, 1840, p. 30.

[67] We may readily believe the assertion of an old chronicler, that "the nobilitie did not greatlie take his death grievouslie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small few (for avoiding his displeasure) to flie into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enemie than to his anger." *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 210.

[68] *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 111.

[69] It has been often said that this will was forged; but for such an assertion I cannot find the slightest evidence, except the declaration of Arran (*Sadler's State Papers*, Edinburgh, 1809, vol. i. p. 138), and the testimony, if testimony it can be called, of Scotch historians, who do not profess to have examined the handwriting, and who, being themselves Protestants, seem to suppose that the fact of a man being a cardinal qualifies him for every crime. There is no doubt that Beaton was thoroughly unprincipled, and therefore was capable of the forgery. Still we have no proof, and the will is such as we might have expected from the king. In regard to Arran, his affirmation is not worth the paper it is written on: for he hated Beaton; he was himself very unscrupulous; and he succeeded to the post which Beaton had to vacate on the ground that the will was forged. If such circumstances do not disqualify a witness, some of the best-established principles of evidence are false. The reader who cares to look further into this subject may compare, in favour of the will being forged, *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xv. p. 422, Abredoniæ, 1762; *Knox's History of the Reformation*, edit. Laing, Edinburgh, 1846, vol. i. pp. 91, 92; *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, second edition, 4to, 1860, p. 102; and in favour of its being genuine, *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1843, vol. i. pp. 304, 305. Some other writers on the subject leave it doubtful: *Tytler's History of Scotland*, 1845, vol. iv. p. 274; *Lawson's Roman Church in Scotland*, 1836, p. 99; and a note in *Keith's Church and State in Scotland*, 1844, vol. i. p. 63. [Mr. Hume Brown, ii. 4, *note*, citing article by D. Hay Fleming, in *Contemp. Review*, Sept. 1898, decides that "there can be little doubt that Beaton did forge the will." Dr. Fleming's case is certainly very strong.—Ed.]

[70] On the 26th of January, 1542–3, "the said cardinall was put in pressoune in Dalkeith." *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 26. See also, respecting his imprisonment, a letter written, on the 16th of March, by Angus and Douglas, in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 263. He was then in "firmance."

[71] His appointment was confirmed by parliament on the 12th of March. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 411: "tuto^{r} lau^{t}full to the quenis grace and gounour of this realme." He excluded the clergy from power. On 20th March, in the same year, Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Henry VIII., that Sir George Douglas "brought me

[* It is necessary to remember that in this respect Beaton had many rivals among the nobles.—Ed.]

porters of the new creed, the most powerful were the Earl of Angus and the Douglases. They were now freed from a proscription of fifteen years; their attainder was reversed, and their estates and honours were restored to them.[72] It was evident that not only the executive authority, but also the legislative, had passed from the Church to the aristocracy. And they who had the power were not sparing in the use of it. Lord Maxwell, one of the most active of their party, had, like most of them in their zeal against the hierarchy, embraced the principles of the Reformation.[73] In the spring of 1543 he obtained the sanction of the Earl of Arran, the governor of Scotland, for a proposal which he made to the Lords of the Articles, whose business it was to digest the measures to be brought before Parliament. The proposal was that the people should be allowed to read the Bible in a Scotch or English translation. The clergy arrayed all their force against what they rightly deemed a step full of danger to themselves, as conceding a fundamental principle of Protestantism. But all was in vain. The tide had set in and was not to be turned. The proposition was adopted by the Lords of the Articles. On their authority it was introduced into Parliament. It was passed. It received the assent of the government; and amid the lamentations of the Church it was proclaimed, with every formality, at the market-cross of Edinburgh.[74]

Scarcely had the nobles thus attained the upper hand, when they began to quarrel among themselves. They were resolved to plunder the Church; but they could not agree as to how the spoil should be shared. Neither could they determine as to the best mode of proceeding; some being in favour of an open and immediate schism, while others wished to advance cautiously, and to temporize with their opponents, that they might weaken the hierarchy by degrees. The more active and zealous section of the nobles were known as the English party,[75] owing to the intimate connexion with Henry VIII., from whom many of them received supplies of money. But in 1544 war broke out between the two countries, and the clergy, headed by Archbishop Beaton, roused with such success the old feelings of national hatred against the English, that the nobles were compelled for a moment to bend before the storm, and to advocate an

into the council-chamber, where I found a great number of noblemen and others at a long board, and divers standing, but *not one bishop nor priest among them.* At the upper end of the board sat the governour." *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 78.

[72] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 415, 419, 424, 423*; and *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 285.

[73] "Had become a convert to its doctrines." *Tytler's Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 286. But he, as well as the other nobles, neither knew nor cared much about doctrines; and he was, moreover, very venal. In April, 1543, Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Henry VIII.; "And the lord Maxwell told me apart, 'That, indeed, he lacked silver, and had no way of relief but to your majesty;' which he prayed me to signify unto the same. I asked him what would relieve him? and he said, 300*l.*; 'for the which,' he said, 'as your majesty seemed, when he was with your grace, to have him in more trust and credit than the rest of your majesty's prisoners, so he trusted to do you as good service as any of them; and amongst them they will do you such service, as, if the war succeed, ye shall make an easy conquest of this realm; as *for his part he shall deliver into your hands, at the entry of your army, the keys of the same on the west marches, being all the strongholds there in his custody.*' I offered him presently to write to my lord of Suffolk for 100*l.* for him, if he would; but he said, 'he would stay till he heard again from your majesty in that behalf.'" *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 165.

[74] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 415, 425. *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 83. Knox, in his *History of the Reformation* (edit. Laing, vol. i. p. 100). archly says, "The cleargy hearto long repugned; butt in the end, convicted by reassonis, *and by multitud of votes in thare contrare*, thei also condiscended; and so, by Act of Parliament, it was maid free to all man and woman to reid the Scriptures in thair awin toung, or in the Engliss toung; and so war all Actes maid in the contrair abolished."

[75] Or, as Keith calls them, "English lords." *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 80.

alliance with France. Indeed, it seemed for a few months as if the Church and aristocracy had forgotten their old and inveterate hostility, and were about to unite their strength in one common cause.[76]

This however was but a passing delusion. The antagonism between the two classes was irreconcilable.[77] In the spring of 1545 the leading Protestant nobles formed a conspiracy to assassinate Archbishop Beaton,[78] whom they hated more than anyone else, partly because he was the head of the Church, and partly because he was the ablest and most unscrupulous of their opponents.

A year, however, elapsed before their purpose could be effected ; and it was not till May, 1546, that Lesley, a young baron, accompanied by the Laird of Grange and a few others, burst into Saint Andrews, and murdered the primate in his own castle.[79]

[76] In May, 1544, the English attacked Scotland, *Tytler's History*, vol. iv. p. 316 ; and in that same month, the "Anglo-Scottish party" consisted only of the Earls of Lennox and of Glencairn, since even "Angus, George Douglas, and their numerous and powerful adherents, joined the cardinal." p. 319. As to the part taken by the Scotch clergy, see, in *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 173, a letter to Henry VIII., written on the 1st of May, 1543: "And as to the kirk-men, I assure your majesty they seek the war by all the means they can, and do daily entertain the noblemen with money and rewards to sustain the wars, rather than there should be any agreement with your majesty ; thinking, verily, that if peace and unity succeed, that they shall be reformed, and lose their glory, which they had rather die, and put all this realm in hazard, than they would forego." See also p. 184, note.

[77] Buchanan records a very curious conversation between the Regent and Douglas, which, as I do not remember to have met with it elsewhere, I shall transcribe. The exact date of it is not mentioned but, from the context it evidently took place in 1544 or 1545. "Ibi cum Prorex suam de ploraret solitudinem, et se a nobilitate derelictum quereretur, Duglassius ostendit 'id ipsius culpa fieri, non nobilium, qui et fortunas omnes et vitam ad publicam salutem tuendam conferrent, quorum consilio contempto ad sacrificulorum nutum circumageretur, qui foris imbelles, domi seditiosi, omniumque periculorum expertes alieni laboris fructu ad suas voluptates abuterentur. Ex hoc fonte inter te et proceres facta est suspitio, quæ (quod neutri alteris fidatis) rebus gerendis maxime est impedimento.'" *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xv. p. 435. Buchanan was at this time about thirty-eight years old ; and that some such conversation as that which he narrates actually took place is, I think, highly probable, though the historian may have thrown in some touches of his own. At all events, he was too great a rhetorician to invent what his contemporaries would deem unlikely to happen ; so that, from either point of view, the passage is valuable as an evidence of the deep-rooted hostility which the nobles bore towards the Church.

[78] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 337. "The plot is entirely unknown either to our Scottish or English historians ; and now, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, has been discovered in the secret correspondence of the State-paper Office." The first suggestion of the murder was in April, 1544. See *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 377, and the end of the Preface to vol. iv. But Mr. Tytler and the editor of the *State Papers* appear to have overlooked a still earlier indication of the coming crime in *Sadler's Papers*. See, in that collection, vol. i. p. 77, a conversation, held in March, 1543, between Sir Ralph Sadler and the Earl of Arran ; Sadler being conducted by the Earl of Glencairn. On that occasion, the Earl of Arran used an expression concerning Beaton, the meaning of which Sir Ralph evidently understood. "'By God,' quoth he, 'he shall never come out of prison whilst I may have mine own will, *except it be to his farther mischief*.' I allowed the same well" (replied Sadler), "and said, 'It were pity, but he should receive such reward as his merits did require.'"

[79] *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 560. *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 42. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 221–223. Lindsay of Pitscottie (*Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 484) relates a circumstance respecting the murder which is too horrible to mention, and of which it is enough to say, that it consisted of an obscene outrage committed on the corpse of the victim. Though such facts cannot now be published, they are so characteristic of the age, that they ought not to be passed over in complete silence.

The horror with which the Church heard of this foul and barbarous deed[80] may be easily imagined. But the conspirators, nothing daunted, and relying on the support of a powerful party, justified their act, seized the castle of Saint Andrews, and prepared to defend it to the last. And in this resolution they were upheld by a most remarkable man, who now first appeared to public view, and who, being admirably suited to the age in which he lived, was destined to become the most conspicuous character of those troublous times.

That man was John Knox. To say that he was fearless and incorruptible, that he advocated with unflinching zeal what he believed to be the truth, and that he devoted himself with untiring energy to what he deemed the highest of all objects, is only to render common justice to the many noble attributes which he undoubtedly possessed. But on the other hand he was stern, unrelenting, and frequently brutal; he was not only callous to human suffering, but he could turn it into a jest, and employ on it the resources of his coarse though exuberant humour;[81] and he loved power so inordinately, that, unable to brook the slightest opposition, he trampled on all who crossed his path, or stood even for a moment in the way of his ulterior designs.

The influence of Knox in promoting the Reformation has indeed been grossly exaggerated by historians, who are too apt to ascribe vast results to individual exertions; overlooking those large and general causes, in the absence of which the individual exertion would be fruitless. Still he effected more than any single man;[82] although the really important period of his life, in regard to Scotland, was in and after 1559, when the triumph of Protestantism was already secure, and when he reaped the benefit of what had been effected during his long absence from his own country. His first effort was a complete failure, and more than any one of his actions has injured his reputation. This was the sanction which he gave to the cruel murder of Archbishop Beaton, in 1546. He repaired to the Castle of Saint Andrews; he shut himself up with the assassins;* he prepared to share their fate; and, in a work which he afterwards wrote, openly justified what they had done.[83] For this nothing can excuse him;

[80] Respecting which, two Scotch Protestant historians have expressed themselves in the following terms: "God admonished men, by this judgement, that he will in end be avenged upon tyranns for their crueltie, howsoever they strenthen themselves." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 224. And whoever considers all the circumstances "must acknowledge it was a stupendous act of the judgment of the Lord, and that the whole was overruled and guided by Divine Providence." *Stevenson's History of the Church and State of Scotland*, p. 38.

[81] Even the editor of *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, Edinburgh, 1841, p. xxxv., notices "the ill-timed merriment he displays in relating the foul deed" of Beaton's murder.

[82] Shortly before his death he said, with honest and justifiable pride, "What I have been to my countrie, albeit this vnthankfull aige will not knowe, yet the aiges to come wil be compelled to bear witnes to the treuth." *Bannatyne's Journal*, Edinburgh, 1806, p. 119. Bannatyne was Knox's secretary. It is to be regretted that no good life of Knox should have yet been published. That by M'Crie is an undistinguishing and injudicious panegyric, which, by provoking a reaction of opinion, has damaged the reputation of the great reformer. On the other hand, the sect of Episcopalians in Scotland are utterly blind to the real grandeur of the man, and unable to discern his intense love of truth, and the noble fearlessness of his nature.

[83] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 374, 375. *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, pp. 27, 28. *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 154. *Presbytery Displayed*, 1663, 4to, p. 28. *Shield's Hind Let Loose*, 1687, pp. 14, 39, 638. In his *History of the Reformation*, edit. Laing, vol. i. pp. 177, 180, he calls it a "godly fact," and says, "These ar the workis of our God;" which, in plain language, is terming the Deity an assassin. But,

[* This account is unfair to Knox. Mr. Hume Brown more justly writes that "After being hunted from place to place as a heretic and a friend of England, John Knox was driven to seek refuge with the murderers of the Cardinal." *History of Scotland*, ii. (1902) 27.—Ed.]

and it is with a certain sense of satisfied justice that we learn that in 1547, the castle being taken by the French, Knox was treated with great severity, and was made to work at the galleys, from which he was not liberated till 1549.[84]

During the next five years Knox remained in England, which he quitted in 1554, and arrived at Dieppe.[85] He then travelled abroad; and did not revisit Scotland till the autumn of 1555, when he was eagerly welcomed by the principal nobles and their adherents.[86] From some cause, however, which has not been sufficiently explained, but probably from an unwillingness to play a subordinate part among those proud chiefs, he in July, 1556, again left Scotland, and repaired to Geneva, where he had been invited to take charge of a congregation.[87] He stayed abroad till 1559, by which time the real struggle was almost over; so completely had the nobles succeeded in sapping the foundations of the Church.

For the course of events, having been long prepared, was now rapid indeed. In 1554 the queen dowager had succeeded Arran as regent.[88] She was that Mary of Guise whose marriage with James V. we have noticed as one of the indications of the policy then prevailing. If left alone, she would probably have done little harm;[89] but her powerful and intolerant family exhorted her to suppress the heretics, and, as a natural part of the same scheme, to put down the nobles. By the advice of her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, she in 1555 proposed to establish a standing army, to supply the place of the troops, which consisted of the feudal barons and their retainers. Such a force, being paid by the Crown, would have been entirely under its control; but the nobles saw the ulterior design, and compelled Mary to abandon it, on the ground that they and their vassals were able to defend Scotland without further aid.[90] Her next attempt was to consolidate the interests of the Catholic

bad as this is, I agree with M'Crie that there is no trustworthy evidence for deeming him privy to the murder. Compare, however, *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 42, with *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 364. [Knox testified of the assassins that "their corrupt life could not escape punishment of God" (Hume Brown, as cited, ii. 27). —Ed.]

[84] *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, pp. 38, 43, 350. *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, 1848, p. 19.

[85] *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, pp. 44, 71.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 99. As to the nobles, who received him and heard him preach, see p. 102.

[87] "Influenced by motives which have never been fully comprehended, he departed to Geneva, where for a time he became pastor of a Protestant congregation." *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, 1834, vol. i. p. 193. M'Crie, who sees no difficulty, simply says, "In the month of July, 1556, he left Scotland, and, having arrived at Dieppe, he proceeded with his family to Geneva." *Life of Knox*, p. 107.

[88] Knox, in his savoury diction, likens her appointment to putting a saddle on the back of a cow. "She maid Regent in the year of God 1554; and a croune putt upone hir head, als seimlye a sight (yf men had eis), as to putt a sadill upoun the back of ane unrewly kow." I copy this passage from Mr. Laing's excellent edition of *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 242; but in *Watson's Historicall Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, 1657, p. 73, there is a slightly different version. "'As seemly a sight,' saith John Knox, in the new gospel language, 'as to put the saddle upon the back of an unruly *sow*.'"

[89] The Duke of Argyll, in his *Presbytery Examined*, p. 9, calls her "ambitious and intriguing." Not only, however, is she praised by Lesley (*History*, pp. 289, 290), which might have been expected, but even Buchanan does justice to her, in a passage unusually gracious for so Protestant and democratic a writer. "Mors ejus varie mentes hominum affecit. Nam et apud quosdam eorum, quibuscum armis contendit, non mediocre sui desiderium reliquit. Erat enim singulari ingenio prædita, et animo ad æquitatem admodum propenso." *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvi. p. 487.

[90] *History of Scotland*, book ii. p. 91, in Robertson's Works, 1831. *Tytler's History*, vol. v. pp. 22, 23. It appears from Lesley (*History*, pp. 254, 255), that some of the nobles were in favour of this scheme, hoping thereby to gain favour. "Albeit sum

party, which she effected in 1558, by marrying her daughter to the dauphin. This increased the influence of the Guises,[91] whose niece, already queen of Scotland, would now, in the ordinary course of affairs, become queen of France. They urged their sister to extreme measures, and promised to assist her with French troops. On the other hand the nobles remained firm, and prepared for the struggle. In December, 1557, several of them had drawn up a covenant, agreeing to stand by each other, and to resist the tyranny with which they were threatened.[92] They now took the name of Lords of the Congregation, and sent forth their agents to secure the subscriptions of those who wished for a reformation of the Church.[93] They moreover wrote to Knox, whose style of preaching, being very popular, would, they thought, be useful in stirring up the people to rebellion.[94] He was then in Geneva, and did not arrive in Scotland till May, 1559,[95] by which time the result of the impending contest was hardly doubtful, so successful had the nobles been in strengthening their party, and so much reason had they to expect the support of Elizabeth.

Nine days after Knox entered Scotland, the first blow was struck. On the 11th of May, 1559, he preached in Perth. After the sermon, a tumult arose, and the people plundered the churches, and pulled down the monasteries.[96] The queen-regent, hastily assembling troops, marched towards the town. But the nobles were on the alert. The Earl of Glencairn joined the Congregation with two thousand five hundred men; and a treaty was concluded, by which both sides agreed to disarm, on condition that no one should be punished for what had already happened.[97] Such, however, was the state of the public mind

of the lordis of the nobilitie for pleasour of the quene seamed to aggre thairto for the tyme, yit the barronis and gentillmen was nathing content thairwith" . . . "affirming that thair foirfatheris and predicessouris had defendit the samyn" (*i.e.* the realm) "mony hundreth yeris, vailyeantlie with thair awin handis."

[91] "It completed the almost despotic power of the house of Guise." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. 27.

[92] This covenant, which marks an important epoch in the history of Scotland, is dated 3rd of December, 1557. It is printed in *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 47; in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 326, 327; and in *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 273, 274.

[93] In 1558 "the lords of the congregation had sent agents through the kingdom to solicit the subscriptions of those who were friendly to a reformation." *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1848, vol. i p. 58.

[94] Keith (*Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 82) calls him "a trumpeter of rebellion," which he undoubtedly was, and very much to his credit too, though the courtly bishop imputes it to him as a fault. The Scotch, if it had not been for their rebellious spirit, would long since have lost their liberties.

[95] "He sailed from Dieppe on the 22nd of April, 1559, and landed safely at Leith in the beginning of May." *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 139. Knox himself says, "the secound of Maij." *History of the Reformation*, edit. Laing, vol. i. p. 318. "He was called home by the noblemen that enterprised the Reformation." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, edit. Russell, vol. ii. p. 180.

[96] *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, p. 310. *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 321–323. *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. i. p. 329; and a spirited narrative in *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvi. pp. 471, 472. Some interesting circumstances are also preserved in *Lesley's History*, pp. 271, 272; but though Lesley was a contemporary, he erroneously places the riot in 1558. He, moreover, ascribes to Knox language more inflammatory than that which he really used. [According to Knox, as cited, the monasteries too were only plundered, not pulled down. Lesley seems to exaggerate.—ED.]

[97] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 59, 62, 63. Of the Earl of Glencairn, Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 485) says, that he was a "religious ruffian, who enjoyed pensions from Henry VIII. for injuring the country of his birth, and benefits." This, besides being ungrammatical, is foolish. Glencairn, like the other aristocratic leaders of the Reformation, was no doubt influenced by sordid motives: but so far from injuring

that peace was impossible.* In a few days war again broke out ; and this time the result was more decisive. The Lords of the Congregation mustered in great force. Perth, Stirling, and Linlithgow fell into their hands. The queen-regent retreated before them. She evacuated Edinburgh ; and on the 29th of June the Protestants entered the capital in triumph.[98]

All this was done in seven weeks from the breaking out of the first riot. Both parties were now willing to negotiate, with the view of gaining time ; the queen-regent expecting aid from France, the Lords expecting it from England.[99] But the proceedings of Elizabeth being tardy, the Protestants, after waiting for some months, determined to strike a decisive blow before the reinforcements arrived. In October, the principal peers, headed by the Duke of Chastelherault, the Earl of Arran, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earl of Glencairn, assembled at Edinburgh. A great meeting was held, of which Lord Ruthven was appointed president, and in which the queen-regent was solemnly suspended from the government, on the ground that she was opposed to "the glory of God, to the liberty of the realm, and to the welfare of the nobles."[100]

In the winter, an English fleet sailed into the Frith, and anchored near Edinburgh.[101] In January, 1560, the Duke of Norfolk arrived at Berwick, and

his country, he rendered it great service. [There is nothing ungrammatical in Chalmers' phrase, though the idiom is obsolete, whereas Buckle's own grammar is sometimes faulty. Glencairn was worse than mercenary : he was guilty of gross treachery to both sides (Tytler, ed. 1869, ii. 20) ; and it is not unreasonable to say that he injured his country when by his treason he helped to cause the Solway rout after getting a promise of a pension from Henry VIII. (*Id.* pp. 24, 27), and again took the English side when Scotland was being ravaged by the Protector Somerset. *Id.* p. 64. In the long series of convulsions following on the death of James V., Scotland suffered more miseries than she had known for two centuries. Cp. Tytler, ii. 64, 68, 69, 339, 343–4.—Ed.]

[98] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 64–73.

[99] It is stated of the queen-regent that in July, 1559, "shee had sent alreadie to France for more men of warr." See the curious pamphlet entitled "A Historie of the Estate of Scotland, from July 1558 to April 1560," in *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, p. 63, Edinburgh, 1844. All sorts of rumours were circulated ; and a letter dated 12th October, 1559, says, "Summe thinke the regent will departe secretlie. Summe that she will to Ynchkeith, for that three shippes are a preparing. Summe saye that she is verie sicke. Summé saye the devill cannot kill her." *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 499.

[100] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 104. This was on the 22nd of October, 1559. Compare *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 512. "This Mondaye, the 22 of October, was the douagier deprived from her authoritie by commen consent of all lords and barons here present." On this occasion, "Johne Willocke," the preacher, delivered himself of a discourse in favour of her deposition. Among other arguments he said "that in deposing of princes, and these that have beene in authoritie, God did not alwayes use His immediat power, but sometimes he used other meanes, which His wisdome thought good, and justice approved. As by Asa He removed Maacha, his owne mother, from honour and authoritie, which before she had used ; by Jehu He destroyed Joram, and the whole posteritie of Achab." *Therefore* "he" (the orator) "could see no reasoun why they, the borne counsellers, the nobilitie and barons of the realme, might not justlie deprive her from all regiment." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 540, 541 ; and *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 442, 443.

[101] The *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 55, 272, says that the fleet arrived on 24th of January, 1559–60 ; "aucht greit schippis of Ingland in the raid of Leith." And a letter (in *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 697), dated the 23rd of January, says, "the shippes arrived yesterdaye in the Frythe to the nomber of ix. or x., as yet, and the remanent followith." The date, therefore, of the 10th of January, given in a note to *Keith's Church and State in*

[* There was a better reason than this for the renewal of the fighting. The queen-regent certainly broke faith. See Tytler, ed. 1869, ii. 95.—Ed.]

concluded on the part of Elizabeth a treaty with the Lords of the Congregation, by virtue of which the English army entered Scotland on the 2nd of April.[102] Against this combination the government could effect nothing, and in July was glad to sign a peace, by which the French troops were to evacuate Scotland, and the whole power of administration was virtually consigned to the Protestant Lords.[103]

The complete success of this great revolution, and the speed with which it was effected, are of themselves a decisive proof of the energy of those general causes by which the whole movement was controlled.* For more than a hundred and fifty years there had been a deadly struggle between the nobles and the Church; and the issue of that struggle was the establishment of the Reformation, and the triumph of the aristocracy. They had at last carried their point. The hierarchy was overthrown, and replaced by new and untried men. All the old notions of apostolic succession, of the imposition of hands, and of the divine right of ordination, were suddenly discarded. The offices of the Church were performed by heretics, the majority of whom had not even been ordained.[104] Finally, and to crown the whole, in the summer of that same year, 1560, the Scotch parliament passed two laws which utterly subverted the ancient scheme. By one of these laws, every statute which had ever been enacted in favour of the Church was at once repealed.[105] By the other law it was declared that whoever either said

Scotland, vol. i. p. 255, is evidently erroneous. Important as the event was, its exact date is not mentioned either by Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 114, 115), or by Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 631).

[102] *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 632. *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 57. The Berwick treaty, in February, is printed in *Keith's Church and State in Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 258–262. So great was the influence of the nobles, that the English troops were well received by the people, in spite of the old and bitter animosity between the two nations. "Especially in Fyfe they were thankfully receaved, and well entreated, with such quietnes and gentle entertainement betwixt our nation and them, as no man would have thought that ever there had beine any variance." *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, from 1558 to 1560, in *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, p. 78.

[103] "Vpoun the vi. day of Julij, it wes concludit and finallie endit betuix the saids ambassatouris, tuitching all debaittis, contraversies and materis concernyng the asseiging of Leith, depairting of the Frenchemen thairfra, and randering of the same; and the said peax daitit this said day." *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 277, 278. See also p. 60; and *Keith's Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 295.

[104] "That Knox himself was in priest's orders is a fact which his biographer, the late Dr. M'Crie, has placed beyond dispute; and some of the other leaders were also priests; but the greater number of the preachers, and all those who subsequently became ministers, were totally without any orders whatever, not even such as the superintendents could have given them; for their own supposed call, the election of the people, and the *civil* ceremony of induction to the living, was all that was then 'judged necessary.'" *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, 1848, vol. i. pp. 145, 146. "A new-fashioned sort of ministry, unknown in the Christian Church for all preceding generations." *Keith's Church and State in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 204. Compare *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, pp. 34–36.

[105] "The thre estaitis of parliament hes anullit and declarit all sik actes maid in tymes bipast not aggreing w^t^ goddis word and now contrair to the confessioun of oure fayt according to the said word publist in this parliament, Tobe of nane avale force nor effect. And decernis the said actis and every ane of thame to haue na effect nor strenth in tyme to cum." *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 1814, folio, vol. ii. p. 535. This was on 24th August, 1560.

[* In the next paragraph it appears to be argued that the "general causes" were of another kind. The efficient causes of the overthrow of the Church were the economic interest and the military strength of the nobility as against a weakened crown held by an absent minor.—ED.]

mass, or was present while it was said, should for the first offence lose his goods ; for the second offence be exiled, and for the third offence be put to death.[106]

Thus it was that an institution which had borne the brunt of more than a thousand years was shivered and fell to pieces. And from its fall great things were augured. It was believed that the people would be enlightened, that their eyes were opening to their former follies, and that the reign of superstition was about to end.* But what was forgotten then, and what is too often forgotten now, is that in these affairs there is an order and a natural sequence which can never be reversed. This is that every institution, as it actually exists, no matter what its name or pretences may be, is the effect of public opinion far more than the cause ; and that it will avail nothing to attack the institution unless you can first change the opinion. In Scotland, the Church was grossly superstitious ; but it did not therefore follow that to overthrow the establishment would lessen the evil. They who think that superstition can be weakened in this way do not know the vitality of that dark and ill-omened principle. Against it there is only one weapon, and that weapon is knowledge. When men are ignorant, they must be superstitious ; and wherever superstition exists it is sure to organize itself into some kind of system, which it makes its home. If you drive it from that home, it will find another. The spirit transmigrates ; it assumes a new form ; but still it lives. How idle then is that warfare which reformers are too apt to wage, in which they slay the carcass, and spare the life ! † The husk, forsooth, they seek out and destroy ; but within that husk is a seed of deadly poison, whose vitality they are unable to impair, and which, shifted from its place, bears fruit in another direction, and shoots up with a fresh and often a more fatal exuberance.

The truth is that every institution, whether political or religious, represents, in its actual working, the form and pressure of the age. It may be very old ; it may bear a venerated name ; it may aim at the highest objects ; but whoever carefully studies its history will find that, in practice, it is successively modified by successive generations, and that, instead of controlling society, it is controlled by it. When the Protestant Reformation was effected, the Scotch were excessively ignorant, and therefore, in spite of the Reformation, they remained excessively superstitious. How long that ignorance continued, and what its results were, we shall presently see ; but before entering into that inquiry, it will be advisable to trace the immediate consequences of the Reformation itself, in connexion with the powerful class by whose authority it was established.

The nobles, having overthrown the Church, and stripped it of a large part of its wealth, thought that they were to reap the benefit of their own labour. They had slain the enemy, and they wished to divide the spoil.[107] But this did not suit the views of the Protestant preachers. In their opinion it was impious

[106] " That na maner of person nor personis say mess nor zit heir mess nor be pñt thairat vnder the pane of confiscatiouñ of all thair gud movable and vnmovable and pvneissing of thair bodeis at the discretioun of the magistrat within quhais jurisdictiouñ sik personis happỹnis to be apprehendit ffor the first falt : Banissing of the Realme for the secund falt, and justifying to the deid for the thrid falt." *Ibid.*, 24th August, 1560, vol. ii. p. 535.

[107] As Robertson says, in his measured and somewhat feeble style, " Among the Scottish nobility, some hated the persons, and others coveted the wealth, of the dignified clergy ; and by abolishing that order of men, the former indulged their resentment, and the latter hoped to gratify their avarice." *History of Scotland*, book iii. p. 116, in *Robert-*

[* This is a verbal confusion. The reign of what the Protestants *held* to be superstition *was* at an end. In the terms of the following exposition, the Protestants were themselves superstitious with a difference. The phrase as to " what was forgotten then " is beside the case. It would be applicable only if the Reformers had been devoid of superstition.—Ed.]

[† Here again the proposition is beside the case. The reformers were *part of* " the life " in question, and equally part of " the carcase."—Ed.]

to secularise ecclesiastical property, and turn it aside to profane purposes. They held that it was right, indeed, for the lords to plunder the Church; but they took for granted that the proceeds of the robbery were to enrich themselves. They were the godly men; and it was the business of the ruling classes to endow them with benefices, from which the old and idolatrous clergy were to be expelled.[108]

In accordance with these opinions, Knox and his colleagues, in August, 1560, presented a petition to Parliament, calling on the nobles to restore the Church property which they had seized, and to have it properly applied to the support of the new ministers.[109] To this request those powerful chiefs did not even vouchsafe a reply.[110] They were content with matters as they actually stood, and were therefore unwilling to disturb the existing arrangement. They had fought the fight; they had gained the victory, and shared the spoil. It was not to be supposed that they would peaceably relinquish what they had won with infinite difficulty. Nor was it likely that after being engaged in an arduous struggle with the Church for a hundred and fifty years, and having at length conquered their inveterate enemy, they should forego the fruits of their triumph for the sake of a few preachers, whom they had but recently called to their aid; low-born and obscure men, who should rather deem it an honour that they were permitted to associate with their superiors in a common enterprise, but were not to presume on that circumstance, nor to suppose that they, who only entered the field at the eleventh hour, were to share the booty on anything approaching to terms of equality.[111]

But the aristocracy of Scotland little knew the men with whom they had to deal. Still less did they understand the character of their own age. They did not see that in the state of society in which they lived superstition was inevitable,* and that therefore the spiritual classes, though depressed for a moment, were sure speedily to rise again. The nobles had overturned the Church; but the principles on which Church authority is based remained intact. All that was done was to change the name and the form. A new hierarchy

son's Works, edit. 1831. The contemporary narrative, in *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 269, sounds much more vigorous to my ear. "In all this tyme" (1559), "all kirkmennis goodis and geir wer spoulzeit and reft fra thame, in euerie place quhair the samyne culd be apprehendit; for euerie man for the maist pairt that culd get any thing pertenyng to any kirkmen, thocht the same as wele won geir."

108 "Knox never dreamed that the revenues of the Church were to be secularized; but that he and his colleagues were simply to remove the old incumbents, and then take possession of their benefices." *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 106. "The ecclesiastical revenues, which they never contemplated for a moment were to be seized by the Protestant nobility." *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 233.

109 Compare *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 89–92, with *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 179. Of this document, M'Crie says, "There can be no doubt that it received the sanction, if it was not the composition, of the reformer." . . . "It called upon them" (the nobles) "to restore the patrimony of the Church, of which they had unjustly possessed themselves."

110 "Making no answer to the last point." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 327. "Without taking any notice." *Keith's Affairs of Church and State*, vol. i. p. 321.

111 "They viewed the Protestant preachers as low-born individuals, not far raised above the condition of mechanics or tradesmen, without influence, authority, or importance." *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 251. "None were more unmercifull to the poore ministers than they that had the greatest share of the kirk rents." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 42.

[* The language here approaches absurdity. The nobles were no more concerned to cast out "superstition" in general than to pay the preachers. They held all the ordinary superstitions of their age.—ED.]

was quickly organized, which succeeded the old one in the affections of the people. Indeed it did more. For the Protestant clergy, neglected by the nobles, and unendowed by the state, had only a miserable pittance whereupon to live, and they necessarily threw themselves into the arms of the people, where alone they could find support and sympathy.[112] Hence a closer and more intimate union than would otherwise have been possible. Hence, too, as we shall presently see, the Presbyterian clergy, smarting under the injustice with which they were treated, displayed that hatred of the upper classes, and that peculiar detestation of monarchical government, which they showed whenever they dared. In their pulpits, in their presbyteries, and in their General Assemblies, they encouraged a democratic and insubordinate tone, which eventually produced the happiest results by keeping alive, at a critical moment, the spirit of liberty; but which for that very reason made the higher ranks rue the day when, by their ill-timed and selfish parsimony, they roused the wrath of so powerful and implacable a class.

The withdrawal of the French troops, in 1560, had left the nobles in possession of the government;[113] and it was for them to decide to what extent the Reformed clergy should be endowed. The first petition, presented by Knox and his brethren, was passed over in contemptuous silence. But the ministers were not so easily put aside. Their next step was to present to the Privy Council what is known as the First Book of Discipline, in which they again urged their request.[114] To the tenets contained in this book the council had no objection; but they refused to ratify it, because by doing so they would have sanctioned the principle that the new church had a right to the revenues of the old one.[115] A certain share, indeed, they were willing to concede. What the share should be was a matter of serious dispute, and caused the greatest ill-will between the two parties. At length the nobles broke silence and in December, 1561, they declared that the Reformed clergy should only receive one-sixth of the property of the Church; the remaining five-sixths being divided between the government and the Catholic priesthood.[116] The meaning of this was easily understood,

[112] In 1561, "notwithstanding the full establishment of the Reformation, the Protestant ministers were in a state of extreme poverty, and dependent upon the precarious assistance of their flocks." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 207. Compare a letter written by Knox in 1566, on "the extreame povertie wherein our ministers are brought." *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 542.

[113] "The limited authority which the Crown had hitherto possessed was almost entirely annihilated, and the aristocratical power, which always predominated in the Scottish government (?), became supreme and incontrollable." *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, 1834, vol. i. p. 223.

[114] See the *First Book of Discipline*, reprinted in *A Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, part i., second edition, Edinburgh, 1837. They summed up their requests in one comprehensive passage (p. 119) that "the haill rentis of the Kirk abusit in Papistrie sal be referrit againe to the Kirk." In another part (p. 106), they frankly admit that "we doubt not but some of our petitions shall appeare strange unto you at the first sight."

[115] "The form of policy recommended in the First Book of Discipline never obtained the proper sanction of the State, chiefly in consequence of the avarice of the nobility and gentry, who were desirous of securing to themselves the revenues of the Church." *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, p. 324. See also *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, p. 26. Many of the nobles, however, did sign it (*Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 129); but, says Spottiswoode (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 373), "Most of those that subscribed, getting into their hands the possessions of the Church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of church patrimony than were the papists, or any other whatsoever."

[116] *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 204. *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 298–301, 307–309. *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvii. p. 500. The nominal arrangement, which was contrived with considerable art, was that one-third of the church revenues should be divided into two parts; one part for the government,

since the Catholics were now entirely dependent on the government, and the government was in fact the nobles themselves, who were at that period the monopolizers of political power.

Such being the case, it naturally happened that when the arrangement was made known the preachers were greatly moved. They saw how unfavourable it was to their own interests, and therefore they held that it was unfavourable to the interests of religion. Hence, in their opinion, it was contrived by the devil, whose purposes it was calculated to serve.[117] For now they who travailed in the vineyard of the Lord were to be discouraged, and were to suffer, in order that what rightly belonged to them might be devoured by idle bellies.[118] The nobles might benefit for a time, but the vengeance of God was swift, and would most assuredly overtake them.[119] From the beginning to the end it was nothing but spoliation. In a really Christian land the patrimony of the Church would be left untouched.[120] But in Scotland,

and another part for the preachers. The remaining two-thirds were gravely assigned to the Catholic priesthood, who at that very moment were liable, by Act of Parliament, to the penalty of death, if they performed the rites of their religion. Men whose lives were in the hands of the government were not likely to quarrel with the government about money matters; and the result was that nearly everything fell into the possession of the nobles.

[117] "The Ministeris, evin in the begynnyng, in publict Sermonis opponed thame selves to suche corruptioun, for thei foirsaw the purpose of the Devill." *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 310.

[118] "For it seemeth altogether unreasonable that idle belleis sall devoure and consume the patrimonie of the Kirk, whill the faithfull travellers in the Lord's vineyarde suffer extreme povertie, and the needie members of Christ's bodie are altogether neglected." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. ii. pp. 484, 485. This was in 1569; and in 1571 the celebrated Ferguson, in one of his sermons, declared that the holders of church property, most of whom were the nobility, were "ruffians." See an extract from his sermon, in *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline*, p. 309, Edinburgh, 1844. "For this day Christ is spuilzeit amang us, quhil yt quhilk aucht to mantene the Ministerie of the Kirk and the pure, is geuin to prophane men, flattereris in court, ruffianes, and hyrelingis."

[119] In September, 1571, John Row "preiched, wha in plane pulpet pronunced to the lordis, for thair covetusnes, and becaus they wold not grant the just petitiones of the Kirk, Godis heastie vengeance to fall upon them; and said, moreover, 'I cair not, my lordis, your displeasour; for I speik my conscience befoir God, wha will not suffer sic wickitnes and contempt vnpunished." *Bannatyne's Journal*, edit. Edinburgh, 1806, p. 257.

[120] In 1576 the General Assembly declared that their right to "the patrimonie of the Kirk" was "ex jure divino." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 360, Edinburgh, 1839, 4to. More than a hundred years later, a Scotch divine evinces how deeply the members of his profession felt this spoliation of the Church, by going out of his way to mention it. See *Jacob's Vow, by Dr. John Cockburn*, Edinburgh, 1696, pp. 422, 423, 425. But this is nothing in comparison to a recent writer, the Reverend Mr. Lyon, who deliberately asserts that, because these and similar acts occurred in the reign of Mary, therefore the queen came to a violent end; such being the just punishment of sacrilege. "The practice" (of saying masses for the dead) "ceased, of course, at the Reformation; and the money was transferred by Queen Mary to the civil authorities of the town. This was undoubtedly an act of sacrilege; for though sacrificial masses for the dead was an error, yet the guardians of the money so bequeathed were under an obligation to apply it to a sacred purpose. This, and other sacrilegious acts on the part of Mary, of a still more decided and extensive character, have been justly considered as the cause of all the calamities which subsequently befell her." *History of St. Andrews, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, M.A., Presbyter of the Episcopal Church, St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1843, vol. i. p. 54. Elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 400) the same divine mentions that the usual punishment for sacrilege is a failure of male issue. "The following examples, selected from the diocese of St. Andrews, according to its boundaries before the Reformation,

alas! Satan had prevailed,[121] and Christian charity had waxen cold.[122] In Scotland, property which should be regarded as sacred had been broken up and divided; and the division was of the worst kind, since by it, said Knox, two-thirds are given to the devil, and the other third is shared between God and the devil. It was as if Joseph, when governor of Egypt, had refused food to his brethren, and sent them back to their families with empty sacks.[123] Or, as another preacher suggested, the Church was now, like the Maccabees of old, being oppressed, sometimes by the Assyrians, and sometimes by the Egyptians.[124]

But neither persuasions nor threats[125] produced any effect on the obdurate minds of the Scotch nobles. Indeed their hearts, instead of being softened,

will corroborate the general doctrine contended for throughout this work, that sacrilege has ever been punished in the present life, and *chiefly* by the failure of male issue." The italics are in the text. See also vol. i. p. 118. For the sake of the future historian of public opinion, it may be well to observe that the work containing these sentiments is not a reprint of an older book, but was published for the first time in 1843, having apparently been just written.

[121] "The General Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, convenit at Edinburgh the 25 of December 1566, to the Nobilitie of this Realme that professes the Lord Jesus with them, and hes ronouncit that Roman Antichryst, desyre constancie in faith, and the spirit of righteous judgement. Seeing that Sathan, be all our negligence, Right Honourable, hes so farre prevailit within this Realme within these late dayes, that we doe stand in extream danger, not only *to lose our temporall possessiouns*, but also to be depryvit of the glorious Evangell," &c. *Keith's Church and State*, vol. iii. pp. 154, 155.

[122] In 1566, in their piteous communication to the English bishops and clergy, they said, "The days are ill; iniquitie abounds; christian charity, alas, is waxen cold." *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 87, Edinburgh, 1839, 4to.

[123] "I see twa partis freely gevin to the Devill, and the thrid maun be devided betwix God and the Devill: Weill, bear witnes to me, that this day I say it, or it be long the Devill shall have three partis of the thrid; and judge you then what Goddis portioun shalbe." . . . "Who wold have thought, that when Joseph reulled Egypt, that his brethren should have travailled for vittallis, and have returned with empty seckis unto thair families? Men wold rather have thought that Pharao's pose, treasure, and garnallis should have bene diminished, or that the household of Jacob should stand in danger to sterve for hungar." *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 310, 311.

[124] In May, 1571, "This Sonday, Mr. Craig teiched the 130 Psalme; and, in his sermond, he compared the steat of the Kirk of God in this tovne vnto the steat of the Maccabeis; wha were oppressed sumtymes by the Assyrianis, and sumtymes by the Egiptianis." *Bannatyne's Journal*, p. 150.

[125] The first instance I have observed of anything like menace is in 1567, when "the Assembly of the Church being convened at Edinburgh," admonished all persons "as well noblemen as barons, and those of the other Estates, to meet and give their personal appearance at Edinburgh on the 20th of July, for giving their advice, counsel, and concurrence in matters then to be proponed; especially for purging the realm of popery, the establishing of the policy of the Church, and *restoring the patrimony thereof to the just possessors*. Assuring those that should happen to absent themselves at the time, due and lawful advertisement being made, that they should be reputed hinderers of the good work intended, and as *dissimulate professors be esteemed unworthy of the fellowship of Christ's flock*." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 64. This evidently alludes to the possibility of excommunicating those who would not surrender to the Protestant preachers the property stolen from the Catholic Church; and in 1570 we find another step taken in the same direction. Under that year, the following passage occurs in *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 181. "Q. If those that withhold the duty of the Kirk, *wherethrough Ministers want their stipends*, may be excommunicate? A. All things beand done that the civill ordour requyres of them that withhaldis the duetie of the Kirk, quherby Ministers wants their stipends; *the Kirk may proceed to excommunication, for their contempt*."

became harder. Even the small stipends which were allotted to the Protestant clergy were not regularly paid, but were mostly employed for other purposes.[126] When the ministers complained, they were laughed at and insulted by the nobles, who, having gained their own ends, thought that they could dispense with their former allies.[127] The Earl of Morton, whose ability, as well as connexions, made him the most powerful man in Scotland, was especially virulent against them; and two of the preachers who offended him he put to death, under circumstances of great cruelty.[128] The nobles, regarding him as their chief, elected him Regent in 1572;[129] and being now possessed of supreme power, he employed it against the Church. He seized upon all the benefices which became vacant, and retained their profits in his own hands.[130] His hatred of the preachers passed all bounds. He publicly declared that there would be neither peace nor order in the country until some of them were hung.[131] He refused to sanction the General Assemblies by his presence; he wished to do away with their privileges, and even with their name; and with such determination did he pursue his measures, that in the opinion of the historian of the Scotch Kirk nothing but the special interference of the Deity could have maintained its existing polity.[132]

[126] In 1562 "the poore ministers, exhorters, and readers, compleaned at church assembleis that neither were they able to live upon the stipends allowed, nor gett payment of that small portioun which was allowed." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 172. Compare *Acts of the General Assemblies*, 1839, 4to, vol. i. p. 53; "To requyre payment to ministers of there stipends for the tyme by past, according to the promise made." This was in Decembèr, 1564. In December, 1565, the General Assembly said (p. 71), "that wher oft and divers tymes promise hes bein made to us, that our saids brethren, travelers and preachers in the Kirk of God, sould not be defraudit of their appointit stipends, neither zet in any ways sould be molestit in their functioun; zet nottheles universallie they want ther stipends appointit for diverse tymes by past." On the state of things in 1566, see "The Supplication of the Ministers to the Queen," in *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 529. See also, in the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iv. pp. 92–101, Aberdeen, 1849, 4to, a letter written by John Erskine in December, 1571, especially p. 97: "the gretest of the nobilitie haifing gretest rentie in possessione, and plaicet of God in maist hie honouris, ceasis nocht, maist wiolentlie blindit with awarice, to spoilve and draw to thame selfis the possessiones of the Kirk."

[127] "The ministers were called proud knaves, and receaved manie injurious words from the lords, speciallie from Morton, who ruled all. He said he sould lay their pride, and putt order to them." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 137, 138. This was in 1571.

[128] *Chambers' Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

[129] "The nobilitie wnderwrittin convenit in Edinburgh, and chesit and electit James erle of Mortoun regent." *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 320.

[130] In 1573, "when any benefeces of Kirk vaikit, he keapit the proffet of thair rents sa lang in his awin hand, till he was urgit be the Kirk to mak donatioun tharof, and that was not gevin but proffeit for all that." *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, edit. Edinburgh, 1825, 4to, p. 147. Even in 1570, when Lennox was regent, "the Earle of Mortoun was the chiefe manager of every thing under him;" and was "master of the church rents," and made "gifts of them to the nobility." *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. part i. pp. 27, 126, Glasgow, 1834, 4to.

[131] "During all these Assembleis and earnest endeavoures of the brethrein, the regent was often required to give his presence to the Assemblie, and further the caus of God. He not onlie refused, but threatned some of the most zealous with hanging, alledging that otherwise there could be no peace nor order in the countrie." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 393, 394. "Uses grait thretning against the maist zelus breithring, schoring to hang of thame, utherwayes ther could be na peace nor ordour in the countrey." *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill*, edited by R. Pitcairn, Edinburgh, 1842, pp. 59, 60.

[132] "He mislyked the Generall Assembleis, and would have had the name changed,

The rupture between Church and State was now complete. It remained to be seen which was the stronger side. Every year the clergy became more democratic; and after the death of Knox, in 1572, they ventured upon a course which even he would hardly have recommended, and which during the earlier period of the Reformation would have been impracticable.[133] But by this time they had secured the support of the people; and the treatment they were receiving from the government and from the nobles embittered their minds, and drove them into desperate counsels. While their plans were yet immature, and while the future was looming darkly before them, a new man arose who was well qualified to be their chief, and who at once stepped into the place which the death of Knox left vacant. This was Andrew Melville, who, by his great ability, his boldness of character, and his fertility of resource, was admirably suited to be the leader of the Scottish Church in that arduous struggle in which it was about to embark.[134]

In 1574 Melville, having completed his education abroad, arrived in Scotland.[135] He quickly rallied round him the choicest spirits in the Church; and, under his auspices a struggle began with the civil power, which continued, with many fluctuations, until it culminated sixty years later in open rebellion against Charles I. To narrate all the details of the contest would be inconsistent with the plan of this Introduction; and notwithstanding the extreme interest of the events which now ensued, the greater part of them must be omitted; but I will endeavour to indicate the general march, and to put the reader in possession of such facts as are most characteristic of the age in which they occurred.

Melville had not been in Scotland many months before he began his opposition, at first by secret intrigues, afterwards with open and avowed hostility.[136] In the time of Knox, episcopacy had been recognized as part of the Protestant Church, and had received the sanction of the leading Reformers.[137] But that

that he might take away the force and priviledge thereof; and no questioun he had stayed the work of policie that was presentlie in hands, if God had not stirred up a factioun against him." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 396. See also *The Autobiography of James Melvill*, p. 61.

[133] "During the two years following the death of Knox, each day was ripening the more determined opposition of the Church. The breach between the clergy with the great body of the people, and the government or higher nobility, was widening rapidly." *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, p. 70.

[134] "Next to her Reformer, who, under God, emancipated her from the degrading shackles of papal superstition and tyranny, I know no individual from whom Scotland has received such important services, or to whom she continues to owe so deep a debt of national respect and gratitude, as Andrew Melville." *M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii. p. 473, Edinburgh, 1819. His nephew, himself a considerable person, says, "Scotland receavit never a graitter benefit at the hands of God nor this man." *The Autobiography of James Melvill*, p. 38.

[135] He left Scotland in 1564, at the age of nineteen, and returned "in the beginning of July, 1574, after an absence of ten years from his native country." *M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i. pp. 17, 57. See also *Scot's Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk of Scotland*, edit. Wodrow Society, p. 34; and *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 111, Glasgow, 1781.

[136] He appears to have first set to work in November, 1574. See *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 261, London, 1848.

[137] "The compilers of the Book of Discipline" (*i.e.* the First Book, in 1560) "were distinguished by prelatical principles to the end of their days." . . . . "That Knox himself was no enemy to prelacy, considered as an ancient and apostolical institution, is rendered clear by his 'Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel.'" *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, 1834, vol. i. p. 240. "The associates of Knox, it is obvious, were not Presbyterians, and had no intention of setting up a system of parity among the ministers of their new establishment." p. 243. See also p. 332. Even in 1572, the year of Knox's death, I find it stated that "the whole Diocie

institution did not harmonize with the democratic spirit which was now growing up. The difference of ranks between the bishops and the inferior clergy was unpleasant, and the ministers determined to put an end to it.[138] In 1575 one of them, named John Dury, was instigated by Melville to bring the subject before the General Assembly at Edinburgh.[139] After he had spoken, Melville also expressed himself against episcopacy; but, not being yet sure of the temper of the audience his first proceedings were somewhat cautious. Such hesitation was however hardly necessary; for owing to the schism between the Church and the upper classes, the ministers were becoming the eager enemies of those maxims of obedience and of subordination which they would have upheld had the higher ranks been on their side. As it was, the clergy were only favoured by the people; they therefore sought to organize a system of equality, and were ripe for the bold measures proposed by Melville and his followers. This was clearly shown by the rapidity of the subsequent movement. In 1575 the first attack was made in the General Assembly at Edinburgh. In April, 1578, another General Assembly resolved that for the future bishops should be called by their own names, and not by their titles.[140] The same body also declared that no see should be filled up until the next Assembly.[141] Two months afterwards it was announced that this arrangement was to be perpetual, and that no new bishop should ever be made.[142] And in 1580 the Assembly of the Church at Dundee, pulling the whole fabric to the ground, unanimously resolved that the office of bishop was a mere human invention; that it was unlawful; that it

of Sanct Andrews is decerned be the Assembly to pertain to the Bishop of the same." *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 264, 4to, 1839. The Scotch Presbyterians have dealt very unfairly with this part of the history of their Church.

138 Some little time after this, David Ferguson, who died in 1598, and was minister at Dunfermline, said very frankly to James VI., "Yes, Sir, ye may have Bishops here, but *ye must remember to make us all equal*: make us all Bishops, els will ye never content us." *Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland from* 1558 *to* 1637, edit. Wodrow Society, p. 418. Compare *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iv. p. 214: in 1584, "these monstruous titles of superioritie." In 1586, "that tyrannicall supremacie of bishops and archbishops over ministers." p. 604.

139 "He stirred up John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in an Assembly which was then convened, to propound a question touching the lawfulness of the episcopal function, and the authority of chapters in their election. He himself, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the speaker's zeal, and seconded the purpose with a long discourse of the flourishing estate of the church of Geneva, and the opinions of Calvin and Theodore Beza concerning church government, came to affirm, 'That none ought to be esteemed office-bearers in the Church whose titles were not found in the book of God. And, for the title of bishops, albeit the same was found in Scripture, yet was it not to be taken in the sense that the common sort did conceive, there being no superiority allowed by Christ amongst ministers,'" &c. *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 200. See also *Acts of the General Assemblies*, vol. i. p. 331, where it appears that six bishops were present on this memorable occasion. The question raised was, "Whither if the Bischops, as they are now in the Kirk of Scotland, hes thair function of the word of God or not, or if the Chapiter appointit for creating of them aucht to be tollerated in this reformed Kirk." p. 340.

140 "It was ordained, That Bischops and all vthers bearand Ecclesiasticall functioun, be callit be thair awin names, or Brethren, in tyme comeing." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 404.

141 "Therfor the Kirk hes concludit, That no Bischops salbe electit or made heirafter, befor the nixt Generall Assemblie." *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 408.

142 "Anent the Act made in the last Assemblie, the 28 of Aprile 1578, concerning the electioun of Bischops, suspendit quhill this present Assemblie, and the farther ordour reservit thereto: The General Assemblie, all in ane voyce, hes concludit, That the said act salbe extendit for all tymes to come, ay and quhill the corruptioun of the Estate of Bischops be alluterlie tane away." *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 413.

must be immediately done away with ; and that every bishop should at once resign his office, or be excommunicated if he refused to do so.[143]

The minister and the people had now done their work, and, so far as they were concerned, had done it well.[144] But the same circumstances which made them desire equality, made the upper classes desire inequality.[145] A collision therefore was inevitable, and was hastened by this bold proceeding of the Church. Indeed the preachers, supported by the people, rather courted a contest than avoided it. They used the most inflammatory language against episcopacy ; and shortly before abolishing it they completed and presented to Parliament the Second Book of Discipline, in which they flatly contradicted what they had asserted in their First Book of Discipline.[146] For this they are often taunted with inconsistency.[147] But the charge is unjust. They were perfectly consistent ;* and they merely changed their maxims, that they might preserve their

[143] " Forsameikle as the office of a Bischop, as it is now vsit, and commounly takin within this realme, hes no sure warrand, auctoritie, nor good ground out of the (Book and) Scriptures of God ; but is brocht in by the folie and corruptions of (men's) invention, to the great overthrow of the Kirk of God : The haill Assemblie of the Kirk, in ane voyce, after libertie givin to all men to reason in the matter, *none opponing themselves in defending the said pretendit office*, Finds and declares the samein pretendit office, vseit and termeit, as is above said, vnlaufull in the selfe, as haveand neither fundament, ground nor warrant within the word of God : and ordaines, That all sick persons as bruiks, or sall bruik heirafter the said office, salbe chargeit simpliciter to demitt, quyt and leave of the samein, as ane office quhervnto they are not callit be God ; and siclyke to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the sacraments, or vsing any way the office of pastors, quhill they receive *de novo* admission from the Generall Assemblie, vnder the paine of excommunicatioun to be denuncit agains them ; quherin if they be found dissobedient, or contraveine this act in any point, the sentence of excommunicatioun, after dew admonitions, to be execute agains them." *Acts of the General Assemblies*, vol. ii. p. 453.

[144] As Calderwood triumphantly says, " the office of bishops was damned." *History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 469. " Their whole estat, both the spirituall and civill part, was damned." p. 526. James Melvill (*Autobiography*, p. 52) says that in consequence of this achievement his uncle Andrew " gatt the nam of επισκοπομαστιξ, *Episcoporum exactor*, the flinger out of Bischopes."

[145] Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 302) observes that, while " the great body of the burghers and middle and lower classes of the people " were Presbyterians, " a large proportion of the nobility supported episcopacy." Instead of " a large proportion," he would not have been far wrong if he had said " all." Indeed, " Melville himself says the whole peerage was against him." *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 269. Forbes ascribes the aristocratic movement against presbytery to " godles atheists," who insisted " that there could be nothing so contrair to the nature of a monarchie," &c., " than that paritie of authoritie in pastours." *Forbes, Certaine Records touching the Estate of the Kirk*, p. 349, edit. Wodrow Society. See also p. 355. " That Democratie (as they called it) whilk allwayes behoved to be full of sedition and troublle to ane Aristocratie, and so in end to a Monarchie." The reader will observe this important change in the attitude of classes in Scotland. Formerly, the clergy had been the allies of the crown against the nobles. Now, the nobles allied themselves with the crown against the clergy. The clergy, in self-defence, had to ally themselves with the people.

[146] On the difference between the two productions there are some remarks worth looking at in *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, 1848, pp. 38–43. But this writer, though much freer from prejudice than most Presbyterian authors, is unwilling to admit how completely the Second Book of Discipline contradicts the First.

[147] By the Scotch episcopalians.

[* Buckle more than once forces a sense on this word which makes it useless. In his sense, no one is ever inconsistent who constantly seeks his own interests. If the word is to have any value, the action of the Scots clergy in the case under notice must be

principles. Like every corporation which has ever existed, whether spiritual or temporal, their supreme and paramount principle was to maintain their own power. Whether or not this is a good principle is another matter; but all history proves that it is an universal one. And when the leaders of the Scotch Church found that it was at stake, and that the question at issue was, who should possess authority, they with perfect consistency abandoned opinions that they had formerly held, because they now perceived that those opinions were unfavourable to their existence as an independent body.

When the First Book of Discipline appeared in 1560, the government was in the hands of the nobles, who had just fought on the side of the Protestant preachers, and were ready to fight again on their side. When the Second Book of Discipline appeared in 1578, the government was still held by the nobles; but those ambitious men had now thrown off the mask, and having effected their purpose in destroying the old hierarchy, had actually turned round and attacked the new one. The circumstances having changed, the Church changed with them; but in the change there was nothing inconsistent. On the contrary, it would have been the height of inconsistency for the ministers to have retained their former notions of obedience and of subordination; and it was perfectly natural* that, at this crisis, they should advocate the democratic idea of equality, just as before they had advocated the aristocratic idea of inequality.

Hence it was that, in their First Book of Discipline, they established a regularly ascending hierarchy, according to which the general clergy owed obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors, to whom the name of superintendents was given.[148] But in the Second Book of Discipline every vestige of this was swept away; and it was laid down in the broadest terms that, all the preachers being fellow-labourers, all were equal in power; that none had authority over others; and that to claim such authority, or to assert pre-eminence, was a contrivance of man, not to be permitted in a divinely constituted Church.[149]

[148] See the *First Book of Discipline*, reprinted in the first volume of *A Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, 2nd edit., Edinburgh, 1837. The superintendents were "to set, order, and appoint ministers," p. 61; and it would seem (p. 88) that no minister could be deposed without the consent of his superintendent; but this could hardly be intended to interefere with the supreme authority of the General Assembly. See also the summary, p. 114, where it is said of the superintendents, that "in thair visitatioun thei sal not onlie preiche, but als examine the doctrine, life, diligence, and behavior of the ministeris, reideris, elderis, and deaconis." According to Spottiswoode (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 167), "the superintendents held their office during life, and their power was episcopal; for they did elect and ordain ministers, they presided in synods, and directed all church censures, neither was any excommunication pronounced without their warrant." See further, on their authority, *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 161. "That punyschment suld be appointed for suche as dissobeyid or contemned the superintendentes in thair functioun." This was in 1561; and in 1562 "it was ordained, that if ministers be disobedient to superintendents in anything belonging to edification, they must be subject to correction." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk*, vol. i. p. 14. Compare p. 131: "sick things as superintendents may and aught decyde in their synodall conventiouns."

[149] "For albeit the Kirk of God be rewlit and governit be Jesus Christ, who is the onlie King, hie Priest, and Heid thereof, yit he useis the ministry of men, as the most necessar middis for this purpose." . . . "And to take away all occasion of tyrannie, he willis that they sould rewl with mutuall consent of brether and *equality of power*, every one according to thair functiones." *Second Book of Discipline*, in *A Compendium*

pronounced inconsistent. The word can mean nothing but deflection from *professed* principles. They did not avow and explain change of opinion: they simply changed front. But it might reasonably be argued that they were justified in the change, if they had acknowledged it.—Ed.]

[* The proper statement would be that it was perfectly natural that they should be inconsistent.—Ed.]

The government, as may be supposed, took a very different view. Such doctrines were deemed by the upper classes to be anti-social, and to be subversive of all order.[150] So far from sanctioning them, they resolved if possible to overthrow them; and the year after the General Assembly had abolished episcopacy it was determined that upon that very point a trial of strength should be made between the two parties.

In 1581 Robert Montgomery was appointed archbishop of Glasgow. The ministers who composed the chapter of Glasgow refused to elect him; whereupon the Privy Council declared that the King, by virtue of his prerogative, had the right of nomination.[151] All was now confusion and uproar. The General Assembly forbade the archbishop to enter Glasgow.[152] He refused to obey their order, and threw himself upon the support of the Duke of Lennox, who had obtained the appointment for him, and to whom he in return had surrendered nearly all the revenues of the see, reserving for himself only a small stipend.[153] This was a custom which had grown up within the last few years, and was one of many contrivances by which the nobles plundered the Church of her property.[154]

of the Laws of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 126, 127. "As to Bischops, if the name επισκοπος be properly taken, *they ar all ane with the ministers*, as befoir was declairit. For it is *not a name of superioritie and lordschip*, bot of office and watching." p. 142. To understand the full meaning of this, it should be mentioned that the superintendents established by the Kirk in 1560 not unfrequently assumed the title of "Lordship," as an ornament to the extensive powers conferred upon them. See, for instance, the notes to *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. part ii. p. 461. But in the Second Book of Discipline, in 1578, the superintendents are, if I rightly remember, not even once named. [Buckle has not here brought out the real cause of the change of front of the clergy as to bishops. As he mentions below in *note* 153, the nobility were drawing the revenues of the bishoprics by appointing men of straw to the offices. (The Scots commonalty called those bishops "tulchans," a word meaning "the stuffed skin of a calf, placed beside the cow at milking time to induce her to yield her milk freely.") It was to retain their power of thus appropriating the episcopal revenues, and not from any abstract concern for social order, that the aristocracy stood for episcopacy. Cp. Burton, *History*, v. 81.—Ed.]

[150] Just as in England we find that the upper classes are mostly Episcopalians; their minds being influenced, often unconsciously, by the to them pleasing spectacle of an inequality of rank which is conventional, and does not depend upon ability. On the other hand, the strength of the Dissenters lies among the middle and lower classes, where energy and intellect are held in higher respect, and where a contempt naturally arises for a system which, at the mere will of the sovereign or minister of the day, concedes titles and wealth to persons whom nature did not intend for greatness, but who, to the surprise of their contemporaries, have greatness thrust upon them. On this difference of opinion in Scotland, corresponding to the difference of social position, see the remarks on the seventeenth century in *Hume's Commentaries on the Law of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 544, Edinburgh, 1797, 4to.

[151] Record of Privy Council, in *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 267. "The brethrein of Glasgow were charged, under paine of horning, to admitt Mr. Robert Montgomrie." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 596.

[152] "Charges the said Mr. Robert to continue in the ministrie of the Kirk of Striveling," &c. *Acts of the General Assemblies*, vol. ii. p. 547. This was in October, 1581; the Record of the Privy Council was in April, 1582. Moysie, who was a contemporary, says that, in March, 1581-2, not only the dean and chapter but all the clergy (the "haill ministrie") declared from the pulpit that Montgomery's appointment "had the warrand of the deuill and not of the word of God, bot wes damnit thairby." *Moysie's Memoirs*, Edinburgh, 1830, 4to, p. 36.

[153] "The title whereof the said duke had procured to him, that he, having the name of bishop, and eight hundreth merks money for his living and sustentatioun, the whole rents and other duteis of the said benefice, might come to the duke's utilitie and behove." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iv. p. 111. See also p. 401.

[154] *Scot's Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk*, pp. 24, 25. *Calderwood's*

This, however, was not the question now at issue.[155] The point to be decided was one not of revenue but of power. For the clergy knew full well that if they established their power the revenue would quickly follow. They therefore adopted the most energetic proceedings. In April, 1582, the General Assembly met at St. Andrews, and appointed Melville as moderator.[156] The government, fearing the worst, ordered the members, on pain of rebellion, to take no steps respecting the archbishopric.[157] But the representatives of the Church were undaunted. They summoned Montgomery before them; they ratified the sentence by which he had been suspended from the ministry; and they declated that he had incurred the penalties of deposition and of excommunication.[158]

A sentence of excommunication was in those days so ruinous that Montgomery was struck with terror at the prospect before him. To avoid the consequences he appeared before the Assembly, and solemnly promised that he would make no further attempt to possess himself of the archbishopric.[159] By doing this, he probably saved his life; for the people, siding with their clergy, were ripe for mischief, and were determined at all hazards to maintain what they considered to be the rights of the Church, in opposition to the encroachments of the State.*

The government, on the other hand, was equally resolute.[160] The Privy Council called several of the ministers before them; and Dury, one of the most active, they banished from Edinburgh.[161] Measures still more violent were about to be taken, when they were interrupted by one of those singular events which not unfrequently occurred in Scotland, and which strikingly evince the inherent weakness of the Crown, notwithstanding the inordinate pretensions it commonly assumed.

This was the Raid of Ruthven, which happened in 1582, and in consequence of which the person of James VI. was held in durance for ten months.[162] The

History of the Kirk, vol. iii. p. 302. *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. part i. p. 206. *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. i. p. 379. *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, p. 59. *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. pp. 216, 217. *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 624.

155 "But the Church passing this point" (*i.e.* the simony) "made quarrel to him for accepting the bishopric." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 282.

156 *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 548.

157 "A messenger-at-arms entered the house, and charged the moderator and members of the assembly, on the pain of rebellion, to desist from the process." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 268.

158 "The Assemblie and brether present, after voteing in the said matter, depryvit the said Mr. Robert from all functioun of the Ministrie in the Kirk of God, dureing the will of the Kirk of God; and farther, descernit the fearefull sentence of excommunicatioun to be pronuncit against him in the face of the haill Assemblie, be the voyce and mouth of the Moderatour present; to the effect, that, *his proud flesh being cast into the hands of Satan*, he may be win againe, if it be possible, to God: and the said sentence (to) be intimat be every particular minister, at his awin particular kirk, solemnelie in the first sermoun to be made be them, after thair returning." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 562.

159 *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 565. Calderwood (*History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 604) says, "After long reluctatioun, at lenth he condescended."

160 M'Crie (*Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 274) says, "In all these contendings, the ministers had no countenance or support from any of the nobility." It would have been strange if they had, seeing that the whole movement was essentially democratic.

161 *Melville's Autobiography*, p. 129. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 620. *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 270.

162 He was seized in August, 1582, and was let loose again in June, 1583. *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vi. pp. 321, 360. It is a pity that this valuable and really able

[* Not of the State, but of the nobles, who were pocketing the plunder. – Ed.]

clergy, true to the policy which now governed them, loudly approved of the captivity of the king, and pronounced it to be a godly act.[163] Dury, who had been driven from his pulpit, was brought back to the capital in triumph;[164] and the General Assembly, meeting at Edinburgh, ordered that the imprisonment of James should be justified by every minister to his own congregation.[165]

In 1583 the king recovered his liberty, and the struggle became more deadly than ever; the passions of both parties being exasperated by the injuries each had inflicted on the other. The Ruthven conspiracy, having been declared treason, as it undoubtedly was, Dury preached in its favour, and openly defended it; and although, under the influence of momentary fear, he afterwards withdrew what he had said,[166] it was evident from other circumstances that his feelings were shared by his brethren.[167] A number of them being summoned before the king for their seditious language, bade him take heed what he was about, and reminded him that no occupant of the throne had ever prospered after the ministers had begun to threaten him.[168] Melville, who exercised immense

work should be so superficial in regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. Mr Tytler appears not to have studied at all the proceedings of the presbyteries, or even of the General Assemblies; neither does he display any acquaintance with the theological literature of his country. And yet, from the year 1560 to about 1700, these sources disclose more of the genuine history of the Scotch people than all other sources put together. [In the very act of thus severely condemning Tytler, Buckle has himself failed to explain the nature of the Raid of Ruthven, which Tytler brings out with great fulness and clearness (ed. 1869, iv. 41–53). The avowed reasons for the act were that the king was known to be in correspondence with France, that his advisers Lennox and Arran were believed to be plotting the subversion of the Protestant Church, and that James was believed to intend making a demission of the crown to his mother. Tytler also shows that the cause of episcopacy was felt to be bound up with that of the king's advisers. Buckle, finally, omits to note that Montgomery, after yielding on the sentence of excommunication, renewed his claim and was reinstated in his bishopric, the government pronouncing the excommunication null (*Id.* pp. 43, 47). Then it was that the trouble came to a head.—Ed.]

163 "The pulpit resounded with applauses of the godly deed." *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, p. 37.

164 "As he is comming from Leith to Edinburgh, upon Tuisday the 4th of September, there mett him at the Gallow Greene two hundreth men of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. Their number still increassed, till he came within the Neather Bow. There they beganne to sing the 124 Psalme, 'Now may Israel say,' &c., and sang in foure parts, knowne to the most part of the people. They came up the street till they came to the Great Kirk, singing thus all the way, to the number of two thowsand. They were muche moved themselves, and so were all the beholders. The duke was astonished, and more affrayed at that sight than at anie thing that ever he had seene before in Scotland, and rave his beard for anger." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 646, 647.

165 *Acts of the General Assemblies*, vol. ii. pp. 595, 596. This was ordered by the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 9th of October, 1582, p. 585. See also *Watson's Historicall Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, p. 192, "requiring the ministers in all their churches to commend it unto the people."

166 *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 308.

167 James, after his escape, "convocat all his peceabill Prelatis and Nobles, and thair he notefeit unto thayme the greif that he consavit of his unlaughfull detentioun the yeir bygayne, and tharefore desyrit thame to acknawledge the same; and thay be thair generall voittis decernit the rayd of Ruthven to be manifest treasoun. The Ministers on the uther part, perswadit the people that it was a godly fact, and that whasoever wald not allow thareof in his hart, was not worthie to be estemit a Christien." *The Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 202, published by the *Bannatyne Club*, Edinburgh, 1825, 4to.

168 "Disregard not our threatening; for there was never one yet in this realm, in the place where your grace is, who prospered after the ministers began to threaten him." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 364. See also, in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. pp. 540, 541, a letter from one of the clergy in Fife, addressed to the king

influence over both clergy and people, bearded the king to his face, refused to account for what he had delivered in the pulpit, and told James that he perverted the laws both of God and of man.[169] Simpson likened him to Cain, and warned him to beware of the wrath of God.[170] Indeed, the spirit now displayed by the Church was so implacable, that it seemed to delight in venting itself in the most repulsive manner. In 1585 a clergyman named Gibson, in a sermon which he preached in Edinburgh, denounced against the king the curse of Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and that his race should end with him.[171] The year after this happened, James, finding that Elizabeth was evidently determined to take his mother's life, bethought him of what was valued in that age as an unfailing resource, and desired the clergy to offer up prayers on behalf of Mary. This they almost unanimously refused.[172] And not only did they abstain from supplication themselves, but they resolved that no one else should do what they had declined. The Archbishop of Saint Andrews being about to officiate before the king, they induced a certain John Cowper to station himself in the pulpit beforehand, so as to exclude the prelate. Nor was it until the captain of the guard threatened to pull Cowper from the place he had usurped, that the service could go on, and the king be allowed to hear his own mother prayed for, in this sad crisis of her fate, when it was still uncertain whether she would be publicly executed, or whether, as was more generally believed, she would be secretly poisoned.[173]

in 1597. "And now, Sir, lett me be free with you in writting other men's reports, and that of the wisest politicians. They say, our bygane historeis report, and experience teacheth, that *raro et fere nunquam* has a king and a prince continued long together in this realme; for *Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos*. And they say, Sir, farther, that whatsoever they were of your Majestie's predecessors in governement that oppouned themselves directlie or indirectlie to God's ordinance in his Kirk, it has beene their wracke and subversioun in the end. I might herein be more particular; but I leave it to your Majestie's owne grave and modest consideratioun, for it concerneth you most neere."

[169] "Saying 'He perverted the laws both of God and man.'" *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 309. Also *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 371.

[170] "Mr. Patrick Simson, preaching before the king upon Gen. iv. 9, 'The Lord said to Cain, Where is Abel, thy brother?' said to the king, before the congregation, 'Sir, I assure you, in God's name, the Lord will ask at you where is the Earl of Moray, your brother?' The king replyed, before all the congregation, 'Mr. Patrik, my chalmer doore wes never steeked upon you: ye might have told me anything ye thought in secret.' He replyed, 'Sir, the scandall is publict.'" *Row's History of the Kirk*, p. 144. "Having occasion, *anno* 1593, to preach before the king, he publicly exhorted him to beware that he drew not the wrath of God upon himself in patronizing a manifest breach of divine laws." *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 120.

[171] "Saying, 'That Captain James, with his lady Jesabel, and William Stewart (meaning the colonel), were taken to be the persecutors of the Church; but that now it was seen to be the king himself, against whom he denounced the curse that fell on Jeroboam—that he would die childless, and be the last of his race.'" *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 335.

[172] "The king, perceiving by all these letters, that the death of his mother was determined, called back his ambassadors, and at home gave order to the ministers to remember her in their public prayers, which they denied to do." . . . "Upon their denial, charges were directed to command all bishops, ministers, and other office-bearers in the Church to make mention of her distress in their public prayers, and commend her to God in the form appointed. But of all the number only Mr. David Lindsay at Leith and the king's own ministers gave obedience. *Spottiswoode's History of the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 355, 356. "They, with only one exception, refused to comply." *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 23. Compare *Watson's Historicall Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, p. 208; and *Historie of James the Sext*, p. 225.

[173] "They stirred up Mr. John Cowper, a young man not entered as yet in the function, to take the pulpit before the time, and exclude the bishop. The king coming at the hour

In 1594 John Ross stated in the pulpit that the advisers of the king were all traitors, and that the king himself was likewise a traitor. He was also a rebel and a reprobate. That such should be the case was not surprising, considering the parentage of James. For his mother was a Guise, and a persecutor of the saints. He avoided open persecution, and spoke them fair; but his deeds did not correspond to his words; and so great was his dissimulation, that he was the most arrant hypocrite then living in Scotland.[174]

In 1596 David Black, one of the most influential of the Protestant ministers, delivered a sermon which made much noise. He said in his discourse that all kings were children of the devil; but that in Scotland the head of the Court was Satan himself. The members of the council, he added, were cormorants, and the lords of the session miscreants. The nobility had degenerated: they were godless; they were dissemblers; they were the enemies of the Church. As to the queen of England, she was nothing but an atheist. And as to the queen of Scotland, all he would say was, that they might pray for her if they list, and because it was the fashion to do so; but that there was no reason for it, inasmuch as no good would ever come from her to them.[175]

appointed, and seeing him in the place, called to him from his seat, and said, 'Mr. John, that place is destined for another; yet since you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my mother in your prayers, you shall go on.' He replying, 'that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him,' was commanded to leave the place: and making as though he would stay, the captain of the guard went to pull him out; whereupon he burst forth in these speeches: 'This day shall be a witness against the king in the great day of the Lord:' and then denouncing a woe to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, he went down, and the bishop of St. Andrews entering the pulpit did perform the duty required." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 356. "The Kingis Majestie, to testefie his earnest and naturall affection to his mother, causit pray for hir oppinly efter him selff; quhairvpone arrose a great dissensioun betuix sum of the ministrie and his Majestie, namely the ministrie of Edinburgh. Quhairvpone the king appoynted Patrik, archbischop of St. Androis to teache, bot he wes preuented be Mr. John Covpar minister, quho come befoir and filled the pulpit. And as the said Mr. John wes beginnand the prayer, the Kingis Majestie commandit him to stay: so as Mr. John raschit michtely vpone the pulpit, saying, 'This day sall bear witnes aganis yow in the day of the lord: woe be to ye Edinburgh, for the last of xi plaiges salbe the worst." *Moysie's Memoirs*, p. 59.

[174] See *The Historie of King James the Sext*, pp. 316–318, from "a just copie of his sermon" supplied by Ross himself. "His text was upon the 6 chapter of the Prophet Jeremias, verse 28. 'Brethren, we have manie, and almaist innumerable enormiteis in this cuntrie to be lamentit, as the misgovernement of our king be sinistrous counsall of sum particular men. They ar all rebellious traitors, evin the king the maist singular person, and particularlie everie estait of the land.' . . . 'Our king in sindrie poyntis hes bene rebellious aganis the Majestie of God.' . . . 'To this howre, we gat never gude of the Guysien blude, for Queyne Marie his mother was an oppin persecutor of the sanctis of God, and althoght the king be not an oppin persecutor, we have had many of his fayre wordis, wharein he is myghtie aneugh, bot for his gude deiddis, I commend me to thayme.' . . . 'Admit, that our king be a Christien king, yit but amendement, he is a reprobat king. Of all the men in this nation, the king himself is the maist fynest, and maist dissembling hypocreit.'" A very short notice of this sermon is given by Calderwood (*History of the Kirk*, vol. v. p. 299), who probably had not seen the original notes.

[175] The accusation, which was fully proved, was that "he had publictlie sayd in pulpit, that the papist erles wes come home be the kingis knavledge and consent, quhairin his Hienes treacherie wes detectit; that all kingis war deuilis and come of deuilis; that the deuill wes the head of the court and in the court; that he prayit for the Queine of Scotland for the faschione, because he saw na appearance of guid in hir tyme." *Moysie's Memoirs*, p. 128. [The return of the papist earls, which Buckle does not mention in the text, was the true gravamen.—Ed.] "Having been heard to affirm that the popish lords had returned into the country by the king's

For preaching this sermon, Black was summoned by the Privy Council. He refused to attend, because it was for a spiritual tribunal, and not for a temporal one, to take notice of what was uttered in the pulpit. The Church, to be sure, he would obey; but having received his message from God, he was bound to deliver it, and it would be a dereliction of duty if he were to allow the civil power to judge such matters.[176] The king, greatly enraged, ordered Black to be cast into prison; and it is difficult to see what other course was open to him; though it was certain that neither this nor any measure he could adopt would tame the indomitable spirit of the Scotch Church.[177]

In December the same year, the Church proclaimed a fast; and Welsh preached in Edinburgh a sermon, with the view of rousing the people against their rulers. The king, he told his audience, had formerly been possessed by a devil, and that devil being put out, seven worse ones had come in its place. It was therefore evident that James was demented, and it became lawful to take the sword of justice from his hands; just as it would be lawful for servants or children to seize the head of their family, if it had pleased heaven to afflict him with madness. In such case, the preacher observed, it would be right to lay hold of the madman, and to tie him hand and foot, that he might do no further harm.[178]

The hatred felt by the clergy was at this period so bitter, and the democratic spirit in them so strong,[179] that they seemed unable to restrain themselves; and

permission, and that thereby the king had discovered the 'treacherous hypocrisy of his heart;' that 'all kings were the devil's bairns, and that the devil was in the court, and the guiders of it.' He was proved to have used in this prayer these indecent words, when speaking of the queen, 'We must pray for her for fashion's sake; but we might as well not, for she will never do us any good.' He called the Queen of England an atheist, and the Lords of Session *bribers*; and said that the nobility at large 'were degenerate, godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church.'" *Grierson's History of Saint Andrews*, p. 30, Cupar, 1838. Among the charges against him were, "Fourthly, that he had called the queen of England an atheist. Fifthly, that he had discussed a suspension granted by the lords of session in pulpit, and called them miscreants and bribers. Sixthly, that, speaking of the nobility, he said they were 'degenerated, godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church.' Likewise, speaking of the council, that he had called them 'holiglasses, cormorants, and men of no religion.'" *Spottiswoode's History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 21.

176 See the original papers on "The Declinatour of the King and Counsel's Judicatour in Maters Spirituall, namelie in Preaching of the Word," in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. pp. 457–459, 475–480. Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 326–332) has given extracts from them, and made some remarks on their obvious tendency. See also, on the Declinature of Jurisdiction claimed by the Scotch Church, *Hallam's Constitutional History*, 4th edit. 1842, vol. ii. p. 461; and *Mackenzie's Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal*, Edinburgh, 1699, folio, pp. 181, 182.

177 M'Crie in his *Life of Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 70 seq., has given an account of the punishment of Black, but as usual conceals the provocation; or at least softens it down until it hardly becomes a provocation. According to him, "David Black had been served with a summons to answer before the privy council for certain expressions used by him in his sermons." Certain expressions, indeed! But why name the penalty, and suppress the offence? This learned writer knew perfectly well what Black had done, and yet all the information bestowed on the reader is a note at p. 72, containing a mutilated extract from Spottiswoode.

178 "Saying, 'He was possessed with a devil; that one devil being put out, seven worse were entered in place; and that the subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand:' which he confirmed by the example of a father that, falling into a frenzy, might be taken by the children and servants of the family, and tied hand and foot from doing violence." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 34. See also *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, pp. 46, 47.

179 This did not escape the attention of the English government; and Elizabeth, who was remarkably well informed respecting Scotch affairs, wrote to James, in 1590, a warning which was hardly necessary, but which must have added to his fears. "And

Andrew Melville, in an audience with the king, in 1596, proceeded to personal insults, and, seizing him by the sleeve, called him God's silly* vassal.[180] The large amount of truth contained in this bitter taunt increased its pungency. But the ministers did not always confine themselves to words.[181] Their participation in the Ruthven conspiracy is unquestionable ; and it is probable that they were privy to the last great peril to which James was exposed, before he escaped from that turbulent land which he was believed to govern. Certain it is that the Earl of Gowrie, who in 1600 entrapped the king into his castle in order to murder him, was the hope and the mainstay of the Presbyterian clergy, and was intimately associated with their ambitious schemes.[182] Such indeed was their infatuation on behalf of the assassin, that when his conspiracy was defeated, and he himself slain, several of the ministers propagated a report that Gowrie had fallen a victim to the royal perfidy, and that in point of fact the only plot which ever existed was one concocted by the king, with fatal art, against his mild and innocent host.[183]

An absurdity of this sort[184] was easily believed in an ignorant and therefore a credulous age. That the clergy should have propagated it, and that in this as in many other cases they should have laboured with malignant industry to defame the character of their prince,[185] will astonish no one who knows how quickly the wrath of the Church can be roused, and how readily the spiritual classes always are to cover, even with the foulest calumny, those who stand in

lest fayre semblance, that easely may begile, do not brede your ignorance of suche persons as ether pretend religion or dissemble deuotion, let me warne you that ther is risen, bothe in your realme and myne, a secte of perilous consequence, suche as wold have no kings but a presbitrye, and take our place while the inioy our privilege, with a shade of Godes word, wiche non is juged to folow right without by ther censure the be so demed. Yea, looke we wel unto them." *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, edited by John Bruce, Camden Society, 1849, 4to, p. 63.

[180] The Reverend James Melvill, who was present at the scene, describes it with exuberant delight. "To the quhilk, I beginning to reply, in my maner, Mr. Andro doucht nocht abyd it, bot brak af upon the king in sa zealus, powerfull, and unresistable a maner, that whowbeit the king used his authoritie in maist crabbit and colerik maner, yit Mr. Andro bure him down, and outtred the Commission as from the mightie God, calling the king bot 'God's sillie vassall ; ' and taking him be the sleive," &c. *Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill*, p. 370. See also *Shield's Hind Let Loose*, 1687, p. 52 ; and *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 66.

[181] In 1593–4 some of them formed a plot to seize him. See the evidence from the State-paper Office, in *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 249, edit. Edinburgh, 1845.

[182] "He was the darling hope of the Presbyterian party." *Ibid.*, vol. vii. p. 410.

[183] "Gowry's conspiracy was by them charged on the king, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that earl." *Burnet's History of his own Time*, edit. Oxford, 1823, vol. i. p. 31. See also *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 439, 440 ; and on the diffusion of "this absurd hallucination," see *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 320, Edinburgh, 1845.

[184] See a good note in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 179, Edinburgh, 1833, 4to. Compare *Lawson's Book of Perth*, Edinburgh, 1847, p. xxxix. [The "absurdity" is not clear. The latest historians recognize that forged letters were afterwards produced as evidence against Gowrie ; that the king's story contains proved falsehoods and many discrepancies, and that the king was in Gowrie's debt to the extent of £80,000, with no prospect of releasing himself. The view of the clergy was thus not unwarranted. Cp. Hume Brown, ii. 235.—Ed.]

[185] Their language, and their general bearing, so enraged James, as to extort from him a passionate declaration, in 1592, that "it would not be weill till noblemen and gentlemen gott licence to breake ministers' heads." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. p. 148.

[* "Silly" in Scots has not its English meaning, but properly signifies only "weak." Buckle has misunderstood the word.—Ed.]

their way. The evidence which has been collected proves that the Presbyterian ministers carried their violence against the constituted authorities of the state to an indecent if not to a criminal length ; and we cannot absolve them from the charge of being a restless and unscrupulous body, greedy after power, and grossly intolerant of whatever opposed their own views. Still, the real cause of their conduct was the spirit of their age,* and the peculiarities of their position. None of us can be sure that if we were placed exactly as they were placed, we should have acted differently. Now, indeed, we cannot read of their proceedings, as they are recorded in their own Assemblies, and by the historians of their own Church, without an uneasy feeling of dislike, I had almost said of disgust, at finding ourselves in presence of so much of superstition, of chicanery, of low, sordid arts, and yet, withal, of arrogant and unbridled insolence. The truth however is that in Scotland the age was evil, and the evil rose to the surface. The times were out of joint, and it was hard to set them right. The long prevalence of anarchy, of ignorance, of poverty, of force, of fraud, of domestic tumult, and of foreign invasion, had reduced Scotland to a state which it is scarcely possible for us to realize. Hereafter I shall give some evidence of the effect which this produced on the national character, and of the serious mischief which it wrought. In the meantime we should, in fairness to the Scotch clergy, admit that the condition of their country affords the best explanation of their conduct. Everything around them was low and coarse ; the habits of men in their daily life were violent, brutal, and utterly regardless of common decency ; and as a natural consequence the standard of human actions was so depressed that upright and well-meaning persons did not shrink from doing what to us, in our advanced state of society, seems incredible. Let us then not be rash in this matter. Let us not be too forward in censuring the leading actors in that great crisis through which Scotland passed during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Much they did which excites our strongest aversion. But one thing they achieved, which should make us honour their memory, and repute them benefactors of their species. At a most hazardous moment they kept alive the spirit of national liberty.[186] What the nobles and the crown had put in peril, that did the clergy save. By their care the dying spark was kindled into a blaze. When the light grew dim, and flickered on the altar, their hands trimmed the lamp, and fed the sacred flame. This is their real glory, and on this they may well repose. They were the guardians of Scotch freedom, and they stood to their post. Where danger was, they were foremost. By their sermons, by their conduct, both public and private, by the proceedings of their Assemblies, by their bold and frequent attacks upon persons without regard to their rank, nay, even by the very insolence with which they treated their superiors, they stirred up the minds of men, woke them from their lethargy, formed them to habits of discussion,

[186] "At the period of which we speak" (about the year 1584) "the pulpit was, in fact, the only organ by which public opinion was or could be expressed ; and the ecclesiastical courts were the only assemblies in the nation which possessed anything that was entitled to the name of liberty or independence. Parliament had its business prepared to its hand, and laid before it in the shape of acts which required only its assent. Discussion and freedom of speech were unknown in its meetings. The courts of justice were dependent on the will of the sovereign, and frequently had their preceedings regulated, and their discussions dictated, by letters or messages from the throne. It was the preachers who first taught the people to express an opinion on the conduct of their rulers ; and the assemblies of the Church set the earliest example of a regular and firm opposition to the arbitrary and unconstitutional measures of the Court." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. 302. [The clergy in reality opposed the Court very much in the spirit in which the nobles had previously done so ; and, as we have seen, they were no less ready to justify violent methods.—Ed.]

[* No such conduct was ventured on by the clergy in England. The position of the Scots clergy was quite exceptional, and depended not on a "spirit of the age," but on the local antecedents and circumstances.—Ed.]

and excited that inquisitive and democratic spirit which is the only effectual guarantee the people can ever possess against the tyranny of those who are set over them. This was the work of the Scotch clergy ; and all hail to them who did it. It was they who taught their countrymen to scrutinize, with a fearless eye, the policy of their rulers. It was they who pointed the finger of scorn at kings and nobles, and laid bare the hollowness of their pretensions.* They ridiculed their claims, and jeered at their mysteries. They tore the veil, and exposed the tricks of the scene which lay behind. The great ones of the earth they covered with contempt ; and those who were above them they cast down. Herein they did a deed which should compensate for all their offences, even were their offences ten times as great. By discountenancing that pernicious and degrading respect which men are too apt to pay to those whom accident, and not merit, has raised above them, they facilitated the growth of a proud and sturdy independence, which was sure to do good service at a time of need. And that time came quicker than any one had expected. Within a very few years, James became master of the resources of England, and attempted by their aid to subvert the liberties of Scotland.† The shameful enterprise which he began was continued by his cruel and superstitious son. How their attempts failed ; how Charles I. in the effort shipwrecked his fortune and provoked a rebellion, which brought to the scaffold that great criminal, who dared to conspire against the people, and who, as the common enemy and oppressor of all, was at length visited with the just punishment of his sins, is known to every reader of our history.‡ It is also well known that in conducting the struggle the English were greatly indebted to the Scotch, who had moreover the merit of being the first to lift their hand against the tyrant. What, however, is less known, but is undoubtedly true, is that both nations owe a debt they can never repay to those bold men who during the latter part of the sixteenth century disseminated from their pulpits and Assemblies sentiments which the people cherished in their hearts, and which at a fitting moment they reproduced, to the dismay, and eventually to the destruction, of those who threatened their liberties.

[* As Buckle goes on to show with great clearness, the clergy proceeded to substitute similarly hollow pretensions of their own. The above passage is thus overcharged. —Ed.]

[† See note above, p. 652 and below, p. 703.—Ed.]

[‡ As has been noted in an earlier chapter (above, p. 370), the troubles of Charles in Scotland began with his attempt to recover the tithes from the landowners who had appropriated them, not in any attack on popular liberties. In the end Cromwell interfered far more effectually with Scottish liberties than Charles did. And Charles was certainly not more superstitious, probably not more cruel, than his great antagonist. —Ed.]

CHAPTER XVIII

Condition of Scotland during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Scarcely had James mounted the throne of England when he began seriously, and on a large scale, to attempt to subjugate the Scotch Church, which, as he clearly saw, was the principal obstacle that stood between him and despotic power. While he was merely King of Scotland he made several efforts, which were constantly baffled ; but now that he wielded the vast resources of England, the victory seemed easy.[1] As early as 1584 he had gained a temporary triumph by forcing many of the clergy to recognize episcopacy.[2] But that institution was so repugnant to their levelling and democratic principles, that nothing could overcome their abhorrence of it ; [3] and, completely overawing the king, they compelled him to give way, and to retrace his steps. The result was that in 1592 an Act of Parliament was passed which subverted the authority of the bishops, and established Presbyterianism ; a scheme based on the idea of equality, and therefore suited to the wants of the Scotch Church.[4]

To this statute James had assented with the greatest reluctance.[5] Indeed,

[1] Lord Dartmouth says (Note in *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 15) : "The Earl of Seafield told me that King James frequently declared that he never looked upon himself to be more than King of Scotland in name, till he came to be King of England ; but now, he said, one kingdom would help him to govern the other, or he had studied kingcraft to very little purpose from his cradle to that time." Compare *Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, Oxford, 1852, p. 36. "No sooner was he happily settled on the throne of England, but he went more roundly to work."

[2] Compare *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 430, with *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 303, § 20 ; also the Act (p. 293, § 4), likewise in 1584, limiting the power of the General Assemblies. James, who flattered himself that he had now settled everything, signalized his triumph by personally abusing the clergy ; "calling them lownes, smaicks, seditious knaves, and so furth." See a letter, dated 2nd of January, 1585–6, in *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, p. 438, Edinburgh, 1844.

[3] "Bishops were alwayes looked at with a frown." *Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 129.

[4] See this remarkable statute, in *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 541, 2. As some of the historians of the Scotch Church have greatly misrepresented it, I will quote that part which expressly repeals the Act of 1584, in favour of the bishops. "Item oure said souerane lord and estaittis of Parliament foirsaid, abrogatis cass and anullis the xx act of the same pliamẽt haldin at Edinburgh the said zeir 1584 zeiris granting comissioun to bishoppis and vtheris iuges constitute in ecclesiastical causs To ressaue his heines presentatioun to benefices, To gif collatioun thairvpoun and to put ordor, in all causs ecclesiasticall qlk his Maiestie and estaittis foirsaid declairis to be expyrit in the self and to be null in tyme cuming and of nane availl force nor effect."

[5] "The King repented after that he had agreed unto it." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. p. 162. But this gives a faint idea of his real feelings. It is perhaps hardly necessary to adduce evidence of the opinions entertained on this point by a prince, one of whose favourite sayings was, "No Bishop, no King." The reader will however find in the *Clarendon State Papers* (vol. ii. p. 260, Oxford, 1773, folio), a letter from Charles I., which is worth looking at, because it frankly avows that James, in loving

his feeling respecting it was so strong that he determined on the first opportunity to procure its repeal, even if he used force to effect his purpose. The course he adopted was characteristic both of the man and of the age. In December, 1596, one of those popular tumults arose in Edinburgh which are natural in barbarous times, and which under ordinary circumstances would have been quelled, and nothing more thought of it.[6] But James availed himself of this to strike what he deemed a decisive blow. His plan was nothing less than to turn into the capital of his own monarchy large bodies of armed and licensed banditti, who, by threatening to plunder the city, should oblige the clergy and their flocks to agree to whatever terms he chose to dictate. This magnanimous scheme was well worthy of the mind of James, and it was strictly executed. From the north he summoned the Highland nobles, and from the south the border barons, who were to be accompanied by their fierce retainers,—men who lived by pillage, and whose delight it was to imbrue their hands in blood. At the express command of James, these ferocious brigands, on the 1st of January, 1597, appeared in the streets of Edinburgh, gloating over the prospect before them, and ready, when their sovereign gave the word, to sack the capital and raze it to the ground.[7] Resistance was hopeless. Whatever the king demanded was conceded; and James supposed that the time was now come in which he could firmly establish the authority of the bishops, and by their aid control the clergy, and break their refractory spirit.[8]

In this undertaking three years were consumed. To insure its success, the king, supported by the nobles, relied not only on force but also on an artifice which now seems to have been employed for the first time. This was, to pack

episcopacy and hating presbyterianism, was actuated rather by political motives than by religious ones. Charles writes: "The prudentiall part of any consideration will never be found opposit to the conscientious, nay heere, they go hand in hand; for (according to lawyers lodgique) show me any president where ever Presbiteriall governement and Regall was together, without perpetuall rebellions. *Which was the cause that necessitated the King, my Father, to change that government in Scotland.*" Compare what is said by a Scotch Presbyterian of the seventeenth century, in *Biographies, edited for the Wodrow Society* by the Rev. W. K. Tweedie, Edinburgh, 1845, vol. i. p. 13. "The reason why King James was so violent for Bishops was neither their divine institution (which he denied they had), nor yet the profit the Church should reap by them (for he knew well both the men and their communications), but merely because he believed they were useful instruments to turn a limited monarchy into absolute dominion, and subjects into slaves, the design in the world he minded most."

[6] "Had it not been laid hold of by designing politicians as a handle for accomplishing their measures, it would not now have been known that such an event had ever occurred." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 85. "Harmless as this uproar was, it afforded the court a pretext for carrying into execution its designs against the liberties and government of the Church." p. 89. [Mc'Crie's account here is that of a mere partisan, and Buckle should not have taken it as his sole authority. The riot was a much more serious matter than he represents. See Tytler, ed. 1869, iv. 252–3. Any other king than James would in that day have punished it with massacre. He, a coward, was driven by it into the first vigorous act of his reign.—Ed.]

[7] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 342–345. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. pp. 514, 515, 530, 531. [Tytler does not say what Buckle does in the text. The king evidently knew there would be no resistance, the burghers being panic-stricken.—Ed.]

[8] "Intimidated by these menaces, and distressed at the loss of the courts of justice, they came to the resolution of making surrender of their political and religious liberties to the King." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 92. This is said of the magistrates of Edinburgh. Among other threats, one was, the "razing and ploughing of Edinburgh, and sowing it with salt." *Wodrow's Life of Bruce*, p. 48, prefixed to *Bruce's Sermons*, edited by the Rev. William Cunningham, Edinburgh, 1843. On this occasion, Elizabeth wrote a letter to James, which is printed in *Letters of Queen Elizabeth and James VI.*, 1849, 4to, pp. 120, 121.

the General Assemblies, by inundating them with clergymen drawn from the north of Scotland, where, the old clannish and aristocratic spirit being supreme, the democratic spirit found in the south was unknown. Hitherto these northern ministers had rarely attended at the great meetings of the Church; but James in 1597 sent Sir Patrick Murray on a special mission to them, urging them to be present, in order that they might vote on his side.[9] They, being a very ignorant body, knowing little or nothing of the questions really at issue, and being moreover accustomed to a state of society in which men, notwithstanding their lawlessness, paid the most servile obedience to their immediate superiors, were easily worked upon, and induced to do what they were bid. By their help the crown and the nobles so strengthened their party in the General Assembly as to obtain in many instances a majority; and innovations were gradually introduced, calculated to destroy the democratic character of the Scotch Church.[10]

In 1597 the movement began. From then until 1600, successive Assemblies sanctioned different changes, all of which were marked by that aristocratic tendency which seemed about to carry everything before it. In 1600 the General Assembly met at Montrose; and government determined on making a final effort to compel the Church to establish an episcopal polity. Andrew Melville, by far the most influential man in the Church, and the leader of the democratic party, had been elected, as usual, a member of the Assembly; but the king, arbitrarily interposing, refused to allow him to take his seat.[11] Still, neither by threats, nor by force, nor by promises, could the court carry their point. All that they obtained was that certain ecclesiastics should be allowed to sit in parliament; but it was ordered that such persons should every year lay their commissions at the feet of the General Assembly, and render an account of their conduct. The Assembly was to have the power of deposing them; and, to keep them in greater subjection, they were forbidden to call themselves bishops, but were to be content with the inferior title of Commissioners of the Church.[12]

[9] *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 100. Scot (*Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk*, p. 88) says, "Sir Patrick Murray, the diligent apostle of the North, made their acquaintance with the King." Also, *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill*, p. 403.

[10] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 350, 359. But by far the best account of the influence of these northern clergy will be found in *M'Crie's Life of Melville* (vol. ii. pp. 100–105, 109, 131, 152), drawn, in several instances, from manuscript authorities. Compare *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. p. 695.

[11] This is related by his nephew, James Melvill. "Mr. Andro Melvill come to the Assembly, by Commissioune of his Presbytrie, but wes commandit to keip his ludgeing; quho, being callit to the King in private, and demandit Quhy he wes so trublesume as to come to the Assembly being dischairgit? He answerit, He had a calling in the Kirk of God, and of Jesus Chryst, the King of kings, quhilk he behovit to dischairge at all occasiounes, being orderlie callit thairto, as he wes at this tyme; and that for feir of a grytter punischment then could any earthly King inflict." *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill*, p. 542.

[12] As, owing to the passions of the rival classes, every step of this part of Scotch history is the subject of angry controversy, and as even Mr. Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 360) asserts that "the final establishment of Episcopacy" took place at the Assembly of Montrose, in 1600, I subjoin a few extracts from the enactments of that Assembly, in order that the reader may judge for himself, and may test the accuracy of what I have stated in the text. "Concerning the maner of choosing of him that sall have vote in Parliament in name of the Kirk: It is condiscendit vpon, that *he sall first be recommendit be the Kirk to his Majestie*; and that the Kirk sall nominat sixe for every place that sall have neid to be filled, of quhom his Majestie sall choose ane, of quhom he best lykes; and his Majestie promises, obleises, and binds himselfe to choose no vther but ane of that number: And in cace his Majestie refuses the haill vpon ane just reason of ane insufficiency, and of greater sufficiencie of vthers that are not recommendit, the Kirk sall make ane new recommendatioun of men according to the first number, of the quhilk, ane salbe chosin be his Majestie without any farther refuisall or new nominatioun; and he that salbe chosin be his Majestie, salbe admittit be the Synods." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the*

After sustaining this repulse, James seems to have been disheartened ; as he made no further effort, though he still laboured underhand at the restoration of episcopacy.[13] If he had persevered, it might have cost him his crown. For his resources were few ; he was extremely poor ;[14] and recent events had shown that the clergy were stronger than he had supposed. When he thought himself most sure of success, they had subjected him to a mortifying defeat ; and this was the more remarkable, as it was entirely their own work ; they being by this time so completely separated from the nobles that they could not rely upon even a single member of that powerful body.

While affairs were in this state, and while the liberties of Scotland, of which the Church was the guardian, were trembling in the balance, Elizabeth died, and the King of Scotland became also King of England. James at once determined to employ the resources of his new kingdom to curb his old one. In 1604, that is, only the year after his accession to the English throne, he aimed a deadly blow at the Scotch Church by attacking the independence of their Assemblies ; and by his own authority he prorogued the General Assembly of Aberdeen.[15]

Kirk of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 954. " As to the cautions to keip him, that sall have vote in Parliament, from corruptiouns : They be these following : 1. *That he presume not, at any tyme, to propone at Parliament, Counsell or Conventioun, in name of the Kirk, any thing without expresse warrand and directioun from the Kirk*, and sick things as he sall answer (for) to be for the weill of the Kirk, vnder the paine of depositioun from his office." . . . 2. " He sall be bound at every Generall Assemblie, to give ane accompt anent the discharge of his commissioun sen the Assemblie gangand befor ; and *sall submitt himselfe to thair censure, and stand at thair determinatioun quhatsumever, without appellatioun ; and sall seik and obtain ratificatioun of his doings at the said Assemblie, vnder the paine of infamie and excommunicatioun.*" . . . 6. " In the administration of discipline, collatioun of benefices, visitatioun, and all vther points of ecclesiasticall government, he sall neither vsurpe nor acclaime to himselfe *any power or jurisdictioun farther than any vther of the rest of his breither*, unlesse he be imployit be his breither, vnder the paine of deprivatioun." p. 955. " Anent his name that for the Kirk sall (have) vote in Parliament : It is advyseit, be vniforme consent of the haill brether, that he salbe callit Commissioner of such a place." p. 956. " Therfor the Generall Assemblie having reasonit at length the said questioun, tuiching the continuance of him that sall have vote in Parliament, after votting of the same, finds and decernes, that *he sall annuatim give count of his commission obtainit from the Assemblie, and lay downe the samein at thair feitt*, to be continuit or alterit therfra be his Majestie and the Assemblie, as the Assemblie, with consent of his Maiestie, sall think most expedient for the weill of the Kirk." p. 959. [Compare however the comments of Calderwood, cited by Tytler, ed. 1869, iv. 203.—Ed.]

[13] " While James remained in Scotland, the scheme of introducing episcopacy, though never lost sight of, was cautiously prosecuted." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 178.

[14] James, during the whole of his reign, was chiefly dependent on the money which Elizabeth gave him, and which she dealt out rather niggardly. Such were his necessities that he was forced to pawn his plate, and even then he was often unable to defray his ordinary household expenses. See *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vi. pp. 265, 266, 272 ; vol. vii. pp. 158, 378–380. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. pp. xlv. 114. *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, pp. 241, 277. See also a clamorous begging-letter from James to Elizabeth, written in 1591, in *Letters of Queen Elizabeth and James VI.*, 1849, 4to, pp. 68, 69. In 1593 she apologizes for sending him only a small sum : " The small token you shall receave from me I desire yt may serve to make you remember the tyme and my many weighty affaires, wich makes it les than else I would, and I dowt nothing but when you heare all, yow will beare with this." p. 84. A letter from James Hudson, written about the year 1591, states that " both the king's table and queen's had like to have been unserved by want ; and that the king had nothing he accounted certain to come into his purse, but what he had from the Queen of England." *Ridpath's Border History*, p. 465, Berwick, 1848, 4to.

[15] *Laing's History of Scotland*, edit. 1819, vol. iii. p. 28. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vi. pp. 264, 323. *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 175, Edinburgh, 1817. *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 88.

In 1605 he again prorogued it ; and to make his intentions clear, he this time refused to fix a day for its future meeting.[16] Hereupon some of the ministers, deputed by presbyteries, took upon themselves to convene it, which they had an undoubted right to do, as the act of the king was manifestly illegal. On the day appointed they met in the session-house of Aberdeen. They were ordered to disperse. Having, as they conceived, by the mere fact of assembling, sufficiently asserted their privileges, they obeyed. But James, now backed by the power of England, resolved that they should feel the change of his position, and therefore of theirs. In consequence of orders which he sent from London, fourteen of the clergy were committed to prison.[17] Six of them, who denied the authority of the privy-council, were indicted for high treason. They were at once put upon their trial. They were convicted. And sentence of death was only deferred that the pleasure of the king might first be taken, as to whether he would not be satisfied with some punishment that fell short of sacrificing the lives of these unhappy men.[18]

Their lives indeed were spared ; but they were subjected to a close imprisonment, and then condemned to perpetual exile.[19] In other parts of the country similar measures were adopted. Nearly all over Scotland numbers of the clergy were either imprisoned or forced to fly.[20] Terror and proscription were

[16] " Adde thereunto, that the letter of the commissioner and last moderator conteaned no certane tyme nor day whereto the said Assemblie sould be prorogued ; so that it imported a casting loose and deserting, yea, and tyning of the possessioun of our Assemblie ; than the which what could be more dangerous to the libertie and freedom of the Kirk of Jesus Christ, at suche a tyme, namelie of the treatie of the Unioun, when all the estates of the realme and everie particular are zealous and carefull of their rights and possessiouns ? " *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vi. pp. 309, 310.

[17] See a list of them in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vi. p. 347, where the fourteen names are preserved with pious care.

[18] *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 494–502. *Forbes' Certaine Records touching the Estate of the Kirk*, edit. Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1846, pp. 463–496. " Delayed the giving forth of the sentence of condemnation till the King's mind were further knowne." See also *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vi. pp. 434, 449. When they were found guilty, " the peiple said, ' Certainely this wes a worke of darknes, to mak Chrystis faithfull Ministeres tratouris to the King ! God grant he be niver in greater dangeris nor off sic traitouris.' " *Melvill's Autobiography and Diary*, p. 626.

[19] *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 207, 208. *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 504. In connexion with these transactions, a letter is preserved in the Winwood Papers, which is much too curious to be passed over in silence. It is addressed by the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Charles Cornwallis, and is dated 12th September, 1605. Salisbury, who was then at the head of affairs, writes, " True it is that his Majestie seeking to *adorne that kingdome of Scotland with Prelates as they are in England*, some of the Ministers have spurned against it ; and althouge his Majestie had ever warranted their calling of General Assemblies upon no other condition then that they should make him acquainted, receive his warrant, and a commissioner for his Majestie resident in their councells, yet have they (followed with some poor plebecall numbers) presumed to hold their General Assemblies in some parte of the Realme contrarie to his commandement. Whereupon his Majestie hath shewed himself displeased, and cyted divers of them before his councell," &c. *Memorials of Affairs of State, from the Papers of Sir Ralph Winwood*, London, 1725, folio, vol. ii. p. 132. And yet the man who could write such nonsense as this, and who could only see in the great democratic movement of the Scotch mind a disinclination to the *adornment* of episcopacy, was deemed one of the most eminent statesmen of his time, and his reputation has survived him. If great statesmen discern so little of what is before them and around them, we are tempted to inquire how much confidence ought to be placed in the opinions of those average statesmen by whom countries are ruled. For my own part I can only say that I have had occasion to read many thousand letters written by diplomatists and politicians, and I have hardly ever found an instance of one of them who understood the spirit and tendency of the age in which he lived.

[20] " Ministers in all parts of the country were thrown into prison, or declared rebels, and forced to abscond." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 250. Liberty of speech was

universal. Such was the panic, that it was generally believed that nothing could prevent the permanent establishment of despotism, unless there were some immediate and providential interference on behalf of the Church and the people.[21]

Nor can it be denied that there were plausible grounds for these apprehensions. The people had no friends except among the clergy, and the ablest of the clergy were either in prison or in exile.[22] To deprive the Church entirely of her leaders, James, in 1606, summoned to London Melville and seven of his colleagues, under pretence of needing their advice.[23] Having got possession of their persons, he detained them in England.[24] They were forbidden to return to Scotland; and Melville, who was most feared, was committed to custody. He was then imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained four years, and from which he was only liberated on condition of living abroad, and abandoning altogether his native country.[25] The seven ministers who had accompanied him to London were also imprisoned; but being considered less dangerous than their leader, they after a time were allowed to return home. The nephew of Melville was however ordered not to travel more than two miles from Newcastle; and his six companions were confined in different parts of Scotland.[26]

Everything now seemed ripe for the destruction of those ideas of equality of which, in Scotland, the Church was the sole representative. In 1610 a General Assembly was held at Glasgow; and as the members of it were nominated by the crown,[27] whatever the government wished was conceded. By their vote episcopacy was established, and the authority of the bishops over the ministers was fully recognized.[28] A little earlier, but in the same year, two courts of High

so completely suppressed, that in 1605, when the most zealous and intelligent clergy were banished, "a strait command" (was) "gevin to magistrats, and uther officiers of burrowis, that in cace any preacher sould speik opinlie aganis that baneisment, or for defence or mentenence of that assemblie, or pray publiklie for ther saiftie, that they sould be noted and manifested to the secret counsell, and corrected for their fault." *The Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 380.

[21] See an eloquent and touching passage in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vi. pp. 696, 697.

[22] "The godliest, wisest, learnedest, and most zealous men of the ministrie in Scotland, were either banished, warded, or detained in England, of purpose that they might not be a lett to the grand designe in hand." *Row's History of the Kirk*, p. 238.

[23] *Scot's Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk*, pp. 164, 165. Compare *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill*, pp. 642–645.

[24] "Quhen we wer gone out of the Palice a lytle way towardis Kingstoune, Mr. Alexander Hay sendis back for us, and withall, in the Uttir Court, reidis to us a chairge from the King not to returne to Scotland, nor to com neire the King, Quein, nor Prince their Courtis, without a speciall calling for and licence." *Melvill's Autobiography*, p. 661.

[25] *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 246, 252, 260, 337–339, 403, 407–411, 414. This truly great and fearless man died in exile, in 1622, p. 458.

[26] *Melvill's Autobiography and Diary*, p. 709. *Scot's Apologetical Narration*, p. 194. *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 252, 253, 267, 268.

[27] "Royal missives were sent to the presbyteries, nominating the individuals whom they should chuse as their representatives to it." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 387, 388. On the character of its members, compare *Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, edit. Glasgow, 1838, vol. i. p. 256. *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 320, 321. *Crookshank's Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1812, vol. i. p. 28; and *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vii. pp. 97, 98.

[28] *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 1096, 1097. The Assembly even forbade the democratic notion of equality to be advocated. See p. 1101. "Because it is vncivill that laws and constitutiouns, either Civill or Ecclesiasticall, being anes establischit and in force, by publick and opin consent, sould be controllit and callit in questioun by any person: therfor it is statute by vniforme consent of this haill Assemblie, that none of the Ministrie either in pulpitt in his preaching, or in the publick exercise, speake and reason against the acts of this present Assemblie, nor dissobey the same, vnder the paine of deprivatioun, being tryit and convict thereof; and *speciallie, that the questioun of equalitie and inequalitie in the Kirk be not treattit in pulpitt vnder the said paine.*"

Commission were erected, one at Saint Andrews, and one at Glasgow. To them all ecclesiastical courts were subordinate. They were armed with such immense power that they could cite any one they pleased before them, could examine him respecting his religious opinions, could have him excommunicated, and could fine or imprison him, just as they thought proper.[29] Finally, and to complete the humiliation of Scotland, the establishment of episcopacy was not considered complete until an act was performed which nothing but its being very ignominious could have saved from being ridiculed as an idle and childish farce. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Brechin and the Bishop of Galloway had to travel all the way to London in order that they might be touched by some English bishops. Incredible as it may appear, it was actually supposed that there was no power in Scotland sufficiently spiritual to turn a Scotchman into a prelate. Therefore it was that the Archbishop of Glasgow and his companions performed what was then an arduous journey to a strange and distant capital, for the sake of receiving some hidden virtue, which on their return home they might communicate to their brethren. To the grief and astonishment of their country, these unworthy priests, abandoning the traditions of their native land, and forgetting the proud spirit which animated their fathers, consented to abjure their own independence, to humble themselves before the English Church, and to submit to mummeries which in their hearts they must have despised, but which were now inflicted upon them by their ancient and inveterate foes.[30]

We may easily imagine what would be the future conduct of men who, merely

[29] Mr. Russell (*History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 88), misled, probably, by a passage in *Spottiswoode's History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 210, says, "A Court of High Commission was instituted." But it is certain that there were two such courts; one for the diocese of Saint Andrews, and one for that of Glasgow. See the "commissioun givin under the great seale to the two archbishops," dated 15th of February, 1610, in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vii. pp. 57–62. See also p. 210. They were not united till December, 1615. See *Scot's Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk*, pp. 218, 239; and *Crookshank's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 28. By the royal commission, these despotic tribunals were authorized (*Calderwood*, vol. vii. p. 59) "to call before them at suche tymes and places as they sall thinke meete, anie person or persons dwelling and remaining within their provinces respective above writtin of St. Andrews or Glasgow, or within anie dioceis of the same, being offenders ather in life or religioun, whom they hold anie way to be scandalous, and that they take tryell of the same; and if they find them guiltie and impenitent, refusing to acknowledge their offence, they sall give command to the preacher of that parish where they dwell, to proceed with sentence of excommunicatioun against them; which, if it be protracted, and their command by that minister be not presentlie obeyed, they sall conveene anie suche minister before them, and proceed in censuring of him for his disobedience, ather by suspensioun, deprivatioun, or wairding, according as in their discretioun they sall hold his obstinacie and refuse of their directioun to have deserved. And further, to fyne at their discretiouns, imprisoun, or warde anie suche persoun who, being convicted before them, they sall find upon tryell to have deserved anie suche punishment." Hereupon Calderwood justly remarks, p. 62: "This commissioun and executioun thereof, as it exalted the aspyring bishops farre above any prelat that ever was in Scotland, so it putt the king in possessioun of that which he had long tyme hunted for; to witt, of the royall prerogative, and absolute power to use the bodeis and goods of the subjects at pleasure, without forme or processe of the commoun law, even then when the Lower Hous in England was compleaning in their parliament upon the injurie therof. So our bishops were fitt instruments to overthrow the liberteis both of the Kirk and countrie."

[30] See *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 93, and *Kirkton's History*, p. 15. Kirkton indignantly says that James "perswaded a few unworthy men to perjure themselves, and after their episcopall consecration by the English bishops in England, to exercise that odious office in Scotland against their own oath and the consciences of their brethren." Compare the contemptuous notice, in *Row's History of the Kirk*, p. 283, on the "anoynting of oyle and other ceremonies," and on "the foolish guyses in it." Indeed, on this subject every Scotch writer who cared for the liberty of his country expressed

for their own aggrandizement, and to please their prince, could thus renounce the cherished independence of the Scotch Church. They who crouch to those who are above them, always trample on those who are below them. Directly they returned to Scotland, they communicated the consecration they had received in England to their fellow-bishops,[31] who were of the like mould to themselves, in so far as all of them aided James in his attempt to subjugate the liberties of their native country. Being now properly ordained, their spiritual life was complete ; it remained for them to secure the happiness of their temporal life. This they did by gradually monopolizing all authority, and treating with unsparing severity those who opposed them. The full triumph of the bishops was reserved for the reign of Charles I., when a number of them obtained seats in the privy-council, where they behaved with such overbearing insolence that even Clarendon, notwithstanding his notorious partiality for their order, censures their conduct.[32] In the time however of James I. they carried nearly everything before them.[33] They deprived the towns of their privileges, and forced them to receive magistrates of their own choosing.[34] They accumulated wealth, and made an ostentatious display of it ; which was the more disgraceful, as the country was miserably poor, and their fellow-subjects were starving around them.[35] The Lords of the Articles, without whose sanction no measure could be

himself either with contempt or indignation. [As has been above related, the Protestant polity had been imposed on Scotland through the armed force of England, called in for the purpose, in 1560. The Catholics had had to submit in that case. The Protestants were now submitting to the ecclesiastical polity of their chosen allies.—Ed.]

[31] Calderwood, with ill-suppressed bitterness, says, " efter the same maner that they were consecrated themselfs, *als neere as they could imitate.*" *History of the Kirk*, vol. vii. p. 152. Compare *Wodrow's Collections*, vol. i. part i. p. 293. " The Bishops ordeaned in England keeped as near the manner taken with themselves there as they could."

[32] " Some of them, by want of temper, or want of breeding, did not behave themselves with that decency in their debates, towards the greatest men of the kingdom, as in discretion they ought to have done, and as the others reasonably expected from them." *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, edit. Oxford, 1843, p. 35. In 1633 " nine of them were privy councillors ; " and " their pride was cried out upon as unsupportable." *Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 38. Sir John Scot imputes to them " insolence, pride and avarice." *Scot's Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen*, Edinburgh, 1754, p. 41. Ses also *Spalding's History of the Troubles*, vol. i. pp. 46, 47, Edinburgh, 1828, 4to.

[33] So early as 1613, a letter from James Inglish (preserved in *Wodrow's Collections*, vol. ii. part i. p. 110, Glasgow, 1845, 4to) complains that " the libertys of the Lord's Kirk are greatly abridged by the pride of Bishops, and their power daily increases over her." Civil rights were equally set at nought by the bishops ; and, among other enactments which they obtained, one was, " that no man should be permitted to practise or profess any physic, unless he had first satisfied the bishop of the diocese touching his religion." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 236. This at once gave them the control of the whole medical profession.

[34] " Not satisfied with ruling the church-courts, they claimed an extensive civil authority within their dioceses. The burghs were deprived of their privileges, and forced to receive such magistrates as their episcopal superiors, in concert with the court, were pleased to nominate." . . . " Archbishop Gladstanes, in a letter to the King, June the 9th, 1611, says : ' It was your pleasure and direction that I sould be possessed with the like privileges in the electione of the magistrats there (in St Andrews), as my lord of Glasgow is endued with in that his city. Sir, whereas they are troublesome, I will be answerable to your Majesty and Counsell for them, after that I be possessed of my right.' MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9. nº. 72." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 422.

[35] And their prodigality was equal to their rapacity. When Archbishop Gladstanes died, in 1615, it was ascertained that, " notwithstanding of the great rent of his bishopricks he died in the debt of twentie thowsand pounds." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vii. p. 197. See also p. 303. Also the case of the Bishop of Galloway, who died in 1619, and of whom Calderwood says (*History of the Kirk*, vol. vii. p. 350), " It is thought

presented to parliament, had been hitherto elected by laymen; but the bishops now effected a change, by virtue of which the right of nomination devolved on themselves.[36] Having thus gained possession of the legislature, they obtained the enactment of fresh penalties against their countrymen. Great numbers of the clergy they suspended; others they deprived of their benefices; others they imprisoned. The city of Edinburgh being opposed to the rites and ceremonies lately introduced, and being, like the rest of the country, hostile to episcopacy, the bishops fell on it also, displaced several of its magistrates, seized some of the principal citizens, and threatened to deprive it of the courts of justice, and of the honour of being the seat of government.[37]

In the midst of all this, and while things seemed to be at their worst, a great reaction was preparing. And the explanation of the reaction is to be found in that vast and pregnant principle on which I have often insisted, but which our common historians are unable to understand; namely, that a bad government, bad laws, or laws badly administered, are indeed extremely injurious at the time, but can produce no permanent mischief; in other words, they may harm a country, but can never ruin it. As long as the people are sound, there is life, and while there is life there will be reaction. In such case, tyranny provokes rebellion, and despotism causes freedom. But if the people are unsound, all hope is gone, and the nation perishes.* In both instances, government is in the long run inoperative, and is nowise responsible for the ultimate result. The ruling classes have for the moment immense power, which they invariably abuse, except when they are restrained either by fear or by shame. The people may inspire them with fear; public opinion may inspire them with shame. But whether or not that shall happen, depends on the spirit of the people, and on the state of opinion. These two circumstances are themselves governed by a long chain of antecedents, stretching back to a period always very distant, and sometimes so remote as to baffle observation. When the evidence is sufficiently abundant those antecedents may be generalized; and their generalization

that if just calculation were made of the commoditie extorted by him through his diocie, by advice of his two covetous counsellours, Andro Couper, his brother, and Johne Gilmour, wrytter in Edinburgh, for his use and theirs, by racting of rents, getting of grassoumes, setting of tacks, of teithes, and other like meanes, wold surmount the soume of an hundreth thousand merks, or, in the opinion of others, almost the double; so that manie within that diocie, and the annexed prelacies, sall hardlie recover their estates in their time." Compare *Stevenson's History of the Church*, pp. 212, 392.

[36] On this change, which was completed in 1621, see *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 88; *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vii. p. 490; and *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. i. p. 486, edit. Laing, Edinburgh, 1841.

[37] *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. vii. pp. 472–474, 507, 509, 511, 517–520, 530–543, 549–553, 566, 567, 614, 621. *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 90, 91. Laing, very unjustly, accuses the bishops of being so merciful as to disapprove of some of these transactions. But whoever has read much of the Scotch literature of the seventeenth century will cheerfully exonerate the bishops from a charge, which they would themselves have repelled, and to which they are nowise amenable.

[* Buckle here repeats a formula which we have before had to discount. No nation in modern times has "perished" save in the sense that Poland has been subjected; and to say that this is due to the "unsoundness" of the people is finally mere Pharisaism. Buckle proceeds to cite "general causes" as the determining forces. But these causes, on his own principles, must stand for either natural conditions or socio-political conditions. He here specifies neither. As no natural conditions can be stated that are adequate to the case, we must revert to socio-political conditions. These are in terms (*a*) of the influence of outside societies, and (*b*) of laws and governments. A nation, then, retrogades or progresses in terms either of its external or of its internal relations. Unless the former count for everything, the latter must count for something. The thesis that "government in the long run is inoperative" is thus an extravagance. "The long run" is simply the series of external and internal reactions.—Ed.]

conducts us to certain large and powerful causes, on which the whole movement depends. In short periods the operation of these causes is imperceptible, but in long periods it is conspicuous and supreme ; it colours the national character ; it controls the great sweep and average of affairs. In Scotland, as I have already shown, general causes * made the people love their clergy, and made the clergy love liberty.† As long as these two facts coexisted, the destiny of the nation was safe. It might be injured, insulted, and trampled upon. It might be harmed in various ways ; but the greater the harm the surer the remedy, because the higher the spirit of the country would be roused. All that was needed was a little more time, and a little more provocation. We who, standing at a distance, can contemplate these matters from an elevation, and see how events pressed on and thickened, cannot mistake the regularity of their sequence. Notwithstanding the apparent confusion, all was orderly and methodical. To us the scheme is revealed. There is the fabric, and it is of one hue and one make. The pattern is plainly marked, and fortunately it was worked into a texture whose mighty web was not to be broken, either by the arts or the violence of designing men.

It was therefore of no avail that tyranny did her utmost. It was of no avail that the throne was occupied by a despotic and unscrupulous king, who was succeeded by another, more despotic and more unscrupulous than himself. It was of no avail that a handful of meddling and intrusive bishops, deriving their consecration from London, and supported by the authority of the English church, took counsel together, and conspired against the liberties of their native land. They played the part of spies and of traitors, but they played it in vain. Yet everything that government could give them, it gave. They had the law on their side, and they had the right of administering the law. They were legislators, councillors, and judges. They had wealth ; they had high-sounding titles ; they had all the pomp and attributes for which they bartered their independence, and with which they hoped to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar. Still they could not turn back the stream ; they could not even stop it ; they could not prevent it from coming on, and swallowing them up in its course. Before that generation passed away, these little men, big though they were in their own conceit, succumbed, and fell. The hand of the age was upon them, and they were unable to resist.‡ They were struck down and humbled ; they were stripped of their offices, their honours, and their splendour ; they lost all which minds like theirs hold most dear. Their fate is an instructive lesson. It is a lesson both to the rulers of nations and to those who write the history of nations. To rulers, in so far as it is one of many proofs how little they can do, and how insignificant is the part which they play in the great drama of the world. To historians the result should be especially instructive, as convincing them that the events on which they concentrate their attention, and which they believe to be of supreme importance, are in reality of trifling value, and, so far from holding the first rank, ought to be made subservient to those large and comprehensive studies by whose aid alone we can ascertain the conditions which determine the trend and destiny of nations.

[* The causes specified have been distinctly " particular."—Ed.]

[† The next chapter fully demonstrates that what the Scots clergy strove for was not " liberty," but their own ascendancy. They insisted that all Catholics were " idolators," and as such ought to " die the death." Liberty was preserved only in the sense that monarchy and aristocracy were kept in check. See Buckle's later comments, below, at *note* 136.—Ed.]

[‡ Buckle again fails to explain the process of causation. The throne had gained power in the reign of James because the clergy and the nobles were now completely at variance on the fundamentally economic question of episcopacy. They were again united by the attempt of Charles to resume the alienated tithes on behalf of the crown. (See above, p. 370, *note*.) Between them, they had the people with them ; and the riots of 1637 were the planned result. The Covenant was part of the total scheme of self defence. Compare Burton, vol. vi. ch. 70.—Ed.]

The events that now happened in Scotland may be quickly told. The patience of the country was wellnigh exhausted, and the day of reckoning was at hand.[38] In 1637 the people began to rise. In the summer of that year, the first great riot broke out in Edinburgh.[39] The flame quickly spread, and nothing could stop it. By October, the whole nation was up, and an accusation was preferred against the bishops, which was signed by nearly every corporation, and by men of all ranks.[40] In November, the Scotch, in defiance of the Crown, organized a system of representation of their own, in which every class had a share.[41] Early in 1638 the National Covenant was framed; and the eagerness with which it was sworn to, showed that the people were determined at all hazards to vindicate their rights.[42] It was now evident that all was over. During the summer of 1638 preparations were made, and in the autumn the storm broke.[43] In November, the first General Assembly seen in Scotland for twenty years, met at Glasgow.[43] The Marquis of Hamilton, the king's commissioner, ordered the members to separate.[44] They refused.[45] Nor would they disband until they had done the work expected from them.[46] By their vote, the democratic institution of presbyteries was restored to its old power; the forms of consecration were done away with; the bishops were degraded from their functions, and episcopacy was abolished.[47]

[38] In October, 1637, Baillie, who was carefully watching the course of affairs, writes, "No man may speak any thing in publick for the king's part, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devill, farr above any thing that ever I could have imagined, though the masse in Latine had been presented." And in a postscript dated 3rd October he adds: "My fears in my former went no farther then to ane ecclesiastik separation, but now I am more affrayit for a bloudie civill warr." *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, edit. Laing, Edinburgh, 1841, vol. i. pp. 23, 25.

[39] *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 131. *Chambers' Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 101–104. *Spalding's History of the Troubles in Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 47, 48.

[40] "The accusation, among themselves a bond of union, and to their enemies a signa of hostility, was subscribed by the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, and afterwards by all ranks, and almost by every corporation in the kingdom." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 137.

[41] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 138.

[42] "It was signed by a large majority of the people, in a paroxysm of enthusiasm beyond all example in our history." *Chambers' Annals*, vol. ii. p. 105. Kirkton, who was a contemporary, says, "And though only eleven private men (and some of them very inconsiderable) had the boldness first to begin this work, without ever asking leave of king or council, yet was it very quickly taken by all the people of Scotland, with hands lifted up in most solemn manner." *Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 33. Lord Somerville, taking a somewhat different view of affairs, remarks that "the generalitie of the natione entered into a hellish covenant, wherein they mutually obleidged themselves to extirpate episcopacy, and to defend each other against all persones whatsoever, noe not excepting the persone of his sacred majestie; but upon conditiones of ther oune frameing." *Somerville's Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii. p. 187.

[43] There had been no General Assembly since 1618. *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, p. 102; and the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 88. But "the provincial synods, presbyteries, and sessions still remained, and in these good men mutually comforted one another." *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 162.

[44] "The assembly went on at such a rate, that the marquis judged it no longer fit to bear with their courses." *Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 128. "In end, seeing nothing said in reason did prevail, he, in his majesty's name, dissolved the assembly, and discharged their further proceeding under pain of treason." p. 135.

[45] *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 310.

[46] "Notwithstanding the Proclamation, the Assembly presently thereafter met, and sat daily for divers weeks, until they had done their affairs, and were themselves pleas'd to dissolve." *Guthry's Memoirs*, p. 41, edit. London, 1702.

[47] *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, from 1638 to 1842, Edinburgh, 1843, pp. 9–18. *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 332, 338

Thus the bishops fell even more rapidly than they had risen.[48] As, however, their fall was merely a part of the democratic movement, matters could not stop there.[49] Scarcely had the Scotch expelled their bishops, when they made war upon their king. In 1639, they took up arms against Charles. In 1640, they invaded England. In 1641, the king, with the hope of appeasing them, visited Scotland, and agreed to most of their demands. It was too late. The people were hot, and a cry for blood had gone forth.* War again broke out. The Scotch united with the English, and Charles was everywhere defeated. As a last chance, he threw himself upon the mercy of his northern subjects.[50] But his offences were of that rank and luxuriant growth, that it was impossible to forgive them. Indeed, the Scotch, instead of pardoning him, turned him to profit.† He had not only trampled on their liberties, he had also put them to an enormous expense. For the injury he could offer no adequate atonement; but the expense they had incurred might be defrayed. And as it is an old and recognized maxim that he who cannot pay with his purse shall pay with his body, the Scotch saw no reason why they should not derive some advantage from the person of their sovereign, particularly as, hitherto, he had caused them nothing but loss and annoyance. They therefore gave him up to the English, and in return received a large sum of money, which they claimed as arrears due to them for the cost of making war on him.[51] By this arrangement both of the contracting parties benefited.

[48] See, on their fall, some highly characteristic remarks in *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. i. p. 168. In 1639 Howell writes from Edinburgh, "The Bishops are all gone to wrack, and they have had but a sorry funeral; the very name is grown so contemptible, that a black dog, if he hath any white marks about him, is called *Bishop*. Our Lord of Canterbury is grown here so odious, that they call him commonly in the pulpit, the Priest of Baal, and the Son of Belial." *Howell's Letters*, edit. London, 1754, p. 276.

[49] "That people, after they had once begun, pursued the business vigorously, and with all imaginable contempt of the government." *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, p. 45. Now, for the first time, the English government began to tremble. On 13th December, 1639, Secretary Windebank writes: "His Majesty near these six weeks last past hath been in continual consultations with a select Committee of some of his Council (of which I have had the honour to be one), how to redress his affairs in Scotland, the fire continuing there, and growing to that danger, that *it threatens not only the Monarchical Government there, but even that of this kingdom.*" *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 81, Oxford, 1773, folio. This is the earliest intimation I have met with of Charles and his advisers being aware of their real peril. But though the king was capable of fear, he was incapable of compunction. There is no evidence on record to show that he even felt remorse for having planned and executed those arbitrary and unprincipled measures, by which he inflicted immense misery upon Scotland and England, but more especially upon Scotland.

[50] "The kinge was now so waik, haueing nether toune, fort, nor armie, and Oxford being a waik and onfortified toune, from whence he looked daylie to be taken perforce, he therefor resolues to cast himself into the arms of the Scots; who, being his native people, and of late so ongratfullie dealt with by the Inglish, he hoped their particular credit, and the credit of the wholl natione depending thereupon, they would not baslie rander him to the Inglish." *Gordon's Britane's Distemper*, p. 193, published by the Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844, 4to.

[51] That it may not be supposed that, as an Englishman, I misrepresent this transaction by looking at it from an English point of view, I will merely quote what Scotch writers have said respecting it. "Giveing up the king to the will and pleasure of the English parliament, that soe they might come by ther money." *Somerville's Memorie*

[* This is misleading. The civil war began in England in August, 1642; the Scotch Solemn League and Covenant was made only in September of 1643. There was now much less enthusiasm than had been shown for the previous National Covenant. See Hume Brown, ii. 330.—Ed.]

[† See editor's note above, p. 629, for a correct account of the situation. Buckle has generalized without proper study of the details.—Ed.]

The Scotch, being very poor, obtained what they most lacked. The English, a wealthy people, had indeed to pay the money, but they were recompensed by getting hold of their oppressor, against whom they thirsted for revenge ; and they took good care never to let him loose until they had exacted the last penalty of his great and manifold crimes.[52]

After the execution of Charles I., the Scotch recognized his son as his successor. But before they would crown the new king, they subjected him to a treatment which hereditary sovereigns are not much accustomed to receive. They made him sign a public declaration, expressing his regret for what had happened, and acknowledging that his father, moved by evil counsels, had unjustly shed the blood of his subjects. He was also obliged to declare that by these things he felt humbled in spirit. He had moreover to apologize for his own errors, which he ascribed partly to his inexperience, and partly to the badness of his education.[53] To evince the sincerity of this confession, and in order that the con-

of the Somervilles, vol. ii. p. 366. " The Scots sold their unfortunate king, who had fled to them for protection, to the commissioners of the English Parliament, for 200,000*l.* sterling." *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 38. " The incident itself was evidence of a bargain with a *quid pro quo*." *Burton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 493. " The sale of the king to the parliament." *Napier's Life of Montrose*, Edinburgh, 1840, p. 448. " The king was delivered up, or rather sold, to the parliament's commissioners." *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. i. p. 91. " Their arrears were undoubtedly due ; the amount was ascertained before the dispute concerning the disposal of his person, and the payment was undertaken by the English parliament, five months previous to the delivery, or surrender of the king. But the coincidence, however unavoidable, between that event and the actual discharge and departure of their army, still affords a presumptive proof of the disgraceful imputation of having sold their king ; 'as the English, unless previously assured of receiving his person, would never have relinquished a sum so considerable as to weaken themselves, while it strengthened a people with whom such a material question remained to be discussed.' " *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 369, 370. [Most of these citations are from bigoted royalists, whose remarks should have reminded Buckle that " the Scotch " took different sides, like the English.—Ed.]

[52] A letter from Sir Edw. Hyde to Lord Hatton, dated April 12, 1649 (in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 479, Oxf. 1773, fol.), says of Charles II., that the Scotch " sold his father to those who murdered him." But this is not true. Charles I., though certainly bought by the English, was not murdered by them. He was tried in the face of day ; he was found guilty ; he was executed. And most assuredly never did a year pass without men far less criminal than he, suffering the same fate. Possibly they are right who deem all capital punishment needless. That, however, has never been proved ; and if this last and most terrible penalty is ever to be exacted, I cannot tell where we should find a more fitting subject to undergo it, than a despot who seeks to subjugate the liberties of the people over whom he is called to rule, inflicts cruel and illegal punishment on those who oppose him, and, sooner than renounce his designs, engages in a civil war, setting fathers against their children, disorganizing society, and causing the land to run with blood. Such men are outlaws ; they are the enemies of the human race ; who shall wonder f they fall, or, having fallen, who shall pity them ? [No historian now calls the execution of Charles I. a murder, but the statement in the text really gives some colour to that view by suggesting that the victors all along intended to execute Charles. They of course did not, but long hoped to come to a settlement with him. His duplicity forced on them final measures. On the other hand, however, the charge of despotism lies as irrefutably against Cromwell as against Charles, and the language of the text and of the foregoing note is thus far from being judicial.—Ed.]

[53] The declaration was signed by Charles on the 16th August, 1650. An abridgment of it is given in *Balfour's Annales of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 92–94 ; but the entire document is preserved by Sir Edward Walker. See *Journal of Affairs in Scotland*, in *Walker's Historical Discourses*, London, folio, 1705, pp. 170–176. In it Charles is made to state that "though his Majesty as a dutiful son be obliged to honour the memory of his Royal Father, and have in estimation the person of his Mother ; yet doth he desire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit before God, because of his Father's hearkening unto and following

fession might be generally known, he was commanded to keep a day of fasting and humiliation, in which the whole nation would weep and pray for him, in the hope that he might escape the consequences of the sins committed by his family.[54]

The spirit of which acts like these are but symptoms, continued to animate the Scotch during the rest of the seventeenth century. And fortunately for them it did so. For the reigns of Charles II. and James II. were but repetitions of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.* From 1660 to 1688 Scotland was again subjected to a tyranny so cruel and so exhausting that it would have broken the energy of almost any other nation.[55] The nobles, whose power had been slowly but constantly declining,[56] were unable to resist the English, with whom indeed

evil councils and his opposition to the work of reformation, and to the solemn league and covenant by which so much of the blood of the Lord's people hath been shed in these kingdoms." He went on to say that though he might palliate his own misconduct by pleading "his education and age," he thinks it better to "ingeniously acknowledge all his own sins and the sins of his father's house." Burnet (*History of his own Time*, vol. ii. p. 97) says of this declaration: "In it there were many hard things. The king owned the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family: he acknowledged the bloodshed in the late wars lay at his father's door: he expressed a deep sense of his own ill education," &c.

[54] In reference to this event, the following entry occurs in Lamont's Journal: "1650, Dec. 22.—The fast appointed by the commission of the kirke to be keiped throughe the kingdome before the coronatione, was keiped att Largo the forsaide day by Mr. Ja. Magill; his lecture, Reu. 3. from v. 14 to the end of the chapt.; his text Reu. 2. 4, 5. Vpon the Thursday following, the 26 of this instant, the fast was keiped in likemaner; his lecture 2. Chro. 29 to v. 12; his text 2. Chron. 12, 12. The causes of the first day (not read) was, the great contempt of the gospell, holden forth in its branches; of the second day (which were read), the sinns of the king, and of his father's house, where sundry offences of K. James the 6 were acknowledged, and of K. Charles the 1, and of K. Ch. the 2. nowe king." *The Diary of Mr. John Lamont of Newton*, p. 25, Edinburgh, 1830, 4to. See also *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 107; *Nicoll's Diary*, Edinburgh, 4to, 1836, p. 38; *Row's Continuation of Blair's Autobiography*, edit. Wodrow Society, p. 255; *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 253; *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, edit. Spalding Club, p. 169; and, above all, the *Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, published by the Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1839, 4to, pp. 88, 89.

[55] Wodrow, who had before him the records of the Privy Council, besides other evidence now lost, says that the period from 1660 to 1688 was "a very horrid scene of oppression, hardships, and cruelty, which, were it not incontestably true, and well vouched and supported, could not be credited in after ages." *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, vol. i. p. 57. And the Reverend Alexander Shields quaintly but truly observes, "that the said government was the most untender, unpeaceable, tyrannical, arbitrary and wicked, that ever was in Scotland in any age or period." *Shields' Scots Inquisition*, Edinburgh, 1745, p. 24. [Nevertheless it was a minority who were tyrannized over, not the mass of the nation. See below, p. 711.—Ed.]

[56] When James I. ascended the throne of England, "the principal native nobility" accompanied him; and "the very peace which ensued upon the union of the crowns may be considered as the commencement of an era in which many of our national strongholds were either transformed into simple residences or utterly deserted." *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, 4to, 1860, pp. 137, 166. The nobles "had no further occasion to make a figure in war, their power in vassalage was of little use, and their influence of course decayed. They knew little of the arts of peace, and had no disposition to cultivate them." *The Interest of Scotland Considered*, Edinburgh, 1733, p. 85. Under Charles I. the movement continued; "which fell out partly through the giddiness of the times, but more by the way his Majesty had taken at the beginning of his reign; at which time he

[* This is inexact. In the reign of Charles II. there was no attempt to impose a ritual on the Presbyterian Church, though bishops were imposed. And there was no attempt to recover the tithes.—Ed.]

they rather seemed willing to combine, in order that they might have a share in plundering and oppressing their own country.[57] In this, the most unhappy period through which Scotland had passed since the fourteenth century, the government was extremely powerful; the upper classes, crouching before it, thought only of securing their own safety; the judges were so corrupt that justice, instead of being badly administered, was not administered at all;[58] and the parliament, completely overawed, consented to what was termed the recissory act, by which, at a single stroke, all laws were repealed which had been enacted since 1633; it being considered that those twenty-eight years formed an epoch of which the memory should if possible be effaced.[59]

did recover from divers of them their hereditary offices, and also pressed them to quit their tithes (which formerly had kept the gentry in a dependence upon them), whereby they were so weaken'd, that now when he stood most in need of them (except the chief of the clans), they could command none but their vassals" *Guthry's Memoirs*, edit. 1702, pp. 127, 128. Then came the civil wars, and the rule of Cromwell, during which they suffered both in person and in property. Compare *Chambers' Annals*, vol. ii. p. 225, with *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 515, 516. In 1654 Baillie writes (*Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 249): "Our nobilitie, weell near all, are wracked." In 1656, "Our nobles lying up in prisons, and under forfaultries, or debts, private or publict, are for the most part either broken or breaking." *Ibid.*, p. 317. And, in 1658, the same observer writes (vol. iii. p. 387): "Our noble families are almost gone: Lennox hes little in Scotland unsold; Hamilton's estate, except Arran and the Baronrie of Hamilton, is sold; Argyle can pay little annuel rent for seven or eight hundred thousand merks; and he is no more drowned in debt than publict hatred, almost of all, both Scottish and English; the Gordons are gone; the Douglasses little better; Eglintoun and Glencairn on the brink of breaking; many of our chief families' estates are cracking; nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the tyme."

The result of all this is thus described by Wodrow, under the year 1661: "Our nobility and gentry were remarkably changed to the worse: it was but few of such, who had been active in the former years, were now alive, and those few were marked out for ruin. A young generation had sprung up under the English government, educated under penury and oppression; their estates were under burden, and many of them had little other prospect of mending their fortunes but by the king's favour, and so were ready to act that part he was best pleased with." *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 89.

[57] "At the Restoration, Charles II. regained full possession of the royal prerogative in Scotland; and the nobles, whose estates were wasted, or their spirit broken, by the calamities to which they had been exposed, were less able and less willing than ever to resist the power of the crown. During his reign, and that of James VII., the dictates of the monarch were received in Scotland with most abject submission. The poverty to which many of the nobles were reduced, rendered them meaner slaves and more intolerable tyrants than ever. The people, always neglected, were now odious, and loaded with every injury, on account of their attachment to religious and political principles, extremely repugnant to those adopted by their princes." *Robertson's History of Scotland*, book viii. pp. 257, 258.

[58] A writer of great authority, speaking of the time of William III., says: "It is scarcely possible to conceive how utterly polluted the fountain of justice had become during the two preceding reigns. The Scottish bench had been profligate and subservient to the utmost conceivable extent of profligacy and subserviency." *Burton's History of Scotland, from 1689 to 1748*, London, 1853, vol. i. p. 72. See also vol. ii. p. 37; and *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. i. p. 194, Glasgow, 1795.

[59] *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 10. *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. p. 458. As few persons take the trouble to read Scotch Acts of Parliament, I will extract from this one its most argumentative passage. "And forasmuch as now it hath pleased Almighty God, by the power of his oune right hand, so miraculously to restore the Kings Maiestie to the Government of his Kingdomes, and to the exercise of his Royall power and Soveranity over the same: The estates of Parliat doe conceave themselffs obleidged in dischairge of ther duetie and conscience to God and the Kings Maiestie, to imploy all their

But though the higher ranks ignominiously deserted their post, and destroyed the laws which upheld the liberties of Scotland, the result proved that the liberties themselves were indestructible. This was because the spirit remained by which the liberties had been won. The nation was sound at the core ; * and while that was the case, legislators could, indeed, abolish the external manifestations of freedom, but could by no means touch the causes on which the freedom depended. Liberty was prostrate, but yet it lived. And the time would surely come when a people who loved it so dearly would vindicate their rights. The time would come, when, in the words of the great poet of English liberty, the nation would rouse herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks, would be as an eagle muing her mighty youth, kindling her undazzled eyes at the midday beam, and purging and unscaling her sight at the heavenly fountain ; while the timorous birds of her evil destiny, loving the twilight, should flutter about, amazed at what she meant.

Still, the crisis was sad and dangerous. The people, deserted by every one except their clergy, were ruthlessly plundered, murdered, and hunted, like wild beasts, from place to place.† From the tyranny of the bishops they had so recently smarted, that they abhorred episcopacy more than ever ; and yet that institution was not only forced upon them, but government put at its head Sharp, a cruel and rapacious man, who, in 1661, was raised to the archbishopric of St. Andrews.[60] He set up a court of ecclesiastical commission, which filled

power and interest for vindicateing his Maiesties Authority from all these violent invasions that have been made upon it ; And so far as is possible to *remove out of the way every thing that may retaine any remembrance of these things* which have been so enjurious to his Mâtie and his Authority, so prejudiciall and dishonourable to the kingdome, and distructive to all just and true interests within the same." . . . " Not to retaine any remembrance thairof, but that the same shall be held in *everlasting oblivion*." *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 87, edit. folio, 1820. The date of this Act is 28th March, 1661.

[60] He was made " primate " in 1661, but did not arrive in Scotland till April, 1662. *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 236, 247 ; and *Nicoll's Diary*, pp. 363, 364. " That he was decent, if not regular, in his deportment, endued with the most industrious diligence, and not illiterate, was never disputed ; that he was vain, vindictive, perfidious, at once haughty and servile, rapacious and cruel, his friends have never attempted to disown." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 98, 99. The formal establishment of episcopacy was in the autumn of 1661, as we learn from an entry in Lamont's Diary. " 1661. Sept. 5 being Thursday, (the chancelour, Glencairne, and the E. of Rothes, haueing come downe from court some dayes before), the cownsell of state satt att Edb., and the nixt day, being Fryday, they caused emitte and be proclaimed ouer the Crosse, a proclamation in his Maj. name, for establishing Episcopacie againe in the church of Scotlande ; which was done with great solemnitie, and was afterwarde printed. *All persons, wither men or weomen, were discharged to speake against that office, under the paine of treason*." *The Diary of Mr. John Lamont*, p. 140. This, as we learn from another contemporary, was on account of " the Kinges Majestie having stedfastlie resolvit to promove the estait, power, and dignitie of Bischops, and to *remove all impedimentes contrary thairto*." *Nicoll's Diary*, 4to, p. 353 ; on 21st November, 1661. This curious diary, written by John Nicoll, and extending from 1650 to 1667, was printed at Edinburgh, in 1836, by the Bannatyne Club, and is now not often met with.

[* Buckle here applies to Scotland a very different measure from that which he has meted to Spain. On the face of the case, it was only the English Revolution of 1688 that " saved " Scottish liberties. Strictly speaking, they *had* been destroyed, and had to be reconstituted. " Sound at the core " is a metaphor which has no proper place in sociology, and the ensuing rhetoric really explains nothing.—Ed.]

[† It must not be forgotten that the persecuted Covenanters were a minority, and that in the Eastern Lowlands the common people had little or no sympathy with them. See Burton, *History*, vii. 172. It must further be remembered that the persecuted Cameronians were themselves determined opponents of toleration.—Ed.]

the prisons to overflowing; and when they would hold no more, the victims were transported to Barbadoes,* and other unhealthy settlements.[61] The people, being determined not to submit to the dictation of government respecting their religious worship, met together in private houses; and when that was declared illegal, they fled from their houses to the fields. But there, too, the bishops were upon them.[62] Lauderdale, who for many years was at the head of affairs, was greatly influenced by the new prelates, and aided them with the authority of the executive.[63] Under their united auspices a new con-

[61] *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 383, 390–395. *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 38: "A court of ecclesiastical commission was procured by Sharp." See also p. 41: "Under the influence of Sharp and the prelates, which Lauderdale's friends were unable to resist, the government seemed to be actuated by a blind resentment against its own subjects." Compare *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 365. "The truth is, the whole face of the government looked liker the proceedings of an inquisition, than of legal courts; and yet Sharp was never satisfied." Another contemporary, Kirkton, says of these Commissioners: "For ought I could hear, never one appeared before them that escapt without punishment. Their custom was, without premonition or lybell, to ask a man a question, and judge him presently, either upon his silence or his answer." . . . "They many times doubled the legal punishment; and not being satisfied with the fyne appointed by law, they used to add religation to some remote places, or deportation to Barbadoes, or selling into slavery." *Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 206. See also *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland*, 1667, pp. 126–130. But as particular cases bring such matters more clearly before the mind, I will transcribe, from *Crookshank's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 154, the sentences pronounced on a single occasion by this episcopal court. "The treatment of some of the parishioners of Ancrum is not to be omitted. When their excellent minister, Mr. Livingstone, was taken from them, one Mr. James Scot, who was under the sentence of excommunication, was presented to that charge. On the day fixed for his settlement, several people did meet together to oppose it; and particularly a country woman, desiring to speak with him in order to dissuade him from intruding himself upon a reclaiming people, pulled him by the cloak, intreating him to hear her a little; whereupon he turned and beat her with his staff. This provoked two or three boys to throw a few stones, which neither touched him nor any of his company. However, it was presently looked upon as a treasonable tumult, and therefore the sheriff and justices of the peace in that bounds fined and imprisoned some of these people, which, one would think, might atone for a crime of this nature. But the high-commission, not thinking that sufficient, ordered those criminals to be brought before them. Accordingly, the four boys and this woman, with two brothers of hers of the name of Turnbull, were brought prisoners to Edinburgh. The four boys confessed, that, upon Scot's beating the woman, they had thrown each a stone. The commissioner told them that hanging was too good for them. However, the sentence of this merciless court only was, that they should be scourged through the city of Edinburgh, burnt in the face with a hot iron, and then sold as slaves to Barbadoes. The boys endured their punishment like men and Christians, to the admiration of multitudes. The two brothers were banished to Virginia; and the woman was ordered to be whipped through the town of Jedburgh. Burnet, bishop of Glasgow, when applied to that she might be spared lest she should be with child, mildly answered, That he would make them claw the itch out of her shoulders."

[62] They were invested with such immense power, that "the old set of bishops made by the parliament, 1612, were but pigmies to the present high and mighty lords." *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 262. See also, at p. 286, the remarks of Douglas: "It is no wonder then the complaint against their bishops be, that their little finger is thicker than the loins of the former."

[63] In 1663 Middleton was dismissed; and was succeeded by Lauderdale, who "was dependent upon the prelates, and was compelled to yield to their most furious demands." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 33. "The influence, or rather

[* This was done by Cromwell to many of his victims, Irish and English.—Ed.]

trivance was hit upon ; and a body of soldiers, commanded by Turner, a drunken and ferocious soldier, was let loose upon the people.[64] The sufferers, galled to madness, rose in arms. This was made the pretence, in 1667, for fresh military executions, by which some of the fairest parts of western Scotland were devastated, houses burned, men tortured, women ravished.[65] In 1670 an act of parliament was passed, declaring that whoever preached in the fields without permission should be put to death.[66] Some lawyers were found bold enough to

the tyranny, which was thus at the discretion of the prelates, was unlimited ; and they exercised it with an unsparing hand." *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 284.

[64] "Sir James Turner, that commanded them, was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk ; and that was very often." *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 364. Kirkton (*History of the Church*, p. 221) says : "Sir James Turner hade made ane expedition to the west countrey *to subdue it to the bishops*, in the year 1664 : another in the year 1665 ; and a third in the year 1666 ; and this was the worst." Full particulars will be found in *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 373–375, 411, vol. ii. pp. 8, 17, vol. iii. pp. 264, 265. "This method of dragooning people to the church, as it is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, so it was a stranger in Scotland, till Bishop Sharpe and the prelates brought it in." vol. i. p. 401.

Sir James Turner, whose Memoirs, written by himself, were not published till thirty years ago, relates an anecdote of his own drunkenness in a strain of maudlin piety well worthy of his career. *Turner's Memoirs of his own Life*, Edinburgh, 1829, 4to, pp. 42, 43. At p. 206, this impudent man writes : "And yet I confesse, my humour never was, nor is not yet, one of the calmest ; when it will be, God onlie knoues ; yet by many sad passages of my life, I know that *it hath beene good for me to be afflicted.*" Perhaps, however, he may take the benefit of his assertion (p. 144), "that I was so farre from exceeding or transgressing my commission and instructions, that I never came the full length of them." Considering the cruelties he committed, what sort of instructions could his superiors have given to him ?

[65] "Sir James Turner lately had forced Galloway to rise in arms, by his cruelty the last and former years ; but he was an easy master, compared with General Dalziel, his ruffians, and Sir William Bannatyne, this year." *Wodrow's Church of Scotland*. vol. ii. p. 62. Dalziel "cruelly tortured whom he would." p. 63. One woman "is brought prisoner to Kilmarnock, where she was sentenced to be let down to a deep pit, under the house of the dean, full of toads and other vile creatures. Her shrieks thence were heard at a great distance." p. 64. Two countrymen were "bound together with cords, and hanged up by their thumbs to a tree, there to hang all night." *Ibid.* Sir William Bannatyne's soldiers seized a woman, "and bound her, and put lighted matches betwixt her fingers for several hours ; the torture and pain made her almost distracted ; she lost one of her hands, and in a few days she died." *Ibid.* "Oppressions, murders, robberies, rapes." p. 65. "He made great fires, and laid down men to roast before them, when they would not, or could not, give him the money he required, or the information he was seeking." p. 104. See also *Crookshank's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 204–207. This History is based upon Wodrow's great work, but contains many facts with which Wodrow was unacquainted. See *Crookshank*, vol. i. p. 11. Respecting the outrages in 1667, there are some horrible details in a book published in that very year, under the title of *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland*. See, especially, the summary at p. 174 : "wounding, beating, stripping and imprisoning men's persons, violent breaking of their houses both by day and night, and beating and wounding of wives and children, ravishing and deflowring of women, forcing wives and other persons by fired matches and other tortures to discover their husbands and nearest relations, although it be not within the compass of their knowledge, and driving and spoiling all their goods that can be carried away, without respect to guilt or innocency."

[66] "That whosoever without licence or authoritie forsaid shall preach, expound Scripture, or pray at any of these meetings in the ffeild, or in any house wher ther be moe persons nor the house contains, so as some of them be without doors (which is heerby declared to be a feild conventicle), or who shall convocat any number of people to these meetings, shall be punished with death and confiscation of ther goods." *Acts of the*

defend innocent men, when they were tried for their lives; it was therefore determined to silence them also, and, in 1674, a great part of the Faculty of Advocates was expelled from Edinburgh.[67] In 1678, by the express command of government, the Highlanders were brought down from their mountains, and, during three months, were encouraged to slay, plunder, and burn at their pleasure the inhabitants of the most populous and industrious parts of Scotland. For centuries the bitterest animosity had existed between the Highlanders and Lowlanders; and now these savage mountaineers * were called from their homes, that they might take full revenge. And well they glutted their ire. During three months they enjoyed every license. Eight thousand[68] armed Highlanders, invited by the English government, and receiving beforehand an indemnity for every excess,[69] were left to work their will upon the towns and villages of Western Scotland. They spared neither age nor sex. They deprived the people of their property; they even stripped them of their clothes, and sent them out naked to die in the fields. Upon many they inflicted the most horrible tortures. Children, torn from their mothers, were foully abused; while both mothers and daughters were subjected to a fate compared to which death would have been a joyful alternative.[70]

Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. p. 9, edit. 1820, folio. This was on the 13th August, 1670.

[67] The immediate pretence being to do away with appeals. See *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 72–74.

[68] "Savage hosts of Highlanders were sent down to depopulate the western shires to the number of ten or eleven thousand, who acted most outrageous barbarities, even almost to the laying some counties desolate." *A Cloud of Witnesses for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ*, edit. Glasgow, 1779, p. 18. But most authorities state the number to have been eight thousand. See *Kirkton's History*, p. 386; *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, p. 154; *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. ii. p. 134; *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, p. 67; and *Life and Sufferings of John Nisbet*, in *Select Biographies*, published by the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 381. Chalmers, however, in his *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 592, says 10,000. [Six thousand seems to be nearer the mark. To them were added, however, 3,000 Lowland militia. (Hume Brown, *Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 406.) And they had free quarters, not for three months but for one (*Ib.*) only, in the houses of those who refused to sign a document abjuring conventicles, etc. Even Burton, who accepts Wodrow's account of the plundering, silently sets aside (vii. 191) his stories of outrages. Buckle also, in the next chapter, rejects his testimony as to supernatural interventions on behalf of preachers. As regards his charges against the Lowland troops of Dalziel, there are other testimonies in corroboration. Here there are none. And it is certain that any thumb-screws possessed by Highlanders must have been supplied to them by the Lowland Government.—Ed.]

[69] "They were indemnified against all pursuits, civil and criminal, on account of killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning, such as should oppose them." *Crookshank's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 337, 338.

[70] Short and imperfect notices of this "Highland Host," as it was called at the time, may be found in *Kirkton's History*, pp. 385–390, and in *Crookshank's History*, vol. i. pp. 354, 355. But the fullest account of the enormities committed by these barbarians is in Wodrow's great work, collected from authentic and official documents. See his *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 375–413, 421–432, vol. iii. pp. 76, 79, 486. They were provided beforehand with implements of torture. "They had good store of iron shackles, as if they were to lead back vast numbers of slaves, and thumb-locks, as they call them" (*i.e.* thumb-screws), "to make their examinations and trials with," vol. ii. p. 389. "In some places they tortured people by scorching their bodies at vast fires, and otherwise," vol. ii. p. 422. Compare *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 88. "Neither age nor sex was exempt from outrage, and torture was freely employed to

[* Above, in *note* 65, and below, in *note* 71, the grossest savageries are represented as committed by Lowlanders. Yet the epithet "savage" is always reserved by Buckle, as by his Lowland authorities, for the Highlanders.—Ed.]

It was in this way that the English government * sought to break the spirit, and to change the opinions, of the Scotch people. The nobles looked on in silence, and, so far from resisting, had not even the courage to remonstrate. The parliament was equally servile, and sanctioned whatever the government demanded.† Still the people were firm. Their clergy, drawn from the middle classes, clung to them ; they clung to their clergy, and both were unchanged. The bishops were hated as allies of the government, and were with reason regarded as public enemies. They were known to have favoured, and often to have suggested, the atrocities which had been committed ;[71] and they were so pleased with the punishment inflicted upon their opponents that no one was surprised when a few years later they, in an address to James II., the most cruel of all the Stuarts, declared that he was the darling of heaven, and hoped that God might give him the hearts of his subjects, and the necks of his enemies.[72]

The character of the prince whom the bishops thus delighted to honour is now well understood. Horrible as were the crimes which had been perpetrated, they were surpassed by what occurred when he in 1680 assumed the direction of affairs.[73] He had worked himself to that pitch of iniquity, as to derive actual enjoyment from witnessing the agonies of his fellow-creatures. This is an abyss of wickedness into which even the most corrupt natures rarely fall. There have been, and always will be, many men who care nothing for human suffering, and who will inflict any amount of pain in order to gain certain ends. But to take delight in the spectacle is a peculiar and hideous abomination. James, however, was so dead to shame that he did not care even to conceal his horrible tastes. Whenever torture was inflicted, he was sure to be present, feasting

extort a confession of hidden wealth." And, at p. 91, "The Highlanders, after exacting free quarters, and wasting the country for three months, were dismissed to their hills with impunity and wealth."

[71] "Indeed, the whole of the severity, hardships, and bloodshed from this year" (1661), "until the revolution, was either actually brought on by the bishops, procured by them, or done for their support." *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 223. "It was our prelates who pushed the council to most of their severities." p. 247. "The bishops, indeed, violently pushed prosecutions." *Crookshank's History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 298. In 1666, "As to the Prelates, they resolved to use all severities, and to take all imaginable cruel and rigorous ways and courses, first against the rest of the prisoners, and then against the whole west of Scotland." *Row's Continuation of Blair's Autobiography*, pp. 505, 506, edit. Edinburgh, 1848. This interesting work is edited by Dr. M'Crie, and published by the Wodrow Society.

[72] In 1688 "the bishops concurred in a pious and convivial address to James, as the darling of heaven, that God might give him the hearts of his subjects and the necks of his enemies." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 193.

[73] "After the Duke of York came down in October" (1680), "the persecution turned yet more severe." *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 225. "Persecution and tryanny, mainly promoted by the Duke of York's instigation." *Shields' Hind Let Loose*, p. 147. "Immediately upon his mounting the throne, the executions and acts prosecuting the persecution of the poor wanderers were more cruel than ever." p. 200.

[* The tyranny in Scotland was carried on by Scottish officials. There were royalists there as well as in England. See below as to the bishops. Buckle's repeated allusions to "the English government" are thus misleading.—Ed.]

[† This misrepresents the facts. There was no parliament in 1678. In 1673 the Parliament had opposed the policy of the government, demanding redress of grievances before voting supplies. It was accordingly dissolved despite protest, and no other was summoned during the administration of Lauderdale, which ended in December, 1679. (Hume Brown, *History*, ii. 403–4). Nevertheless, "a body of gentlemen prepared to go to the court in London," and there protest against the employment of the Highland Host. They were prohibited by an Act of Council. (Burton, vii. 190.)—Ed.]

his eyes, and revelling with a fiendish joy.[74] It makes our flesh creep to think that such a man should have been the ruler of millions. But what shall we say to the Scotch bishops, who applauded him of whose conduct they were daily witnesses? Where can we find language strong enough to stigmatize those recreant priests, who, having passed years in attempting to subjugate the liberties of their country, did towards the close of their career, and just before their final fall, band together, and employ their united authority, as ministers of a holy and peaceful religion, to stamp with public approval a prince whose malignant cruelty made him loathed by his contemporaries, and whose revolting predilections, unless we ascribe them to a diseased brain, are not only a slur upon the age which tolerated them, but a disgrace to the higher instincts of our common nature?

So utterly corrupt, however, were the ruling classes in Scotland * that such crimes seem hardly to have excited indignation. The sufferers were refractory subjects, and against them everything was lawful. The usual torture, which was called the torture of the boots, was to place the leg in a frame, into which wedges were driven until the bones were broken.[75] But when James visited Scotland, an opinion began to grow up that this was too lenient, and that other means must be devised. The spirit which he communicated to his subordinates animated his immediate successors, and in 1684, during his absence, a new instrument was introduced, termed the thumbikins. This was composed of small steel screws, arranged with such diabolical art that not only the thumb,

[74] This was well known in Scotland; and is evidently alluded to by a writer of that time, the Rev. Alexander Shields, who calls James not a man, but a monster. See *Shields' Hind Let Loose*, 1687, p. 365. "This man, or monster rather, that is now mounted the throne." And a monster surely he was. Compare *Crookshank's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 66, where it is mentioned that when Spreul was tortured "the Duke of York was pleased to gratify his eyes with this delightful scene." Also *Wodrow's History*, vol. iii. p. 253, and *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 116. According to Burnet, the duke's pleasure at witnessing human agony was a cold and as it were a speculative pleasure, as if he were present for the purpose of contemplating some curious experiment. But James was so excitable a man that this is hardly likely. At all events, the remarks of Burnet have a painful interest for those who study these dark, and, as we may rejoice to think, these very rare forms of human malignity. "When any are to be struck in the boots, it is done in the presence of the council; and upon that occasion almost all offer to run away. The sight is so dreadful, that without an order restraining such a number to stay, the board would be forsaken. But the duke while he had been in Scotland was so far from withdrawing that he looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and *with an attention, as if he had been to look on some curious experiment.* This gave a terrible idea of him to all that observed it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him." *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. ii. pp. 416, 417. [There is no evidence here as to "revelling with a fiendish joy." That James was cruel there can be no question. But Buckle has expressly claimed for the old inquisitors, who showed the same disposition, that they were conscientious men. (Above, p. 108). The difference of tone here is hardly scientific.—Ed.]

[75] Shields (*A Hind Let Loose*, p. 186) describes the boots as "a cruel engine of iron, whereby, with wedges, the leg is tortured until the marrow come out of the bone." Compare *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland*, 1667, p. 268: "the extraordinary compression both of flesh, sinews, and bones, by the force of timber wedges and hammer."

[* Such a statement does not consist with the facts (1) that fifty advocates withdrew from the Edinburgh bar in 1674–76, in resistance to the interference of Lauderdale with the administration of the courts; and (2) that on the passing of the Test Act in 1681 not only the Marquis of Argyle but the President of the Court of Session and many gentlemen and episcopal clergymen refused to subscribe. (Burton, vii. 194–5; Hume Brown, ii. 418; Mathieson, *Politics and Religion: a Study in Scottish History*, 1902, ii. 299.)—Ed.]

but also the whole hand, could be compressed by them, producing pain more exquisite than any hitherto known, and having moreover the advantage of not endangering life; so that the torture could be frequently repeated on the same person.[76]

After this, little more need be said.[77] From the mere mention of such things the mind recoils with disgust. The reader of the history of that time sickens and faints at the contrivances by which these abject creatures sought to stifle public opinion, and to ruin for ever a gallant and high-spirited people.* But now, as before, they laboured in vain. More yet was however to be borne. The short reign of James II. was ushered in by an act of singular barbarity. A few weeks after this bad man came to the throne all the children in Annandale and Nithsdale, between the ages of six and ten, were seized by the soldiers, separated from their parents, and threatened with immediate death.[78] The

[76] In 1684 Carstairs was subjected to this torture. See his own account, in a letter printed in *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 96–100. He writes (p. 99): "After this communing, the king's smith was called in, to bring in a new instrument to torture by the thumbkins, that had never been used before. For whereas the former was only to screw on two pieces of iron above and below with finger and thumb, these were made to turn about the screw with the whole hand. And under this torture I continued near an hour and a half." See also the case of Spence, in the same year, in *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. ii. p. 418. "Little screws of steel were made use of, that screwed the thumbs with so exquisite a torment, that he sunk under this; for Lord Perth told him, they would screw every joint of his whole body, one after another, till he took the oath." Laing (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 143) says, "the thumbikins; small screws of steel that compressed the thumb and the whole hand with an exquisite torture; an invention brought by Drummond and Dalziel from Russia." For other notices, see *Fountainhall's Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 till 1701*, Edinburgh, 4to, 1822, pp. 41, 97, 101; *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 30; *Crookshank's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 192; *A Cloud of Witnesses for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ*, edit. Glasgow, 1779, p. 371; and *Life of Walter Smith*, p. 85, in the second volume of *Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana*, Edinburgh, 1827.

[77] "In 1684 the Scottish nation was in the most distressing and pitiable situation that can be imagined." . . . "The state of society had now become such that in Edinburgh attention to ordinary business was neglected, and every one was jealous of his neighbour." *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 307.

[78] "Upon the 10th of March, all freeholders, heritors, and gentlemen in Nithsdale and Annandale, and, I suppose, in most other shires of the kingdom, but I name those as being the scene of the severities now used, were summoned to attend the king's standard; and the militia in the several shires were raised. Wherever Claverhouse came, he resolved upon narrow and universal work. He used to set his horse upon the hills and eminences, and that in different parties, that none might escape; and there his foot went through the lower, marshy, and mossy places, where the horse could not do so well. The shire he parcelled out in so many divisions, and six or eight miles square would be taken in at once. In every division the whole inhabitants, men and women, young and old, without distinction, were all driven into one convenient place." . . . "All the children in the division were gathered together by themselves, under ten years, and above six years of age, and a party of soldiers were drawn out before them. Then they were bid pray, for they were going to be shot. Some of them would answer, Sir, we cannot pray." . . . "At other times they treated them most inhumanly, threatening them with death, and at some little distance would fire pistols without ball in their face. Some of the poor children were frightened almost out of their wits, and others of them stood all out with a courage perfectly above their age. These accounts are so far out of the ordinary way of mankind, that I would not have inserted them, had I not

[* Here again the conduct which on the part of the inquisitors Buckle credits to conscientious fanaticism is treated as possible only to "abject creatures." Deductions must clearly be made for rhetoric at both points.—Ed.]

next step was to banish, by wholesale, large numbers of adults, who were shipped off to unhealthy settlements; many of the men first losing their ears, and the women being branded, some on the hand, some on the cheek.[79] Those however who remained behind were equal to the emergency, and were ready to do what remained to be done. In 1688, as in 1642, the Scotch people and the English people united against their common oppressor, who saved himself by sudden and ignominious flight. He was a coward as well as a despot, and from him there was no further danger. The bishops, indeed, loved him; but they were an insignificant body, and had enough to do to look to themselves. His only powerful friends were the Highlanders. That barbarous race thought with regret of those bygone days when the government had not only allowed them, but had ordered them, to plunder and oppress their southern neighbours. For this purpose Charles II. had availed himself of their services; and it could hardly be doubted that if the Stuart dynasty were restored they would be again employed, and would again enrich themselves by pillaging the Lowlanders.[80] War was their chief amusement; it was also their livelihood; and it was the only thing that they understood.[81] Besides this, the mere fact that James no longer possessed authority, wonderfully increased their loyalty towards him. The Highlanders flourished by rapine, and traded in anarchy.[82] They therefore hated any government which was strong enough to punish crime; and the Stuarts being now far away, this nation of thieves loved them with an ardour which nothing but their absence could have caused. From William III. they feared restraint; but the exiled prince could do them no hurt, and would look on their excesses as the natural result of their zeal.* Not that they cared

before me several informations agreeing in all these circumstances, written at this time by people who knew the truth of them." *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 255, 256.

[79] "Numbers were transported to Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the North American settlements; but the women were not unfrequently burnt in the cheek, and the ears of the men were lopt off, to prevent, or to detect, their return." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 162. "Great multitudes banished." *Wodrow's History of the Church*, vol. iv. p. 211. In July, 1685, "the men are ordered to have their ears cropt, and the women to be marked in their hand." p. 217. "To have the following stigma and mark, that they may be known as banished persons if they shall return to this kingdom, *viz.* that the men have one of their ears cut off by the hand of the hangman, and that the women be burnt by the same hand on the cheek with a burned iron." p. 218. These are extracts from the proceedings of the privy-council.

[80] "James II. favoured the Highland clans." Note in *Fountainhall's Scottish Affairs from 1680 till 1701*, p. 100. He could hardly do otherwise. The alliance was natural, and ready-made for him.

[81] Except robbing, which, however, in one form or other, is always a part of war. In this they were very apt. Burnet (*History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 67) pithily describes them as "good at robbing;" and Burton (*Lives of Lovat and Forbes*, p. 47) says, "To steal even vestments was considerably more creditable than to make them." Otherwise, they were completely absorbed by their passion for war. See *Thomson's Memoirs of the Jacobites*, vol. ii. pp. 175, 176, London, 1845.

[82] "Revenge was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable employment." *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. iv. p. 395. "The spirit of rivalry between the clans kept up a taste for hostility, and converted rapine into a service of honour." *Thomson's Memoirs of the Jacobites*, vol. ii. p. 229.

[* Buckle's account of the Highlanders is somewhat surprisingly uncritical, though he followed the lead of Scotch writers such as Pinkerton and Burton. He has not realized the nature of the Highland barbarism. The tribesmen did not "think" and feel in the way he represents. They merely followed their chiefs against the Lowlanders as the English people had followed the Edwards against Scotland and France, and Henry V. in his French invasion. It is idle to denounce them for acting precisely as other races

about the principle of monarchical succession, or speculated on the doctrine of divine right.[83] The only succession that interested them was that of their chiefs. Their only notion of right was to do what those chiefs commanded. Being miserably poor,[84] they, in raising a rebellion, risked nothing except their lives, of which in that state of society men are always reckless. If they failed, they encountered a speedy and, as they deemed it, an honourable death. If they succeeded, they gained fame and wealth. In either case they were sure of many enjoyments. They were sure of being able, for a time at least, to indulge in pillage and murder, and to practise without restraint those excesses which they regarded as the choicest guerdon of a soldier's career.

So far, therefore, from the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 being wonderful,[85] the only wonder is that they did not break out sooner, and that they were not better supported. In 1745, when the sudden appearance of the rebels struck

[83] Hence, looking as they did merely at the physical qualities of individuals, the appearance of the Pretender in 1715 disgusted them, notwithstanding his splendid lineage. See some excellent remarks in *Burton's History of Scotland from 1689 to 1748*. London, 1853, vol. ii. pp. 198, 199. At p. 383, Mr. Burton justly observes that "those who really knew the Highlanders were aware that the followers were no more innate supporters of King James's claim to the throne of Britain, than of Maria Theresa's to the throne of Hungary. They went with the policy of the head of the clan, whatever that might be; and though upwards of half a century's advocacy of the exiled house" (this refers to the last rebellion in 1745) "had made Jacobitism appear a political creed in some clans, it was among the followers, high and low, little better than a nomenclature, which might be changed with circumstances." Since Robertson, Mr. Burton and Mr. Chambers are, I will venture to say, the two writers who have taken the most accurate and comprehensive views of the history of Scotland. Robertson's History stops short where the most important period begins; and his materials were scanty. But what he effected with those materials was wonderful. To my mind, his History of Scotland is much the greatest of his works.

[84] A curious description of their appearance, given by the *Derby Mercury* in 1746 (in *Thomson's Memoirs of the Jacobites*, vol. iii. p. 115) may be compared with the more general statement in *Anderson's Prize Essay on the Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1827, p. 128. "Cattle were the main resources of the tribe—the acquisition of these the great object of their hostile forrays. The precarious crops gave them wherewithal to bake their oaten cakes, or distil their ale or whisky. When these failed, the crowded population suffered every extreme of misery and want. At one time in particular, in Sutherland, they were compelled to subsist on broth made of nettles, thickened with a little oatmeal. At another, those who had cattle, to have recourse to the expedient of bleeding them and mixing the blood with oatmeal, which they afterwards cut into slices and fried."

[85] Several writers erroneously term them "unnatural." See, for instance, *Rae's History of the Rebellion*, London, 1746, pp. 158, 169; and *Home's History of the Rebellion*, London, 1802, 4to, p. 347. ["Unnatural" here is simply a royalist epithet, carrying in part the sense of "parricidal." In Buckle's sense the word can have no application whatever, as all events are strictly "natural."—Ed.]

had acted at the same or even a later stage of culture. To call them a "nation of thieves," and traders in anarchy, is idle. No nation can collectively live by thieving; and the Highlanders did what they could to breed cattle and grow corn in their wild country. They were non-industrious, just as we have seen the Lowlanders were in previous centuries; and they raided Lowland cattle as did the Lowland borderers. After representing them as collectively loving the Stuarts, Buckle goes on to put in qualifications and to cite from Burton, with approval, a passage which puts a different face on the whole matter. He ought to have rewritten the entire passage, which expresses a misconception. There was, in fact, no such racial or collective consciousness among the Highland clans as Buckle had supposed; and when he says "they" raised a rebellion—"they" as apart from their chiefs, whom they had just been represented as obeying blindly—he combines delusion with self-contradiction. It will be observed, finally, that Buckle says nothing of the Massacre of Glencoe.—Ed.]

England with terror, and when they penetrated even to the heart of the kingdom, their numbers, even at their height, including Lowland and English recruits, never reached six thousand men. The ordinary amount was five thousand ;[86] and they cared so little about the cause for which they professed to fight, that in 1715, when they numbered much stronger than in 1745, they refused to enter England and make head against the government until they were bribed by the promise of additional pay.[87] So too in 1745, after they had won the battle of Preston-pans, the only result of that great victory was that the Highlanders, instead of striking a fresh blow, deserted in large bodies, that they might secure the booty they had obtained, and which alone they valued. They heeded not whether Stuart or Hanoverian gained the day ; and at this critical moment they were unable, says the historian, to resist their desire to return to their glens, and decorate their huts with the spoil.[88]

[86] "When the rebels began their march to the southward, they were not 6,000 men complete." *Home's History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745*, 4to, p. 137. At Stirling, the army, "after the junction was made, amounted to somewhat more than 9,000 men, the greatest number that Charles ever had under his command." p. 164. But the actual invaders of England were much fewer. "The number of the rebels when they began their march into England was a few above 5,000 foot, with about 500 on horseback." *Home*, p. 331. Browne (*History of the Highlands*, vol. iii. p. 140) says: "When mustered at Carlisle, the prince's army amounted only to about 4,500 men ; and Lord George Murray states that at Derby "we were not above five thousand fighting men, if so many." *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*, edited by Robert Chambers, Edinburgh, 1834, p. 54. Another writer, relying mainly on traditional evidence, says, "Charles, at the head of 4,000 Highlanders, marched as far as Derby." *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. ii. p. 41, Edinburgh, 1797. Compare *Johnstone's Memoirs of the Rebellion*, 3rd edit., London, 1822, pp. xxxvii. xxxviii. 30–32, 52. Johnstone says, p. 60, "M. Patullo, our muster-master, reviewed our army at Carlisle, when it did not exceed four thousand five hundred men." Afterwards, returning to Scotland, "our army was suddenly increased to eight thousand men, the double of what it was when we were in England." p. 111.

[87] "Orders were given to proceed in the direction of Carlisle, and recall the detachment sent forward to Dumfries. The Highlanders, still true to their stagnant principles, refused obedience." . . . "Pecuniary negotiations were now commenced, and they were offered sixpence a day of regular pay—reasonable remuneration at that period to ordinary troops, but to the wild children of the mountain a glittering bribe, which the most steady obstinacy would alone resist. It was partly effective." *Burton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 168. "And from this day the Highlanders had sixpence a head per day payed them to keep them in good order and under command." *Patten's History of the late Rebellion*, London, 1717, p. 73. See also, on the unwillingness of the Highlanders to enter England, *Rae's History of the Rebellion*, London, 1746, 2nd edit. pp. 270, 271. Browne says (*History of the Highlands*, vol. ii. pp. 300, 304): "The aversion of the Highlanders, from different considerations, to a campaign in England, was almost insuperable ;" but "by the aid of great promises and money, the greater part of the Highlanders were prevailed upon to follow the fortunes of their commander."

[88] "Few victories have been more entire. It is said that scarcely two hundred of the infantry escaped." . . . "The Highlanders obtained a glorious booty in arms and clothes, besides self-moving watches, and other products of civilization, which surprised and puzzled them. Excited by such acquisitions, a considerable number could not resist the old practice of their people to return to their glens, and decorate their huts with their spoil." *Burton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 465. Compare *Home's History of the Rebellion*, p. 123. This was an old practice of theirs, as Montrose found out, a century earlier, "when many of the Highlanders, being loaded with spoil, deserted privately, and soon after returned to their old country." *Wishart's Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, Edinburgh, 1819, p. 189. So, too, Burnet (*Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 272): "Besides, any companies could be brought down from the Highlands might do well enough for a while, but no order could be expected from them, for as soon as they were loaded with plunder and spoil, they would run away home to their

There are indeed few things more absurd than that lying spirit of romance which represents the rising of the Highlanders as the outburst of a devoted loyalty. Nothing was further from their minds than this. The Highlanders have crimes enough to account for without being burdened by needless reproach. They were thieves and murderers ; * but that was in their way of life, and they felt not the stigma. Though they were ignorant and ferocious, they were not so foolish as to be personally attached to that degraded family which, before the accession of William III., occupied the throne of Scotland. To love such men as Charles II. and James II. may perhaps be excused as one of those peculiarities of taste of which one sometimes hears. But to love all their descendants ; to feel an affection so comprehensive as to take in the whole dynasty, and, for the sake of gratifying that eccentric passion, not only to undergo great hardships, but to inflict enormous evil upon two kingdoms, would have been a folly as well as a wickedness, and would convict the Highlanders of a species of insanity alien to their nature. They burst into insurrection because insurrection suited their habits, and because they hated all government and all order.[89] But so far from caring for a monarch, the very institution of monarchy was repulsive to them. It was contrary to that spirit of clanship to which they were devoted ; and from their earliest childhood they were accustomed to respect none but their chiefs, to whom they paid a willing obedience, and whom they considered far superior to all the potentates of the earth.[90]

lurking holes, and desert those who had trusted them." See also p. 354. A more recent writer, drawing a veil over this little infirmity, remarks, with much delicacy, that " the Highlanders, brave as they were, had a custom of returning home after a battle." *Thomson's Memoirs of the Jacobites*, London, 1845, vol. i. p. 122. Not unfrequently they first robbed their fellow-soldiers. In 1746 Bisset writes : " The Highlanders, who went off after the battel, carried off horses and baggage from their own men, the Lowlanders." *Diary of the Reverend John Bisset*, in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. i. p. 377, Aberdeen, 1841, 4to. [Here the " not unfrequently " is entirely unjustified ; and the expressions " they " and " the Highlanders " amount to charging on an entire army, or race, the deeds of its thieves. On that principle all armies, and all nations, are communities of thieves.—Ed.]

[89] " Whoever desired, with the sword, to disturb or overturn a fixed government, was sure of the aid of the chiefs, because a settled government was ruinous to their power, and almost inimical to their existence. The more it cultivated the arts of peace, and throve on industrially created well-being, the more did it drive into an antagonist position a people who did not change their nature, who made no industrial progress, and who lived by the swords which acquired for them the fruits of other men's industry. With their interests, a peaceful, strong government was as inconsistent as a well-guarded sheepfold with the interest of wolves." *Burton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 105, 106. " The Highlanders, in all reigns, have been remarkable for disturbing the established government of Scotland by taking up arms on every invasion for the invaders." *Marchant's History of the present Rebellion*, London, 1746, p. 18. See also *Macky's Journey through Scotland*, London, 1732, p. 129 ; and a short but very curious account of the Highlanders, in 1744, in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. pp. 87–89. [Marchant's statement, here quoted, is certainly false ; and Burton's is one of many which discredit his work. The whole question of his unscientific prejudice is discussed by the editor in *The Saxon and the Celt*, 1897, sec. iv.—Ed.]

[90] An observer, who had excellent opportunities of studying their character between the rebellion of 1715 and that of 1745, writes, " The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief, and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government, the laws of the kingdom, or even to the law of God. He is their idol ; and as *they profess to know no king but him* (I was

[* Murder, once more, was probably rarer in the Highlands than in the Lowlands or in England. Barbaric feuds are not acts of murder. Through the whole of this concluding section of his work, Buckle's ruined health is seen to give an increasingly feverish character to his writing, and his epithets become habitually overstrained.—Ed.]

No one, indeed, who is really acquainted with their history will think them capable of having spilt their blood on behalf of any sovereign, be he whom he might; still less can we believe that they would quit their native land, and undertake long and hazardous marches, with the object of restoring that corrupt and tyrannical dynasty whose offences smelt to heaven, and whose cruelties had at length kindled the anger even of humble and meek-minded men.

The simple fact is that the outbreaks of 1715 and 1745 were in our country the last struggle of barbarism against civilization. On the one side, war and confusion. On the other side, peace and prosperity. These were the interests for which men really fought; and neither party cared for Stuarts or for Hanoverians. The result of such a contest in the eighteenth century could hardly be doubtful. At the time the rebellions caused great alarm, both from their suddenness, and from the strange and ferocious appearance of the Highland invaders.[91] But the knowledge we now possess enables us to see that, from the

going farther), so will they say, they ought to do whatever he commands, without inquiry." *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, edit. London, 1815, vol. ii. pp. 83, 84. "The Highlanders in Scotland are, of all men in the world, the soonest wrought upon to follow their leaders or chiefs into the field, having a wonderful veneration for their Lords and Chieftains, as they are called there: *Nor do these people ever consider the validity of the engaging cause*, but blindly follow their chiefs into what mischief they please, and that with the greatest precipitation imaginable." *Patten's History of the Rebellion*, London, 1717, p. 151. "The power of the chiefs over their clans was the true source of the two rebellions. The clansmen cared no more about the legitimate race of the Stuarts, than they did about the war of the Spanish succession." . . . "The Jacobite Highland chiefs ranged their followers on the Jacobite side — the Hanoverians ranged theirs on the side of government. Lovat's conduct was a sort of *experimentum crucis*; he made his clan Hanoverian in one rebellion, and Jacobite in another." *Burton's Lives of Lovat and Forbes*, p. 150. Compare the change of side of the Mackintoshes, in *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. ii. p. 285. Even so late as the American war, the sovereign was deemed subordinate to the chief. "One Captain Frazer from the northern district brought down a hundred of his clan, all of the name of Frazer. Few of them could understand a word of English; and the only distinct idea they had of all the mustering of forces which they saw around them, was that they were going to fight for King Frazer and George ta Three." *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, pp. 49, 50, Perth, 1836. [Buckle and his authorities here treat as peculiar to the Highlanders a feudal habit which he ascribes below (p. 727) to "tens of thousands" of Lowlanders. This is the normal critical practice of the exponents of race-prejudice.—ED.]

[91] Which gave rise to a report that they were cannibals. "The late Mr. Halkston of Rathillet, who had been in this expedition" (the Rebellion of 1745), "told Mr. Young that the belief was general among the people of England, that the Highlanders ate children. *Johnstone's Memoirs of the Rebellion*, 3rd edit. London, 1822, p. 101. Such a rumour, notwithstanding its absurdity, was made somewhat plausible by the revolting conduct of the Highlanders in the first rebellion of 1715, when they committed, in the Lowlands, horrible outrages on corpses which they dug up. See the contemporary evidence, in *Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow*, published by the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. pp. 86, 87, 93. "They have even raised up some of my Lord Rothes's children and mangled their dead bodies" . . . "till the stench put them away." In 1745 they signalized their entrance into England in the following manner. "The rebels, during their stay in Carlisle, committed the most shocking detestable villanies; for, not contented with robbing families of their most valuable effects, they scrupled not to act their brutal insolence on the persons of some young ladies, even in the presence of their parents. A gentleman, in a letter to his friend in London, writes thus: 'That, after being in a manner stripped of everything, he had the misery to see three of his daughters treated in such a manner that he could not relate it.'" *Marchant's History of the present Rebellion*, London, 1746, pp. 181, 182. [Wodrow's story is extremely improbable, and as his gross credulity is held by Buckle to be obvious in other matters, it should be held to put his statement in doubt here. Marchant's lack of detailed evidence for his charges is significant. Even the anti-Celtic Burton admits (viii. 458) that the Highlanders behaved well, keeping good

beginning, success was impossible. Though the government was extremely remiss, and, notwithstanding the information it received, allowed itself on both occasions to be taken by surprise, there was no real danger.[92] The English, not being particularly enamoured either with the Highlanders or with the Stuarts, refused to rise ;[93] and it cannot be seriously supposed that a few thousand half-naked banditti had it in their power to prescribe to the people of England what sovereign they should obey, and under what sort of government they should live.

After 1745 there was no further interruption. The interests of civilization, that is, the interests of knowledge, of liberty, and of wealth, gradually assumed the upper hand, and reduced men like the Highlanders to utter insignificance. Roads were cut through their country ; and for the first time travellers from the south began to mingle with them in their hitherto inaccessible wilds.[94] In those

discipline. They certainly never approached the savagery displayed by English troops not merely in previous centuries, when England was at a far higher culture-level than the Highlands, but after the battle of Culloden.—Ed.]

[92] Even when they had penetrated to Derby, the best informed of their own party despaired of success. See the Jacobitical account in *The Lockhart Papers*, London, 4to, 1817, vol. ii. p. 458 : " The next thing to be considered of, was what was now to be done : they were now at Derby, with an army not half the number of what they were reported to be, surrounded in a manner with regular troops on all sides, and more than double their number. To go forward there was no encouragement, for their friends (if they had any) had kept little or no correspondence with them from the time they entered England." The Chevalier De Johnstone, who took an active part in the Rebellion, frankly says, " If we had continued to advance to London, and had encountered all the troops of England, with the Hessians and Swiss in its pay, there was every appearance of our being immediately exterminated, without the chance of a single man escaping." *Johnstone's Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746*, p. 79.

[93] Lord George Murray, the commander-in-chief in 1745, was unwilling to advance far south of Carlisle, " without more encouragement from the country than we had hitherto got." See his own account, in *The Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*, edited by R. Chambers, Edinburgh, 1834, p. 48. But his prudent advice was overruled. The Highlanders pressed on ; and that happened which any one tolerably acquainted with England might have foreseen. Johnstone (*Memoirs of the Rebellion*, p. 70) says, " In case of a defeat in England, no one in our army could by any possibility escape destruction, as *the English peasants were hostile towards us in the highest degree* ; and, besides, the army of Marshal Wade was in our rear, to cut us off from all communication with Scotland." And at p. 81, " In every place we passed through, we found the English very ill disposed towards us, except at Manchester, where there appeared some remains of attachment to the house of Stuart." The champion of arbitrary power would find a different reception now, in that magnificent specimen of English prosperity, and of true, open-mouthed, English fearlessness. But a century ago the men of Manchester were poor and ignorant ; and the statement of Johnstone respecting them is confirmed by Home, who says, " At Manchester, several gentlemen, and about 200 or 300 of the common people, joined the rebel army ; *these were the only Englishmen (a few individuals excepted) who joined Charles in his march through the country of England.*" *Home's History of the Rebellion in 1745*, London, 1802, 4to, p. 145. In 1715 the English equally held back, except at Manchester. See *Patten's History of the late Rebellion*, London, 1717, pp. 89, 168.

[94] The establishment of roads caused great displeasure. Pennant, who visited Scotland in 1769, says, " These publick works were at first very disagreeable to the old chieftains, and lessened their influence greatly : for by admitting strangers among them, their clans were taught that the Lairds were not the first of men." *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, 4th edit. Dublin, 1775, vol. i. p. 204. Towards the end of the eighteenth century this feeling began to die away. " Till of late, the people of Kintail, as well as other Highlands, had a strong aversion to roads. The more inaccessible, the more secure, was their maxim." *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 244, Edinburgh, 1793.

parts the movement was indeed very slow; but in the Lowlands it was much more rapid. For the traders and inhabitants of towns were now becoming prominent, and their authority helped to neutralize the old warlike and anarchical habits. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a taste for commercial speculation sprung up, and a large amount of the energy of Scotland was turned into this new channel.[95] Early in the eighteenth century the same tendency was displayed in literature; and works on mercantile and economical subjects became common.[96] A change in manners was also perceptible. About this period the Scotch began to lose something of that rugged ferocity which had distinguished them of old. This improvement was evinced in several ways; one of the most remarkable being an alteration, which was first observed in 1710, when it was noticed that men were leaving off armour, which had hitherto been worn by every one who could afford it, as a useful precaution in a barbarous, and therefore a warlike, society.[97]

To trace the general progress in its various parts, or even to indicate the immediate consequences, would require a separate volume. One of the results is, however, too conspicuous to be passed over in silence, though it does not deserve all the importance that has been attached to it. This is, the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, which after all was but a symptom of the great movement, and not a cause of it; being itself due partly to the growth of the industrial spirit and partly to that diminution of the power of the aristocracy which had been visible as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century. During many ages certain persons of noble birth had enjoyed the privilege of trying offences, and even of inflicting capital punishment, simply because their ancestors had done so before them; the judicial power being in fact part of their patrimony, and descending to them like the rest of their property.[98] An institution of this sort,

[95] "Soon after the establishment of the revolution settlement, the ardent feelings of the Scottish people were turned out of their old channels of religious controversy and war in the direction of commercial enterprise." *Burton's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 104. Compare *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. iv. pp. 286, 287, 418; and the note (at p. 419): "The lords and commons of Scotland were then desirous of getting into trade." This is under the year 1699. In 1698 Fletcher of Saltoun writes: "By no contrivance of any man, but by an unforeseen and unexpected change of the genius of this nation, all their thoughts and inclinations, as if united and directed by a higher power, seem to be turned upon trade, and to conspire together for its advancement." *First Discourse on the Affairs of Scotland*, in *Fletcher of Saltoun's Political Works*, Glasgow, 1749, p. 57. At this the clergy were uneasy. In 1709 the Reverend Robert Wodrow expresses an opinion, in one of his letters, that "the sin of our too great fondness for trade, to the neglecting of our more valuable interests, I humbly think will be written upon our judgment." *Wodrow's Correspondence*, Edinburgh, 1842, 8vo, vol. i. p. 67. In the same year, some ships being taken by the French, part of the loss fell upon Glasgow. Thereupon Wodrow writes: "It's said that in all there is about eighty thousand pound sterling lost there, whereof Glasgow has lost ten thousand pound. I wish trading persons may see the language of such a Providence. I am sure the Lord is remarkably frouning upon our trade, in more respects than one, since it was put in the room of religion in the late alteration of our constitution." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 218, 4to, published by the Maitland Club.

[96] Laing (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 296), under the year 1703, says: "Ever since the projected settlement at Darien, the genius of the nation had acquired a new direction: and as the press is the true criterion of the spirit of the times, the numerous productions on political and commercial subjects with which it daily teemed, had supplanted the religious disputes of the former age." Unfortunately for Scotland, they were by no means supplanted. Still, the movement was great, and not to be mistaken.

[97] "It was only in 1710 that they began to throw off their armour, and allow the soldier to merge into the quiet and industrious craftsman." *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, p. 335, Perth, 1836. This particularly applies to the citizens of Perth.

[98] On these "hereditary or proprietary jurisdictions," which conferred the right, or, I would rather say, the power, of putting people to death, see *Burton's History of Scotland*,

which made a man a judge, not because he was apt for the office, but because he was born under particular circumstances, was a folly which the revolutionary temper of the eighteenth century was not likely to spare. The innovating spirit for which that age was remarkable could hardly fail to attack so preposterous a custom; and its extinction was facilitated both by the decline of the nobles who possessed the privilege, and by the rise of their natural opponents, the trading and commercial classes. The decay of the Scotch nobility in the eighteenth century may be traced to two special causes, in addition to those general causes which were weakening the aristocracy nearly all over Europe. With the general causes, which were common to England and to most parts of the Continent, we are not now concerned. It is enough to say that they were entirely dependent on that advance of knowledge which, by increasing the authority of the intellectual class undermines, and must eventually overthrow, mere hereditary and accidental distinctions. But those causes which were confined to Scotland had a more political characrer, and though they were purely local, they harmonized with the whole train of events, and ought to be noticed, as links of a vast chain, which connects the present state of that singular country with its past history.

The first cause was the Union of Scotland with England, in 1707, which struck a heavy blow at the Scotch aristocracy. By it the legislature of the smaller country was absorbed in that of the larger, and the hereditary legislators suddenly sunk into insignificance. In the Scottish parliament there were a hundred and forty-five peers, all of whom, except sixteen, were by the Act of Union deprived of the power of making laws.[99] These sixteen were sent off to London, and took their seats in the House of Lords, of which they formed a small and miserable fraction. On every subject, however important to their own country, they were easily outvoted; their manners, their gesticulations, and particularly their comical mode of pronouncing English, were openly ridiculed;[100] and the chiefs of this

vol. i. p. 425, vol. ii. p. 402. The technical term for so monstrous a privilege was the right "of pit and gallows." *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 94: and *Mackenzie's Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal*, pp. 70, 100, 187, 210. This meant that men were to be hung and women to be drowned. See also *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*. p. 224; *Fountainhall's Notes on Scottish Affairs*, p. 139; *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. p. 346; *Lettice's Scotland*, p. 271; *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. i. p. 417, vol. iv. p. 478, vol. vi. pp. 195, 258, vol. viii. pp. 129, 348, vol. xiii. p. 563, vol. xiv. p. 34, vol. xvii. pp. 442, 600, vol. xviii. p. 473.

[99] Laing (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 345) says that in 1706 "the commons in the Scottish parliament were 160: the peers 145." Of these peers, the Treaty of Union declared that "sixteen shall be the number to sit and vote in the House of Lords." *De Foe's History of the Union between England and Scotland*, London, 1786, 4to, pp. 205, 538. The English House of Lords consisted of 179 members. See *The Lockhart Papers*, London, 1817, 4to, vol. i. pp. 343, 547. It was impossible to mistake the result of this sweeping measure, by which, as was said at the time, "Scotland was to retrench her nobility." *De Foe's History of the Union*, p. 495. Compare p. 471: "The nobility being thereby, as it were, degraded of their characters." In 1710 a Scotchman writes in his journal: "It was one of the melancholyest sights to any that have any sense of our antient Nobility, to see them going throu for votes, and making partys, and giving their votes to others who once had their oun vote; and I suspect many of them reu the bargain they made, in giving their oun pouer away." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 308.

[100] The Scotch, consequently, became so eager to do away with this source of mirth, that even as late as the year 1761, when the notorious lecturer, Sheridan, visited Edinburgh, "such was the rage for speaking with an English accent, that more than three hundred gentlemen, among whom were the most eminent in the country for rank and learning, attended him." *Ritchie's Life of Hume, London*, 1807, p. 94. It was however during about twenty years immediately after the Union that the Scotch members of Parliament, both Lords and Commons, were most jeered at in London, and were treated with marked disrespect, socially and politically. Not only were they mocked and lampooned, but they were also made tools of. In September, 1711, Wodrow writes (*Analecta*, vol. i. p. 348, 4to, 1842): "In the beginning of this (month), I hear a generall dissatis-

old and powerful aristocracy found themselves, to their utter amazement, looked on as men of no account, and they were often obliged to fawn and cringe at the levee of the minister, in order to procure a place for some needy dependent. Their friends and relations applied to them for offices, and generally applied in vain. Indeed the Scotch nobles, being very poor, wanted for themselves more than the English government was inclined to give, and in the eagerness of their clamour they lost both dignity and reputation.[101] They were exposed to mortifying rebuffs, and their true position being soon known, weakened their influence at home, among a people already prepared to throw off their authority. To this, however, they were comparatively indifferent, as they looked for future fortune not to Scotland but to England. London became the centre of their intrigues and their hopes.[102] Those who had no seat in the House of Lords longed to have

faction our Nobility that wer at last Parliament have at their treatment at London. They complean they are only made use of as tools among the English, and cast by when their party designes are over." The next year (1712), the Scotch members of the House of Commons met together, and expressed their "high resentment of the uncivil, haughty treatment they mett with from the English." *The Lockhart Papers*, London, 1817, 4to, vol. i. p. 417. See, further, *Burton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 27. "Without descending to rudeness, the polished contemporaries of Wharton and St. John could madden the sensitive and haughty Scots by light shafts of raillery about their pronunciation or knowledge of parliamentary etiquette." Some curious observations upon the way in which the Scotch pronounced English, late in the seventeenth century, will be found in *Morer's Short Account of Scotland*, London, 1702, pp. 13, 14. The author of this book was chaplain to a Scotch regiment.

[101] Among many illustrations with which contemporary memoirs abound, the following is by no means the worst. Burnet, as a Scotchman, thinks proper to say that those of his countrymen who were sent to Parliament "were persons of such distinction, that they very well deserved" the respect and esteem with which they were treated. To which, Lord Dartmouth adds: "and were very importunate to have their deserts rewarded. A Scotch earl pressed Lord Godolphin extremely for a place. He said there was none vacant. The other said, his lordship could soon make one so, if he pleased. Lord Godolphin asked him, if he expected to have any body killed to make room? He said, No; but Lord Dartmouth commonly voted against the court, and every body wondered that he had not been turned out before now. Lord Godolphin told him, he hoped his lordship did not expect that he should be the person to propose it; and advised him never to mention it any more, for fear the queen should come to hear of it; for if she did, his lordship would run great risk never to have a place as long as she lived. But he could not forbear telling every where, how ill the lord treasurer had used him." *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. v. p. 349, Oxford, 1823. Compare the account, in 1710, in *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 293. "Argyle is both picked (*i.e.* piqued) at Marlburrou, and his brother Yla, for refuising him a regiment; and Godolphin should have said to the Queen that my Lord Yla was not to be trusted with a regiment! The Earl of Marr was one of the greatest cronnies Godolphine had, till the matter of his pension, after the Secretary office was taken from him, came about. Godolphine caused draw it during pleasure; Marr expected it during life, which the Treasurer would not yield to, and therefore they brake." The history of the time is full of these wretched squabbles, which show what the Scotch nobles were made of. Indeed their rapacity was so shameless that in 1711 severall of them refused to perform their legislative duties in London unless they received some offices which they expected. "About the midle of this moneth, I hear ther was a meeting of several of our Scots Peers, at the Viscount of Kilsyth's, where they concerted not to goe up to this parliament till peremptorly writ for; and (also) some assurance be given of the places they were made to hope for last session and have missed." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 365. In 1712 the same Scotchman writes (*Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 8): "Our Scots Peers' secession from the House of Peers makes much noise; but they doe not hold by it. They somtimes come and somtimes goe, and *they render themselves base in the eyes of the English.*" See also a letter "concerning the Scots Peerage," in *Somers Tracts*, vol. xii. p. 607, edit. Scott, London, 1814, 4to.

[102] A Scotch writer, twenty years after the Union, says: "Most of our gentlemen and

one, and it was notorious that the darling object of nearly every Scotch noble was to be made an English peer.[103] The scene of their ambition being shifted, they were gradually weaned from their old associations. Directly this was apparent, the foundation of their power was gone. From that moment their real nationality vanished. It became evident that their patriotism was but a selfish passion. They ceased to love a country which could give them nothing, and as a natural consequence their country ceased to love them.

Thus it was that this great tie was severed. In this, as in all similar movements, there were of course exceptions. Some of the nobles were disinterested, and some of their dependents were faithful. But looking at the Lowlands as a whole, there can be no doubt that before the middle of the eighteenth century that bond of affection was gone which in former times made tens of thousands of Scotchmen ready to follow their superiors in any cause, and to sacrifice their lives at a nod.* That spirit, which was once deemed ardent and generous, but which a deeper analysis shows to be mean and servile, was now almost extinct, except among the barbarous Highlanders, whose ignorance of affairs long prevented them from being influenced by the stream of events. That the proximate cause of this change was the Union, will probably be denied by no one who has minutely studied the history of the period. And that the change was beneficial, can be questioned only by those sentimental dreamers with whom life is a matter rather of feeling than of judgment, and who, despising real and tangible interests, reproach their own age with its material prosperity, and with its love of luxury, as if they were the result of low and sordid desires unknown to the loftier temper of bygone days. To visionaries of this sort, it may well appear that the barbarous and ignorant noble, surrounded by a host of devoted retainers, and living with rude simplicity in his own dull and wretched castle, forms a beautiful picture of those unmercenary and uncalculating times when men, instead of seeking for knowledge, or for wealth, or for comfort, were content with the frugal innocence of their fathers, and when, protection being accorded by one class, and gratitude felt by the other, the subordination of society was maintained, and its different parts were knit together by sympathy, and by the force of common emotions, instead of, as now, by the coarse maxims of a vulgar and selfish utility.

people of quality, who have the best estates in our country, live for the most part a-London." *Reasons for Improving the Fisheries and Linen Manufacture of Scotland*, London, 1727, p. 22. I do not know who wrote this curious little treatise; but the author was evidently a native of Scotland. See p. 25. I have, however, still earlier evidence to adduce. A letter from Wodrow, dated 9th of August, 1725, complains of "the general sending our youth of quality to England;" and a letter to him, in 1716, describes the Anglicizing process going on among the Scotch aristocracy, only nine years after the Union. "Most of our Lords and others here do so much depend on the English for their posts, and *seeking somewhat or other*, that their mouths are almost quite stopped; and really *most of them go into the English way in all things*." *Wodrow's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 196, vol. iii. p. 224. The Earl of Mar lost popularity in Scotland on account of the court he paid to Lord Godolphin; for he "appears to have passed much more time in intrigues in London than among the gardens of Alloa." *Thomson's Memoirs of the Jacobites*, vol. i. p. 36. Even Earl Ilay, in his anxiety to advance himself at the English court, "used to regret his being a Scots peer, and to wish earnestly he was a commoner." *Letters of Lord Grange*, in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iii. p. 39, Aberdeen, 4to, 1846.

[103] Indeed, their expectation ran so high, as to induce a hope, not only that those Commissioners of the Union who were Scotch peers should be made English ones, but that "the whole nobility of Scotland might in time be admitted." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 346. Compare *The Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. pp. 298, 343: "The Scots Peerage, many of whom had been bubled with the hopes of being themselves created British Peers." Also *The Gordon Letters*, in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iii. pp. 227, 228.

[* Compare *note* 90, above, where precisely this attitude is specified as peculiar to Highlanders.—Ed.]

Those, however, whose knowledge gives them some acquaintance with the real course of human affairs, will see that in Scotland, as in all civilized countries, the decline of aristocratic power forms an essential part of the general progress. It must therefore be esteemed a fortunate circumstance that among the Scotch, where that power had long been enormous, it was weakened in the eighteenth century, not only by general causes, which were operating elsewhere, but also by two smaller and more special causes. The first of these minor causes was, as we have just seen, the Union with England. The other cause was, comparatively speaking, insignificant, but still it produced decided effect, particularly in the northern districts. It consisted in the fact that some of the oldest Highland nobles were concerned in the rebellion of 1745, and that, when that rebellion was put down, those who escaped from the sword were glad to save their lives by flying abroad, leaving their dependents to shift for themselves.[104] They became attached to the court of the Pretender, or at all events intrigued for him. That indeed was their only chance, their estates at home being forfeited. For nearly forty years several great families were in exile, and although about 1784 they began to return,[105] other associations had been formed during their absence, and new ideas had arisen, both in their own minds and in the minds of their retainers. A fresh generation had grown up, and fresh influences had been brought to bear. Strangers, with whom the people had no sympathy, had intruded upon the estates of the nobles, and though they might receive obedience, it was an obedience unaccompanied by deference. The real reverence was gone; the homage of the heart was no more. And as this state of things lasted for about forty years, it interrupted the old train of thought, and the former habits were so completely broken that even when the chiefs were restored to their forfeited honours, they found that there was another part of their inheritance which they were unable to recover, and that they had lost for ever that unreserved submission which in times of yore had been willingly paid to their fathers.[106]

[104] The Chevalier de Johnstone, in his plaintive remarks on the battle of Culloden, says: "The ruin of many of the most illustrious families in Scotland immediately followed our defeat." *Johnstone's Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745*, p. 211. He of course could not perceive that, sad as such ruin was to the individual sufferers, it was an immense benefit to the nation. Mr. Skene, referring to the year 1748, says of the Highlanders: "Their long-cherished ideas of clanship gradually gave way under the absence and ruin of so many of their chiefs." *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. i. p. 147.

[105] "About 1784 the exiled families began to return." *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, p. 41. See also *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv. p. 53. In 1784 "a bill passed the Commons without opposition," to restore the "Forfeited Estates" in the north of Scotland. See *Parliamentary History*, vol. xxiv. pp. 1316–1322. On that occasion, Fox said (p. 1321), the proprietors "had been sufficiently punished by forty years' deprivation of their fortunes for the faults of their ancestors."

[106] Dean Ramsay, in his *Reminiscences* (5th edit. Edinburgh, 1859, p. 57), notices that, owing to "transfers of property and extinction of old families in the Highlands, as well as from more general causes," the old clannish affection "is passing away." But this intelligent observer has not indicated the connexion between so important a fact and the Rebellion of 1745. In 1792, Heron writes: "The prejudices of clanship have almost died away." . . . "The dependents of the family of Kenmure are still attached to its representative with much of that affection and respect with which the tribes of the Highlands have *till lately* been accustomed to adhere to their lord." *Heron's Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland*, 2nd edit. Perth, 1799, vol. i. p. 248, vol. ii. p. 154. See also the remarks made, in the same year, in *Lettice's Letters on a Tour through various Parts of Scotland*, London, 1794, p. 340. To trace the movement back still further, Pennant writes, in 1769: "But in many parts of the Highlands, their character begins to be more faintly marked; they mix more with the world; and *become daily less attached to their chiefs*." . . . "During the feudal reign, their love for their cheftain induced them to bear many things, *at present intolerable*." These two important passages are in the 4th edition of *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 194, vol. ii. p. 307, Dublin, 1775. They

Owing to these circumstances, the course of affairs in Scotland during the eighteenth century, and especially during the first half of it, was marked by a more rapid decline of the influence of the higher ranks than was seen in any other country. It was therefore an easy task for the English government to procure a law which, by abolishing hereditary jurisdictions, deprived the Scotch aristocracy, in 1748, of the last great ensign of their power.[107] The law, being suited to the spirit of the times, worked well; and in the Highlands in particular it was one immediate cause of the establishment of something like the order of a settled state.[108] But in this instance as in every other, the real and overruling cause is to be found in the condition of the surrounding society. A few generations earlier, hardly any one would have thought of abolishing these mischievous jurisdictions, which were then deemed beneficial, and were respected as belonging to the great families by natural and inalienable right. Such an opinion was the inevitable result of the state of things then existing. This being the case, it is certain that if the legislature had at that time been so rash as to lay its hand on what the nation respected, popular sympathy would have been aroused, and the nobles would have been strengthened by what was intended to weaken them.[109] In 1748, however, matters were very different. Public opinion had changed; and this change of opinion was not only the cause of the new law, but was the reason of the new law being effective. And so it always is. They, indeed, whose knowledge is almost confined to what they see passing around them, and who on account of their ignorance are termed practical men, may talk as they will about the reforms which government has introduced, and the improvement to be expected from legislation. But whoever will take a wider and more commanding view of affairs, will soon discover that such hopes are chimerical. They will learn that lawgivers are nearly always the obstructors of society, instead of its helpers; and that in the extremely few cases in which their measures have turned out well, their success has been owing to the fact that, contrary to their usual custom, they have implicitly obeyed the spirit of their time, and have been, as they always should be, the mere servants of the people, to whose wishes they are bound to give a public and legal sanction.*

Another striking peculiarity of Scotland during the remarkable period we are now considering was the sudden rise of trading and manufacturing interests. This preceded, by a whole generation, the celebrated statute of 1748, and was one of the causes of it, in so far as it weakened the great families, against whom

prove that, twenty-four years after the Rebellion of 1745, the decay of affection was so manifest as to strike a candid and careful but by no means philosophic observer. For Pennant to have discerned these changes, they must already have risen to the surface. Other and corroborative evidence will be found in *Sinclair's Account of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 545, Edinburgh, 1792; and vol. iii. pp. 377, 437, vol. xiii. p. 310, vol. xv. p. 592, vol. xx. p. 33.

[107] *Burton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 535–537. *Struthers' History of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1828, vol. ii. pp. 519–525.

[108] Macpherson (*Annals of Commerce*, vol. iii. p. 259) says, "This excellent statute may not unfitly be termed a new magna charta to the free people of Scotland."

[109] I cannot, therefore, agree with Macpherson, who asserts in his valuable work that the abolition of these jurisdictions "should undoubtedly have been made an essential preliminary of the consolidating union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, concluded forty years before." *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. iii. p. 257. Compare *De Foe's History of the Union between England and Scotland*, pp. 458, 459, London, 1786, 4to.

[* Either it is here implied that lawgivers are *not* obeying the spirit of their time when they make bad laws, or the whole theorem falls to the ground. But if that proposition be maintained, another of Buckle's theses is destroyed, for it will then follow that legislators are nearly always able to legislate against the spirit of the age. In that case the spirit of the age has practically no effect on legislation. The passage is a *reductio ad absurdum*.—Ed.]

that statute was directed. The movement may be traced back, as I have already noticed, to the end of the seventeenth century, and it was in active operation before the first twenty years of the eighteenth century had passed away. A mercantile and money-making spirit was diffused to an extent formerly unknown, and men becoming valued for their wealth as well as for their birth, a new standard of excellence was introduced, and new actors appeared on the scene. Heretofore, persons were respected solely for their parentage ;* now they were also respected for their riches. The old aristocracy, made uneasy by the change, did everything they could to thwart and discourage these young and dangerous rivals.[110] Nor can we wonder at their feeling somewhat sore. The tendency which was exhibited was indeed fatal to their pretensions. Instead of asking who was a man's father, the question became, how much he had got. And certainly, if either question is to be put, the latter is the more rational. Wealth is a real and substantial thing, which ministers to our pleasures, increases our comfort, multiplies our resources, and not unfrequently alleviates our pains. But birth is a dream and a shadow, which, so far from benefiting either body or mind, only puffs up its possessor with an imaginary excellence, and teaches him to despise those whom nature has made his superiors, and who, whether engaged in adding to our knowledge or to our wealth, are in either case ameliorating the condition of society, and rendering to it true and valuable service.

This antagonism between the aristocratic and trading spirit lies in the nature of things, and is essential, however it may be disguised at particular periods. Therefore it is that the history of trade has a philosophic importance in reference to the progress of society, quite independent of practical considerations. On this account I have called the attention of the reader to what otherwise would be foreign to the objects of the present Introduction ; and I will now trace, as briefly as possible, the beginning of that great industrial movement, to the extension of which the overthrow of the Scotch aristocracy is to be partly ascribed.

The Union with England, which was completed in 1707, produced immediate and striking effects on trade. Its first effect was to throw open to the Scotch a new and extensive commerce with the English colonies in America. Before the Union, no goods of any kind could be landed in Scotland from the American plantations, unless they had first been landed in England, and paid duty there ; nor even, in that case, might they be conveyed by any Scotch vessel.[111] This was one of many foolish regulations by which our legislators interfered with the natural course of affairs, and injured the interests of their own country, as well as those of their neighbours. Formerly, however, such laws were considered †

[110] In 1740 "the rising manufacturing and trading interests of the country" were "looked down upon and discouraged by the feudal aristocracy." *Burton's Lives of Lovat and Forbes*, p. 361.

[111] "Whereas Scotland had before this prohibited all the English woollen manufactures, under severe penalties, and England on the other hand had excluded the Scots from trading with Scots ships to their colonies in America, directly from Scotland, and had confiscated even their own English ships trading to the said colonies from England, if navigated or manned with above one-third Scots seamen," &c. *De Foe's History of the Union*, p. 603. In 1696 the wise men in our English parliament passed a law, "that on no pretence whatever any kind of goods from the English American plantations should hereafter be put on shore, either in the kingdoms of Ireland or Scotland, without being first landed in England, and having also paid the duties there, under forfeiture of ship and cargo." *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 684. Certainly, the more a man knows of the history of legislation, the more he will wonder that nations should have been able to advance in the face of the formidable impediments which legislators have thrown in their way.

[* Buckle has here forgotten his previous account of the respect of the people for their clergy. And it is not seriously to be supposed that before the eighteenth century rich citizens were not respected for their wealth.—ED.]

[† Considered, that is, by traders as well as by legislators.—ED.]

to be extremely sagacious, and politicians were constantly contriving protective schemes of this sort, which, with the best intentions, inflicted incalculable harm. But if, as seems probable, one of their objects in this instance was to retard the improvement of Scotland, they were more than usually successful in effecting the purpose at which they aimed. For the whole of the western coast, being cut off from direct intercourse with the American colonies, was debarred from the only foreign trade it could advantageously follow; since the European ports lay to the east, and could not be reached by the inhabitants of Western Scotland without a long circumnavigation, which prevented them from competing on equal terms with their countrymen, who, sailing from the other side, were already near the chief seats of commerce. The consequence was that Glasgow and the other western ports remained almost stationary; having comparatively few means of gratifying that enterprising spirit which rose among them late in the seventeenth century, and not daring to trade with those prosperous colonies which were just before them across the Atlantic, but from which they were entirely excluded by the jealous precautions of the English parliament.[112]

When, however, by the Act of Union, the two countries became one, these precautions were discontinued, and Scotland was allowed to hold direct intercourse with America and the West India Islands. The result which this produced on the national industry was almost instantaneous, because it gave vent to a spirit which had begun to appear among the people late in the seventeenth century, and because it was aided by those still more general causes which, in most parts of Europe, predisposed that age to increased industry. The west of Scotland, being nearest to America, was the first to feel the movement. In 1707 the inhabitants of Greenock, without the interference of government, imposed on themselves a voluntary assessment, with the object of constructing a harbour. In this undertaking they displayed so much zeal that by the year 1710 the whole of the works were completed; a pier and capacious harbour were erected, and Greenock was suddenly raised from insignificance to take an important part in the trade of the Atlantic.[113] For a while, the merchants were content to carry on their traffic with ships hired from the English. Soon, however, they became bolder; they began to build on their own account; and in 1719 the first vessel belonging to Greenock sailed for America.[114] From that moment their commerce

[112] "A spirit for commerce appears to have been raised among the inhabitants of Glasgow between the periods of 1660 and 1707, when the Union with England took place." . . But, "whatever their trade was at this time it could not be considerable; the ports to which they were obliged to trade lay all to the eastward; the circumnavigation of the island would therefore prove an almost insurmountable bar to the commerce of Glasgow; the people upon the east coast, from their situation, would be in possession of almost the whole commerce of Scotland." *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, p. 205, Glasgow, 1777.

[113] "The importance of the measure induced the inhabitants of Greenock to make a contract with the superior, by which they agreed to an assessment of 1*s.* 4*d.* sterling on every sack of malt brewed into ale within the limits of the town; the money so levied to be applied in liquidating the expence of forming a proper harbour at Greenock. The work was begun at the epoch of the Union, in 1707; and a capacious harbour, containing upwards of ten Scotish acres, was formed by building an extensive circular pier, with a straight pier, or tongue, in the middle, by which the harbour was divided into two parts. This formidable work, the greatest of the kind at that time in Scotland, incurred an expence of more than 100,000 marks Scots." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 807, London, 1824, 4to. In *M'Culloch's Geographical and Statistical Dictionary*, London, 1849, vol. i. p. 930, it is stated that "the inhabitants took the matter (1707) into their own hands, and agreed with their superior to assess themselves at a certain rate, to build a proper pier and harbour. The work was finished in 1710, at an expense of 5,555*l.*"

[114] "The trade of Greenock has kept pace with the improvements made on its harbour. The union of the kingdoms (1707) opened the colonies to the enterprising inhabitants of this town, and generally of the west of Scotland; but it was not till 1719 that the first vessel belonging to Greenock crossed the Atlantic." *M'Culloch's Geographical and Statistical Dictionary*, vol. i. p. 930.

increased so rapidly that by the year 1740 the tax which the citizens had laid on themselves sufficed not only to wipe off the debt which had been incurred, but also to leave a considerable surplus available for municipal purposes.[115] At the same time, and by the action of the same causes, Glasgow emerged from obscurity. In 1718 its enterprising inhabitants launched in the Clyde the first Scotch vessel which ever crossed the Atlantic; thus anticipating the people of Greenock by one year.[116] Glasgow and Greenock became the two great commercial outlets of Scotland, and the chief centres of activity.[117] Comforts, and indeed luxuries, hitherto only attainable at enormous cost, began to be diffused through the country. The productions of the tropics could now be procured direct from the New World, which in return offered a rich and abundant market for manufactured goods. This was a further stimulus to Scotch industry, and its effects were immediately apparent. The inhabitants of Glasgow, finding a great demand among the Americans for linen, introduced its manufacture into their city in 1725, whence it extended to other places,* and, in a short time, gave

[115] "Such was the effect of the new harbour in increasing the trade and the population of the town, that the assessment and port-dues cleared off the whole debt before 1740, and left in that year a clear surplus of 27,000 marks Scots, or 1500*l.* sterling." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 807. "After the Union, however, the trade of the port increased so rapidly that in the year 1740 the whole debt was extinguished, and there remained a surplus, the foundation of the present town's funds, of 27,000 merks." *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 576, Edinburgh, 1793.

[116] "By the Union, however, new views were opened up to the merchants of the city; they thereby obtained the liberty of a free commerce to America and the West Indies, from which they had been before shut out; they chartered English vessels for these voyages, having none at first fit for the purpose; sent out cargoes of goods for the use of the colonies, and returned home laden with tobacco. The business doing well, vessels were built belonging to the city, and in the year 1718 the first ship, the property of Glasgow, crossed the Atlantic." *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, p. 405, 3rd edit. Glasgow, 1804. Brown (*History of Glasgow*, vol. ii. p. 330, Edinburgh, 1797) says that the Glasgow merchants "chartered Whitehaven ships for many years;" but that "in 1716 a vessel of sixty tons burden was launched at Crawford's dike, being the first Clyde ship that went to the British settlements in America with goods and a supercargo." But this date is probably two years too early. Mr. M'Culloch, in his excellent *Geographical and Statistical Dictionary*, London, 1849, vol. ii. p. 659, says: "But for a while the merchants of Glasgow, who first embarked in the trade to America, carried it on by means of vessels belonging to English ports; and it was not till 1718 that a ship built in Scotland (in the Clyde), the property of Scotch owners, sailed for the American colonies." Gibson also (*History of Glasgow*, 1777, p. 206), says: "In 1718 the first vessel of the property of Glasgow crossed the Atlantic." And, to the same effect, *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 498, Edinburgh, 1793.

[117] The progress was so rapid that, in a work printed in 1732, it is stated that "this city of Glasgow is a place of the greatest trade in the kingdom, especially to the Plantations; from whence they have twenty or thirty sail of ships every year, laden with tobacco and sugar; an advantage this kingdom never enjoyed till the Union. They are purchasing a harbour on the Frith near Alloway, to which they have but twelve miles by land; and then they can re-ship their sugars and tobacco for Holland, Germany, and the Baltick Sea, without being at the trouble of sailing round England or Scotland." *Macky's Journey through Scotland*, pp. 294, 295, 2nd edit. London, 1732. The first edition of this book was also printed in 1732. See *Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica*, vol. i. p. 631 m., Edin-

[* It appears to be here implied that there had been no linen manufacture in Scotland previously. In reality it had existed in the days of Bruce (Cochran-Patrick, *Mediæval Scotland*, 1892, p. 48), and probably earlier. In 1639 an Act of Parliament declares it to be "ane of the pryme commodities of this Kingdome, wherby many people are put to worke and money is brought within the same." (*Ibid.*) The trade continued to develop, and in 1700, John Corse, *of Glasgow*, is found petitioning for the privileges accorded to a linen manufactory. (*Id.* p. 51.)—Ed.]

employment to thousands of workmen.[118] It is also from the year 1725 that Paisley dates its rise. So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century this rich and prosperous city was still a straggling village, containing only a single street.[119] But after the Union its poor and hitherto idle inhabitants began to be moved by the activity which they saw on every side. Gradually their views expanded; and the introduction among them, in 1725, of the manufacture of thread, was the first step in that great career in which they never stopped, until they had raised Paisley to be a vast emporium of industry, and a successful promoter of every art by which industry is nurtured.[120]

Nor was it merely in the west that this movement was displayed. In Scotland generally the spirit of trade became so rife that it began to encroach on the old theological spirit, which had long been supreme. Hitherto the Scotch had cared for little except religious polemics. In every society these had been the chief subject of conversation; and on them men had wasted their energies, without the least benefit either to themselves or to others. But about this time it was observed that the improvement of manufactures became a common topic of discourse.[121] Such a statement, made by a well-informed writer, who witnessed what he relates, is a curious proof of the change which was beginning, though very faintly, to steal over the Scotch mind. It shows that there was at all events a tendency to turn aside from subjects which are inaccessible to our understanding, and the discussion of which has no effect except to exasperate those who dispute, and to make them more intolerant than ever of theological opinions different from their own. Unhappily there were, as I shall presently point out, other causes at work which prevented this tendency from producing all the good that might have been expected. Still, so far as it went, it was a clear gain. It was a blow to superstition, inasmuch as it was an attempt to occupy the human mind with mere secular considerations. In a country like Scotland, this alone was extremely important. We must also add that though it was the effect of increased industry, it, as often happens, reacted upon and strengthened its cause. For by diminishing, however little, the inordinate respect formerly paid to theological pursuits, it was in the same proportion an inducement to ambitious and enterprising men to abstain from those pursuits, and to engage in temporal matters, where ability, being less fettered by prejudice, has more scope,

burgh, 1824, 4to. [Macky seems to have been a careless writer. Alloway (Alloa) is on the wrong side of the Firth for Glasgow. Her natural and nearest eastern port was Grangemouth, which is more than twenty miles away in a straight line.—Ed.]

[118] Gibson, who was a Glasgow merchant, says in his *History of Glasgow*, p. 236, "that the commerce to America first suggested the idea of introducing manufactures into Glasgow, is to me very evident; and that they were only attempted to be introduced about the year 1725 is apparent." Denholm (*History of Glasgow*, p. 412) says: "The linen manufacture, which began here in the year 1725, was for a long time the staple, not only of this city, but of the west of Scotland." Compare *Heron's Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland*, Perth, 1799, vol. ii. p. 412.

[119] "Consisting only of one principal street about half a mile in length." *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 62. But the local historian mentions, with evident pride, that this one street contained "handsome houses." *Crawfurd's History of the Shire of Renfrew*, part iii. p. 305, edit. Paisley, 1782, 4to.

[120] *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, pp. 546, 547; and *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 62–64. See also, on the rise of Paisley, *Heron's Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 399, 400; *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 144; and *Crawfurd's History of the Shire of Renfrew*, part iii. p. 321. At an earlier period, Paisley was famous in a different way. In the Middle Ages, it swarmed with monks. Keith (*Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, p. 252, Edinburgh, 1755, 4to) tells us that, "it formerly was a Priory, and afterwards changed into an Abbey of Black Monks."

[121] The author of *The Interest of Scotland Considered*, Edinburgh, 1733, says (p. xvi.) that since 1727 "we have happily turned our eyes upon the improvement of our manufactures, which is now a common subject in discourse, and this contributes not a little to its success."

and enjoys more freedom of action. Of those men, some rose to the first rank in literature; while others, taking a different but equally useful turn, became as eminent in trade. Hence Scotland, during the eighteenth century, possessed for the first time two powerful and active classes whose aim was essentially secular; the intellectual class, and the industrial class. Before the eighteenth century neither of these classes exercised an independent sway, or could indeed be said to have a separate existence. The intellect of the country was absorbed by the church; the industry of the country was controlled by the nobles. The effect which this change produced on the literature of Scotland will be traced in the last chapter of the present volume. Its effect on industry was equally remarkable, and for the well-being of the nation was equally valuable. But it does not possess that general scientific interest which belongs to the intellectual movement; and I shall therefore, in addition to the evidence already given, confine myself to a few more facts illustrative of the history of Scotch industry down to the middle of the eighteenth century, by which time there was no longer any doubt that the flood of material prosperity had fairly set in.

During the seventeenth century the only Scotch manufacture of any importance was that of linen, which, however, like every other branch of industry, was very backward, and was exposed to all sorts of discouragement.[122] But after the Union it received a sudden impetus, from two causes. One of these causes, as I have already noticed, was the demand from America, consequent upon the trade of the Atlantic being thrown open. The other cause was the removal of the duty which England had imposed upon the importation of Scotch linen. These two circumstances, occurring nearly at the same time, produced such effect on the national industry, that De Foe, who had a wider knowledge of the details of trade than any man of that age, said that it seemed as if for the future the Scotch poor could never lack employment.[123] Unfortunately this was not the case, and never will be, until society is radically changed. But the movement which provoked so bold a remark from so cautious an observer as De Foe must have been very striking; and we know from other sources that between 1728 and 1738 the manufacture of linen for exportation alone was more than doubled.[124] After that period, this and other departments of Scotch industry advanced with a constantly accelerating speed. It is mentioned by a contemporary who was likely to be well informed, that between 1715 and 1745 the trade and manufactures of Scotland increased more than they had done for ages before.[125] Such a statement, though valuable as corroborating other

[122] Morer, who was in Scotland in 1688 and 1689, says, "But that which employs great part of their land is hemp, of which they have mighty burdens, and on which they bestow much care and pains to dress and prepare it for making their linen, the most noted and beneficial manufacture of the kingdom." *Morer's Short Account of Scotland*, London, 1702, pp. 3, 4.

[123] "The duties upon linen from Scotland being taken off in England, made so great a demand for Scots linen more than usual, that it seemed the poor could want no employment." *De Foe's History of the Union between England and Scotland*, p. 604. Compare *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 736: "a prodigious vent, not only in England, but for the American plantations." This concerns a later period.

[124] "The surplus of linen made above the consumption was in 1728 2,183,978 yards; in 1738, 4,666,011." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 873. On the increase between 1728 and 1732, see the Table in *The Interest of Scotland Considered*, Edinburgh, 1733, p. 97. In a work published in 1732, it is stated that "they make a great deal of linnen all over the kingdom, not only for their own use, but export it to England, and to the Plantations. In short, the women are all kept employ'd, from the highest to the lowest of them." *Macky's Journey through Scotland*, London, 1732, p. 271. This refers merely to the women of Scotland, whom Macky represents as much more industrious than the men.

[125] In 1745 Craik writes to Lord Nithisdale, "The present family have now reigned over us these thirty years, and though during so long a time they may have fallen into errors, or may have committed faults, (as what Government is without?) yett I will defy the most sanguine zealot to find in history a period equal to this in which Scotland possessed

evidence, is too vague to be entirely relied on; and historians, who usually occupy themselves with insignificant details about courts and princes and statesmen, desert us in matters which are really important, so that it is now hardly possible to reconstruct the history of the Scotch people during this, the first epoch of their material prosperity. I have however gathered a few facts which appear to rest on good authority, and which supply us with something like precise information as to dates. In 1739 the manufacture of linen was introduced into Kilbarchan,[126] and, in 1740, into Arbroath.[127] From the year 1742 the manufactures of Kilmarnock date their rise.[128] In 1748 the first linen was manufactured in Cullen;[129] and in the same year in Inverary.[130] In 1749 this great branch of industry and source of wealth was established on a large scale in Aberdeen;[131] while about 1750 it began to diffuse itself in Wemyss, in the county of Fife.[132] These things happening within eleven years, in parts of the country so distant from each other, and so totally unconnected, indicate the existence of general causes which governed the whole movement; though in this as in all instances everything is popularly ascribed to the influence of a few powerful individuals. We have however other proofs that the progress was essentially national. Even in Edinburgh, where hitherto no claims had been respected except those of the nobles or clergy, the voice of this new trading interest began to be heard. In that poor and warlike capital a society was now first established for the encouragement of manufactures; and we are assured that this was but a single manifestation of the enthusiasm which was generally felt on the subject.[133] Coinciding with this movement, and indeed forming part of it, we can discern the earliest symptoms of a monied class, properly so called. In 1749 there was established at Aberdeen the first county bank ever seen in Scotland; and in the very same year a similar establishment was formed at Glasgow.[134] These represented the east and the west, and by the advances which

so uninterrupted a felicity, in which liberty, civil and religious, was so universally enjoyed by all people of whatever denomination—nay, by the open and avowed ennemys of the family and constitution, or a period in which all ranks of men have been so effectually secured in their property. Have not trade, manufactures, agriculture, and the spirit of industry in our country extended themselves further during this period and under this family than for ages before?" *Thomson's Memoirs of the Jacobites*, London, 1845, vol. ii. pp. 60, 61.

126 *Crawfurd's History of the Shire of Renfrew*, part ii. p. 114.

127 *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 341, compared with vol. xii. pp. 176, 177.

128 *Chalmers'* *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 483.

129 *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 145.

130 *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 297.

131 *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. pp. 199, 200.

132 *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvi. p. 520: "About the year 1750." I need hardly say that some of these dates, depending upon tradition, are given by the authors approximatively.

133 "Betwixt the year 1750 and 1760, a great degree of patriotic enthusiasm arose in Scotland to encourage arts and manufactures; and the *Edinburgh Society* was established in 1755 for the express purpose of improving these." *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. iii. pp. 126, 7.

134 "The first country-bank that anywhere appeared was the Aberdeen Bank, which was settled in 1749: it was immediately followed by a similar establishment in Glasgow during the same year." *Chalmers'* *Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 9, 4to, 1824. Kennedy (*Annals of Aberdeen*, 4to, 1818, vol. ii. p. 195) says: "Banking was originally projected in Aberdeen about the year 1752, by a few of the principal citizens who were engaged in commerce and manufactures. They commenced business upon a limited scale, in an office on the north side of the Castle Street, issued notes of hand, of five pounds and of twenty shillings sterling, and discounted bills and promissory notes, for the accommodation of the public." It is uncertain if Chalmers knew of this passage; but he was a more accurate writer than Kennedy, and I therefore prefer his authority. Besides, Kennedy vaguely says, "about the year 1752."

they were able to make, each assisted the trade of its own district. Between eastern and western Scotland the intercourse, as yet, was difficult and costly. But this likewise was about to be remedied by an enterprise the mere conception of which would formerly have excited ridicule. After the Union, the idea arose of uniting the east with the west by a canal, which should join the Forth to the Clyde. The plan was deemed chimerical, and was abandoned. As soon, however, as the manufacturing and commercial classes had gained sufficient influence they adopted it, with that energy which is characteristic of their order, and which is more common among them than among any other rank of society. The result was that in 1768 the great work was fairly begun ;[135] and the first step was taken towards what, in a material point of view, was an enterprise of vast importance, but in a social and intellectual point of view was of still superior value, inasmuch as, by supplying a cheap and easy transit through the heart of the most populous part of Scotland, it had a direct tendency to make different districts and different places feel that each had need of others, and thus encouraging the notion that all belonged to one common scheme, it assisted in diminishing local prejudice and assuaging local jealousy ; while in the same proportion, by enticing men to move out of the narrow circle in which they had habitually lived, it prepared them for a certain enlargement of mind, which is the natural consequence of seeing affairs under various aspects, and which is never found in any country in which the means of travelling are either very hazardous or very expensive.

Such was the state of Scotland towards the middle of the eighteenth century ; and surely a fairer prospect was never opened to any country. The land was at peace. It had nothing to fear, either from foreign invasion or from domestic tyranny. The arts which increase the comfort of man, and minister to his happiness, were sedulously cultivated ; wealth was being created with unexampled speed, and the blessings which follow in the train of wealth were being widely diffused ; while the insolence of the nobility was so effectually curbed that industrious citizens could for the first time feel their own independence, could know that what they earned, that likewise they should enjoy, and could hold themselves erect, and with a manly brow, in the presence of a class before whom they had long crouched in abject submission.

Besides this, a great literature now arose, a literature of rare and surpassing beauty.* To narrate the intellectual achievements of the Scotch during the eighteenth century, in a manner at all commensurate with their importance, would require a separate treatise, and I cannot now stop even to mention what all educated persons are at least partly acquainted with ; each student recognizing the value of what was done in his own pursuit. In the last chapter of this volume I shall however attempt to give some idea of the general results considered as a whole ; at present it is enough to say that in every branch of knowledge this once poor and ignorant people produced original and successful thinkers. What makes this the more remarkable is its complete contrast to their former state. Down even to the beginning of the eighteenth century Scotland could only boast of two authors whose works have benefited mankind. They were Buchanan and Napier. Buchanan was the first political writer who held accurate views respecting government, and who clearly defined the true relation between the people and their rulers. He placed popular rights on a solid basis, and vindicated by anticipation all subsequent revolutions. Napier, equally bold in another department, succeeded by a mighty effort of genius in detecting and pushing

[135] "After having been frequently proposed since the Union, this canal was at length begun in 1768, and finished in 1790. The trade upon it is already great, and is rapidly increasing." *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 279, 280, Edinburgh, 1792. See also vol. xii. p. 125 ; *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, 1860, 4to, p. 247 ; and an interesting contemporary notice in *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, Edinburgh, 1777, pp. 468–481. In 1767 Watt was employed as a surveyor. See *Muirhead's Life of Watt*, 2nd edit. London, 1859, p. 167.

[* Buckle here means, not *belles lettres*, but philosophic and scientific literature. —Ed.]

to its extreme consequence a law of the progression of numbers, which is so simple and yet so potent that it unravels the most tedious and intricate calculations, and, thus economizing the labours of the brain, has saved an enormous and incalculable waste. These two men were, indeed, great benefactors of their species ; but they stand alone, and if all the other authors Scotland produced down to the close of the seventeenth century had never been born, or if, being born, they had never written, society would have lost nothing, but would be in exactly the same position as it now is.*

Early, however, in the eighteenth century a movement was felt all over Europe, and in that movement Scotland participated. A spirit of inquiry was abroad, so general and so searching, that no country could entirely escape from its action. Sanguine men were excited, and even grave men were stirred. It seemed as if a long night were about to close. Light broke forth where before there was nothing but darkness. Opinions which had stood the test of ages were suddenly questioned ; and in every direction doubts sprung up, and proofs were demanded. The human mind, waxing bold, would not be satisfied with the old evidence. Things were examined at their foundation, and the basis of every belief was jealously scrutinized. For a time this was confined to the higher intellects ; but soon the movement spread, and in the most advanced countries worked upon nearly all classes. In England and in France the result was extremely beneficial. It might have been hoped that in Scotland likewise the popular mind would gradually have become enlightened. But not so. Time rolled on ; one generation succeeded another ; the eighteenth century passed away ; the nineteenth century came ; and still the people made no sign. The gloom of the Middle Ages was yet upon them. While all around was light, the Scotch, enveloped in mist, crept on, groping their way dismally and with fear. While other nations were shaking off their old superstitions, this singular people clung to theirs with undiminished tenacity.† Now, indeed, their grasp is gradually slackening, but with extreme slowness, and threatening reactions frequently appear. This, as it always has been and still is the curse of Scotland, so also is it the chief difficulty with which the historian of Scotland has to contend. Everywhere else, when the rise of the intellectual classes and that of the trading and manufacturing classes have accompanied each other, the invariable result has been a diminution of the power of the clergy, and consequently a diminution of the influence of superstition. The peculiarity of Scotland is that during the eighteenth century, and even down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the

[* This thesis is on the lines of that concerning French literature dealt with above, p. 289. It ignores the remarkable literary work of Dunbar and Sir David Lyndsay, the former the most powerful British poet between Chaucer and Shakspere, the latter the most remarkable dramatic writer of his age in Europe. Compare *A. W. Ward's History of English Dramatic Literature*, i. 70–71. If Buckle's proposition can hold good of these writers, it must equally hold good of all writers of *belles lettres* ; and his own admiration of Shakspere must be disallowed. On his own principles, further, he should have joined with the name of Buchanan that of Rutherford, whose *Lex Rex* (1644) had great influence in the civil war. And after all, in a later chapter (ch. xx., at note 3) Buckle recognizes poetry and drama as important aspects of literature, and among the measures of an age's civilization.—Ed.]

[† Buckle here exaggerates concerning Scotland as he has done concerning Spain. While the theological frost was certainly deeper and more lasting in Scotland than in England, it was not such as he represents. He ignores the significance of Burns ; and he never gives any definition of the term " popular " by which he can be tested. It could hardly be maintained that the *mass* of the population became enlightened either in England or in France in the eighteenth century. In Scotland, on the other hand, Hume and Smith must have had *some* readers in the middle classes. Buckle has not realized that in their time there was a " Moderate " party in the Kirk (represented by three historians, Robertson, Henry and Watson), much railed against by the zealots. For light on the intellectual life of the period see the *Autobiography of the Rev. Alexander Carlyle*, published in 1860. Hume had many friends among the younger clergy (Carlyle, pp. 271–2).—Ed.]

industrial and intellectual progress has continued without materially shaking the authority of the priesthood.[136] Strange and unequalled combination! The country of bold and enterprising merchants, of shrewd manufacturers, of far-seeing men of business, and of cunning artificers; the country, too, of such fearless thinkers as George Buchanan, David Hume, and Adam Smith, is awed by a few noisy and ignorant preachers, to whom it allows a license, and yields a submission, disgraceful to the age, and incompatible with the commonest notions of liberty. A people in many respects very advanced, and holding upon political subjects enlightened views, do upon all religious subjects display a littleness of mind, an illiberality of sentiment, a heat of temper, and a love of persecuting others, which shows that the Protestantism of which they boast has done them no good; that in the most important matters it has left them as narrow as it found them; and that it has been unable to free them from prejudices which make them the laughing-stock of Europe, and which have turned the very name of the Scotch Kirk into a by-word and a reproach among educated men.*

I shall now endeavour to explain how all this arose, and how such apparent inconsistencies are to be reconciled. That they may be reconciled, and that the inconsistencies are merely apparent and not real, will be at once admitted by whoever is capable of a scientific conception of history. For in the moral world as in the physical world, nothing is anomalous; nothing is unnatural; nothing is strange. All is order, symmetry, and law. There are opposites, but there are no contradictions. In the character of a nation, inconsistency is impossible.† Such, however, is still the backward condition of the human mind, and with so evil and jaundiced an eye do we approach the greatest problems, that not only common writers, but even men from whom better things might be hoped, are on this point involved in constant confusion, perplexing themselves and their readers by speaking of inconsistency as if it were a quality belonging to the subject which they investigate, instead of being, as it really is, a measure of their own ignorance. It is the business of the historian to remove this ignorance, by showing that the movements of nations are perfectly regular, and that, like all other movements, they are solely determined by their antecedents. If he cannot do this, he is no historian. He may be an annalist, or a biographer, or a chronicler, but higher than that he cannot rise, unless he is imbued with that spirit of science which teaches as an article of faith the doctrine of uniform sequence; in other words, the doctrine that certain events having already happened, certain other events corresponding to them will also happen. To seize this idea with firmness, and to apply it on all occasions without listening to any exceptions, is extremely difficult, but it must be done by whoever wishes to elevate the study of history from its present crude and informal state, and do what he may towards placing it in its proper rank, as the head and chief of all the sciences. Even then he cannot perform his task unless his materials are ample, and derived from sources of

[136] I will quote, in a single passage, the opinions of an eminent German and of an eminent Scotchman. "Dr. Spurzheim, when he last visited Scotland, remarked that the Scotch appeared to him to be the most priest-ridden nation in Europe; Spain and Portugal not excepted. *After having seen other countries, I can understand the force of this observation.*" *Notes on the United States of North America by George Combe*, vol. iii. p. 32, Edinburgh, 1841. [Adam Smith had said virtually the same thing (*Wealth of Nations*, B. v. ch. i. Art. 3, near end). But he explained how the Scotch clergy had *won* the assent of their flocks.—ED.]

[* It is to be feared that England has not been exempt from European criticism in these matters. Alexander von Humboldt described it as the "priest-ridden kingdom of the leopards," and many Germans have agreed with him.—ED.]

[† These formulas simply reduce to insignificance the terms "anomaly" and "inconsistency." If "nothing is anomalous," what does "anomalous" mean? The following remarks on "inconsistency" amount to a mere verbal confusion, assuming as they do that "inconsistent" = "uncaused." It is of course a predication of *logical* inconsequence, not of inconsequence in events.—ED.]

unquestioned credibility. But if his facts are sufficiently numerous ; if they are very diversified ; if they have been collected from such various quarters that they can check and confront each other, so as to do away with all suspicion of their testimony being garbled ; and if he who uses them possesses that faculty of generalization without which nothing great can be achieved, he will hardly fail in bringing some part of his labours to a prosperous issue, provided he devotes all his strength to that one enterprise, postponing to it every other object of ambition, and sacrificing to it many interests which men hold dear. Some of the most pleasurable incentives to action he must disregard. Not for him are those rewards which, in other pursuits, the same energy would have earned ; not for him the sweets of popular applause ; not for him the luxury of power ; not for him a share in the councils of his country ; not for him a conspicuous and honoured place before the public eye. Albeit conscious of what he could do, he may not compete in the great contest ; he cannot hope to win the prize ; he cannot even enjoy the excitement of the struggle. To him the arena is closed. His recompense lies within himself, and he must learn to care little for the sympathy of his fellow-creatures, or for such honours as they are able to bestow. So far from looking for these things, he should rather be prepared for that obloquy which always awaits those who, by opening up new veins of thought, disturb the prejudices of their contemporaries. While ignorance, and worse than ignorance, is imputed to him, while his motives are misrepresented and his integrity impeached, while he is accused of denying the value of moral principles, and of attacking the foundation of all religion, as if he were some public enemy, who made it his business to corrupt society, and whose delight it was to see what evil he could do ; while these charges are brought forward, and repeated from mouth to mouth, he must be capable of pursuing in silence the even tenor of his way, without swerving, without pausing, and without stepping from his path to notice the angry outcries which he cannot but hear, and which he is more than human if he does not long to rebuke. These are the qualities, and these the high resolves, indispensable to him who, on the most important of all subjects, believe ing that the old road is worn out and useless, seeks to strike out a new one for himself, and in the effort not only perhaps exhausts his strength, but is sure to incur the enmity of those who are bent on maintaining the ancient scheme unimpaired. To solve the great problem of affairs ; to detect those hidden circumstances which determine the march and destiny of nations ; and to find, in the events of the past, a key to the proceedings of the future, is nothing less than to unite into a single science all the laws of the moral and physical world. Whoever does this will build up afresh the fabric of our knowledge, rearrange its various parts, and harmonize its apparent discrepancies. Perchance the human mind is hardly ready for so vast an enterprise. At all events, he who undertakes it will meet with little sympathy, and will find few to help him. And let him toil as he may, the sun and noontide of his life shall pass by, the evening of his days shall overtake him, and he himself have to quit the scene, leaving that unfinished which he had vainly hoped to complete. He may lay the foundation ; it will be for his successors to raise the edifice. Their hands will give the last touch ; they will reap the glory ; their names will be remembered when his is forgotten. It is indeed too true that such a work requires not only several minds, but also the successive experience of several generations. Once, I own, I thought otherwise. Once, when I first caught sight of the whole field of knowledge, and seemed, however dimly, to discern its various parts and the relation they bore to each other, I was so entranced with its surpassing beauty that the judgment was beguiled, and I deemed myself able not only to cover the surface, but also to master the details. Little did I know how the horizon enlarges as well as recedes, and how vainly we grasp at the fleeting forms, which melt away and elude us in the distance. Of all that I had hoped to do, I now find but too surely how small a part I shall accomplish. In those early aspirations there was much that was fanciful ; perhaps there was much that was foolish. Perhaps, too, they contained a moral defect, and savoured of an arrogance which belongs to a strength that refuses to recognize its own weakness. Still, even now that they are defeated and brought to nought, I cannot repent having indulged in them, but on the

contrary I would willingly recall them if I could. For such hopes belong to that joyous and sanguine period of life when alone we are really happy; when the emotions are more active than the judgment; when experience has not yet hardened our nature; when the affections are not yet blighted and nipped to the core; and when the bitterness of disappointment not having yet been felt, difficulties are unheeded, obstacles are unseen, ambition is a pleasure instead of a pang, and the blood coursing swiftly through the veins, the pulse beats high, while the heart throbs at the prospect of the future. Those are glorious days; but they go from us, and nothing can compensate their absence. To me they now seem more like the visions of a disordered fancy than the sober realities of things that were, and are not. It is painful to make this confession; but I owe it to the reader, because I would not have him to suppose that either in this or in the future volumes of my History I shall be able to redeem my pledge, and to perform all that I promised. Something I hope to achieve which will interest the thinkers of this age; and something, perhaps, on which posterity may build. It will, however, only be a fragment of my original design. In the two last chapters I have attempted, and in the two next chapters I shall still further attempt, to solve a curious problem in the history of Scotland which is intimately connected with other problems of a yet graver import: but though the solution will, I believe, be complete, the evidence of the solution will most assuredly be imperfect. I regret to add that such imperfection is henceforth an essential part of my plan. It is essential, because I despair of supplying those deficiencies in my knowledge of which I grow more sensible in proportion as my views become more extensive. It is also essential because, after a fair estimate of my own strength, of the probable duration of my life, and of the limits to which industry can safely be pushed, I have been driven to the conclusion that this Introduction, which I had projected as a solid foundation on which the history of England might subsequently be raised, must either be greatly curtailed and consequently shorn of its force, or that, if not curtailed, there will hardly be a chance of my being able to narrate, with the amplitude and fulness of detail which they richly deserve, the deeds of that great and splendid nation with which I am best acquainted, and of which it is my pride to count myself a member. It is with the free, the noble, and the high-minded English people that my sympathies are most closely connected; on them my affections naturally centre; from their literature, and from their example, my best lessons have been learnt; and it is now the most cherished and the most sacred desire of my heart that I may succeed in writing their history, and in unfolding the successive phases of their mighty career, while I am yet somewhat equal to the task, and before my faculties have begun to dwindle or the power of continuous attention has begun to decay.*

[* The pathetic stress of emotion here tells sufficiently of the breaking down of the historian's health, and explains the overstrained character of much of the writing in these chapters.—Ed.]

CHAPTER XIX

An Examination of the Scotch Intellect during the Seventeenth Century

The remaining part of this volume I purpose to devote to an attempt to unravel still further that two-fold paradox which forms the prominent peculiarity of the history of Scotland. The paradox consists, as we have seen, in the fact, first, that the same people have long been liberal in politics, and illiberal in religion * ; and, secondly, that the brilliant, inquisitive, and sceptical literature which they produced in the eighteenth century was unable to weaken their superstition, or to instil into them wiser and larger maxims on religious matters. From an early period there were, as I have endeavoured to show, many circumstances which predisposed the Scotch to superstition, and, so far, had a general connexion with the subject before us. But the remarkable phenomenon with which we are immediately concerned may, I think, be traced to two distinct causes. The first cause was that for a hundred and twenty years after the establishment of Protestanism the rulers of Scotland either neglected the Church or persecuted it, thereby driving the clergy into the arms of the people, from whom alone they could obtain sympathy and support. Hence an alliance between the two parties more intimate than would otherwise have been possible ; and hence, too, the rise of that democratic spirit which was the necessary consequence of such an union, and which the clergy encouraged, because they were opposed and thwarted by the upper classes. So far the result was extremely beneficial, as it produced a love of independence and a hatred of tyranny which, twice during the seventeenth century, saved the country from the yoke of a cruel despotism.† But these very circumstances, which guarded the people against political despotism, exposed them all the more to ecclesiastical despotism. For having no one to trust except their preachers, they trusted them entirely, and upon all subjects. The clergy gradually became supreme, not only in spiritual matters but also in temporal ones. Late in the sixteenth century, they had been glad to take refuge among the people ; before the middle of the seventeenth century they ruled the people. How shamefully they abused their power, and how, by encouraging the worst kind of superstition, they prolonged the reign of ignorance, and stopped the march of society, will be related in the course of this chapter ; but in fairness to them we ought to acknowledge that the religious servitude into which the Scotch fell during the seventeenth century was on the whole a willing one, and that, mischievous as it was, it had at least a noble origin, inasmuch as the influence of the Protestant clergy is mainly to be ascribed to the fearlessness with which they came forward as leaders of the people, at a period when that post was full of danger, and when the upper classes

[* The antithesis here set up is rather verbal than factual. In the sense in which the Scots were illiberal in religion, they were illiberal in politics, inasmuch as they were politically intolerant of other worships. Liberality is a matter of mental attitude, and if it exists in regard to politics it must react on religion. Scottish politics early became *demotic* on the ecclesiastical side; but the Scots were not on that score "liberal," any more than an early Teutonic tribe.—Ed.]

[† See above, pp. 370, 695, 705, editorial notes.—Ed.]

were ready to unite with the crown in destroying the last vestiges of national liberty.

To trace the operation of this cause of Scotch superstition will be the business of the present chapter; while in the next and concluding chapter I shall examine the other cause, which I have as yet hardly mentioned. This latter inquiry will involve some considerations respecting the philosophy of method, still imperfectly appreciated among us, and on which the history of the Scotch mind will throw considerable light. For it will appear that during the eighteenth century the ablest Scotchmen, with hardly an exception, adopted a method of investigating truth which cut them off from the sympathies of their countrymen, and prevented their works from producing the effect which they might otherwise have done. The result was that though a very sceptical literature was produced, scepticism made no progress, and therefore superstition was undiminished. The highly-educated minds, indeed, were affected; but they formed a class apart, and there were no means of communication between them and the people. That this was owing to the method which literary men employed I hope to prove in the next chapter: and if I succeed in doing so, it will be evident that I have been guilty of no exaggeration in terming this the second great cause of the prolongation of Scotch superstition, since it was sufficiently powerful to prevent the intellectual classes from exercising their natural functions as the disturbers of old opinions.

We have already seen that almost immediately after the Reformation ill-feeling arose between the upper classes and the spiritual leaders of the Protestant church, and that this ill-feeling increased until, in 1580, it vented itself by the abolition of episcopacy. This bold and decisive measure made the breach irreparable. The preachers had now committed themselves too far to recede, even if they had desired to do so; and from that moment, uniting themselves heartily with the people, they took up a position which they have never since abandoned. During the remaining twenty-three years that James was in Scotland they were occupied in exciting the people against their rulers; and as they became more democratic, so did the crown and nobles grow more hostile, and display, for the first time, a disposition to combine together in defence of their common interests. In 1603 James ascended the throne of England, and the struggle began in earnest. It lasted, with few interruptions, eighty-five years, and during its continuance the Presbyterian clergy never wavered; they were always steady to the good cause; always on the side of the people. This greatly increased their influence; and what favoured it still more was that, besides being the champions of popular liberty, they were also the champions of national independence. When James I. and the two Charleses attempted to force episcopacy upon Scotland, the Scotch rejected it, not only because they hated the institution but also because they looked on it as the mark of a foreign domination, which they were determined to resist. Their nearest and most dangerous enemy was England; and they spurned the idea of receiving bishops who must in the first instance be consecrated in London, and who, it was certain, would never have been admitted into Scotland unless England had been the stronger country. It was therefore on patriotic as well as religious grounds that the Scotch clergy during the seventeenth century struggled against episcopacy;[1] and when they overthrew it, in 1638, their bold

[1] In 1638, one of the most eminent of the Scotch clergy writes: "Our maine feare" is "to have our religion lost, our throats cutted, our poore countrey made ane English province, to be disposed upon for ever hereafter at the will of a Bishope of Canterburie." *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. i. p. 66. Compare p. 450. "This kirk is a free and independant kirk, no less then the kingdom is a free and independant kingdom; and as our own Patriots can best judge what is for the good of the kingdom, so our own Pastors should be most able to judge what form of worship beseemeth our Reformation, and what serveth most for the good of the People." Two generations later, one of the most popular arguments against the Union was that it might enable the English to force episcopacy upon Scotland. See *De Foe's History of the Union between England and Scotland*, pp. 222, 284, 359. "The danger of the Church of Scotland from the suffrages of English bishops," &c.

and determined conduct associated in the popular mind the love of country with the love of the church. Subsequent events strengthened this association.[2] In 1650 Cromwell invaded Scotland, overthrew the Scotch in the battle of Dunbar, and intrusted to Monk the task of curbing their spirit, by building fortresses, and establishing a long chain of military posts.[3] The nation, cowed and broken, gave way, and, for the first time for three centuries, felt the pressure of a foreign yoke. The clergy alone remained firm.[4] Cromwell, who knew that they were the chief obstacle to completing his conquest, hated them, and did everything he could to ruin them.[5] But their power was too deeply seated to be shaken. From their pulpits they continued to influence and animate the people. In face of the invaders, and in spite of them, the Scotch church continued to hold its General Assemblies, until the summer of 1653. Then indeed they had to yield to brute force ; and the people, to their unutterable grief, beheld the venerated representatives of the Scotch kirk driven from their place of meeting by English soldiers, and led like criminals through the streets of Edinburgh.[6]

[2] The hatred which the Scotch naturally felt against the English for having inflicted so much suffering upon them, was intense about the middle of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding the temporary union of the two nations against Charles. In 1652 "the criminal record is full of cases of murder of English soldiers. They were cut off by the people whenever a fitting opportunity occurred, and were as much detested in Scotland as the French soldiers were in Spain during the Peninsular war." *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 98, Edinburgh, 1845. See also p. 167 : "A nationall quarrell, and not for the Stuarts."

[3] *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. ii. pp. 75–77 : "The English army was augmented to twenty thousand men, and citadels erected in several towns, and a long chain of military stations drawn across the country to curb the inhabitants."

[4] Clarendon, under the year 1655, says, "Though Scotland was vanquished, and subdued to that degree that there was no place nor person who made the least show of opposing Cromwell ; who, by the administration of Monk, made the yoke very grievous to the whole nation ; yet the preachers kept their pulpit license ; and, more for the affront that was offered to Presbytery than the conscience of what was due to majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the king ; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the people against the present government." *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, p. 803.

[5] And, what they must have felt very acutely, he would not go to hear them preach. A writer of that time informs us that, even in 1648, when Cromwell was in Edinburgh, "he went not to their churches ; but it is constantlie reported that ewerie day he had sermons in his oune ludginge, himself being the preacher, whensoewer the spirit came upon him ; which took him lyk the fitts of an ague, somtyms twise, sometyms thryse in a day." *Gordon's Britane's Distemper*, p. 212. In 1650, according to another contemporary, "he made stables of all the churches for hes horsses quhersoeuer he came, and burned all the seatts and pewes in them ; riffled the ministers' housses, and distrayed ther cornes." *Balfour's Annales of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 88. The clergy, on the other hand, employing a resource with which their profession has always been familiar, represented Cromwell as opposing Providence, because he was opposing them. Rutherford (*Religious Letters*, reprinted Glasgow, 1824, p. 346) says that he fought "against the Lord's secret ones ; " and Row (*Continuation of Blair's Autobiography*, p. 335), under the year 1658, triumphantly observes : "In the beginning of September this year, the Protector, that old fox, died. It was observed, as a remarkable cast of divine providence, that he died upon the 3d of September, which he, glorying of routing of our armies at Dunbar and Worcester on that day, used to call *his day*. On that same very day the Just Judge called him to an account," &c.

[6] See contemporary notices of this, in *Nicoll's Diary*, p. 110 ; and in *The Diary of Mr. John Lamont of Newton*, pp. 56, 57. But the best account is that given by Baillie, in a letter to Calamy, dated Glasgow, 27th July, 1653. He writes : "That on the 20th of July last, when our Generall Assemblie wes sett in the ordinarie tyme and place, Lieutenant-Colonell Cotterall besett the church with some rattes of musqueteir and a troup of horse ; himself (after our fast, wherein Mr. Dickson and Mr. Dowglas had two gracious sermons)

Thus it was that in Scotland, after the latter part of the sixteenth century, everything tended to increase the reputation of the clergy, by raising them to the foremost rank among the defenders of their country. And it was but natural that the spiritual classes, finding themselves in the ascendant, should conduct the contest according to views habitual to their profession; and should be anxious for religious advantages rather than for temporal benefits. The war which the Scotch waged against Charles I. partook more of the character of a crusade than any war ever carried on by a Protestant nation.[7] The main object was to raise up presbyters, and to destroy bishops. Prelacy was the accursed thing, and that must be rooted out at every hazard. To this all other considerations were subordinate.[8] The Scotch loved liberty, and hated England. Yet even these two passions, notwithstanding their strength, were as nothing in comparison with their intense desire to extend and to propagate, if need be at the

entered the Assemblie-house, and, immediately after Mr. Dickson the Moderator his prayer, required audience; wherein he inquired, If we did sitt there by the authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England? or of the Commanders-in-chiefe of the English forces? or of the English Judges in Scotland? The Moderator replyed, That we were ane Ecclesiasticall synod, ane Spirituall court of Jesus Christ, which medled not with any thing Civile; that our authoritie wes from God, and established by the lawes of the land yet standing unrepealed; that, by the Solemn League and Covenant, the most of the English army stood obliedged to defend our Generall Assemblie. When some speeches of this kind had passed, the Lieutenant-Colonell told us, his order was to dissolve us; whereupon he commanded all of us to follow him, else he would drag us out of the rowme. When we had entered a Protestation of this unheard-of and unexampled violence, we did ryse and follow him; he ledd us all through the whole streets a myle out of the towne, encompassing us with foot-companies of musqueteirs, and horsemen without; all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. When he had ledd us a myle without the towne, he then declared what further he had in commission. That we should not dare to meet any more above three in number; and that against eight o'clock to-morrow, we should depart the towne, under paine of being guiltie of breaking the publick peace: And the day following, by sound of trumpet, we were commanded off towne under the paine of present imprisonment. Thus our Generall Assemblie, the glory and strength of our Church upon earth, is, by your souldiarie, crushed and trod under foot, without the least provocatione from us, at this time, either in word or deed." *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. pp. 225, 226.

[7] In August, 1640, the army marched into England; and "it was very refreshfull to remark, that after we came to ane quarter at night, there was nothing almost to be heard throughout the whole army but singing of psalms, prayer, and reading of Scripture by the souldiers in their severall hutts." *Select Biographies*, edited by Mr. Tweedie for the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 163. "The most zealous among them boasted, they should carry the triumphant banners of the covenant to Rome itself." *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, p. 124. In 1644 the celebrated divine, Andrew Cant, was appointed by the Commissioners of the General Assembly "to preach at the opening of the Parliament, wherein he satisfied their expectation fully. For the main point he drove at in his sermon, was to state an opposition betwixt King Charles and King Jesus (as he was pleased to speak), and upon that account to press resistance to King Charles for the interest of King Jesus. It may be wondered that such doctrine should have relish'd with men brought up in the knowledge of the Scriptures; and yet, such was the madness of the times, that none who preach'd in public since the beginning of the Troubles had been so cried up as he was for that sermon." *Guthry's Memoirs*, pp. 136, 137.

[8] "The rooting out of prelacy and the wicked hierarchy therein so obviously described, is the main duty." *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland* pp. 53, 54. This refers to the Covenant of 1643. So, too, the continuator of *Row's History of the Kirk*, p. 521, says, under the year 1639, that the object of the war was, "to withstand the prelaticall faction and malignant, countenanced by the kinge in his owne persone." Compare the outbreak of the Reverend Samuel Rutherford against "the accursed and wretched prelates, the Antichrist's first-born, and the first fruit of his foul womb." *Rutherford's Religious Letters*, p. 179.

point of the sword, their own Presbyterian polity. This was their first and paramount duty. They fought indeed for freedom, but above all they fought for religion. In their eyes Charles was the idolatrous head of an idolatrous church, and that church they were resolved to destroy. They felt that their cause was holy, and they went forth full of confidence, convinced that the sword of Gideon was drawn on their side, and that their enemies would be delivered up to them.

The rebellion therefore against Charles, which on the part of the English was essentially secular,[9] was on the part of the Scotch essentially religious.* This was because with us the laymen were stronger than the clergy; while with them the clergy were stronger than the laymen. In 1643, both nations having united against the king, it was thought advisable that an intimate alliance should be concluded; but in the negotiations which followed it is noticed by a contemporary observer that though the English merely wished for a civil league, the Scotch demanded a religious covenant.[10] And as they would only continue the war on condition that this was granted, the English were obliged to give way. The result was the Solemn League and Covenant, by which what seemed a cordial union was effected between the two countries.[11] Such a compact was however sure to be short-lived, as each party had different objects; the aim of the English being political, while that of the Scotch was religious. The consequences of this difference were soon apparent. In January, 1645, negotiations having been opened with the king, commissioners met at Uxbridge, with the view of concluding a peace. The attempt failed, as might have been expected, seeing that not only were the pretensions of the king irreconcilable with those of his opponents, but that the pretensions of his opponents were irreconcilable with each other. At Uxbridge, during the conferences, the Scotch expressed their readiness to concede to him what he required, if he would gratify them in regard to the Church; while the English, occupying themselves with civil and political questions, cared less, says Clarendon, for what concerned the Church than for anything else.[12] A better illustration could hardly be found

[9] Our civil war was not religious; but was a struggle between the Crown and the Parliament. See note above, pp. 203–4. [The antithesis here is only formal. Cromwell himself declared that "religion was not the thing at first contested for, but God brought it to that issue at last." As a high modern authority puts it: "From the very beginning, men who were determined to maintain the Church intact adopted the king's cause, and those who desired to change the government in the Church, or sought freedom outside of it, supported the Parliament" (Firth, *Oliver Cromwell*, 1900, pp. 72–73).—Ed.]

[10] In September, 1643, Baillie, writing an account of the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly in the preceding month, says, "In our committees also we had hard enough debates. The English were for a civill League, we for a religious Covenant." Letter to Mr. William Spang, dated 22nd September, 1643, in *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 90.

[11] "The Solemn League and Covenant," which "is memorable as the first approach towards an intimate union between the kingdoms; but, according to the intolerant principles of the age, a federal alliance was constructed on the frail and narrow basis of religious communion." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 258, 259. The passage, however, which I have quoted in the last note from Baillie, shows that England was not responsible for the intolerant principles, or, consequently, for the narrow basis.

[12] The Chancellor of Scotland "did as good as conclude 'that if the king would satisfy them in the business of the Church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other demands.'" . . . "And it was manifest enough, by the private conferences with other of the commissioners, that the parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concerned the Church." *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, edit. Oxford, 1843, p. 522. See also p. 527: "that the Scots

[* As has been above shown (p. 370), the disaffection of the Scotch really originated in the king's policy of recovering the tithes—a strictly economic and political motive.—Ed.]

of the secular character of the English rebellion, as compared with the spiritual character of the Scotch rebellion. Indeed the Scotch, so far from concealing this, boasted of it, and evidently thought that it proved how superior they were to their worldly-minded neighbours. In February, 1645, the General Assembly issued an address to the nation, including not only those who were at home, but also those who served in armies out of Scotland. In this document, which, proceeding from such a quarter, necessarily exercised great influence, political considerations, as having to do merely with the temporal happiness of men, are treated as insignificant and almost despicable. That Rupert was defeated, and that York and Newcastle were taken, were but trifling matters. They were only the means of accomplishing an end, and that end was the reformation of religion in England, and the establishment there of the pure Presbyterian polity.[13]

A war undertaken with such holy objects, and conceived in so elevated a spirit, was supposed to be placed under the immediate protection of the Deity, on whose behalf it was carried on. In the language of the time, it was a war for God, and for God's church. Every victory that was obtained was the result not of the skill of the general, nor of the valour of the troops, but was an answer to prayer.[14] When a battle was lost, it was either because God was vexed at the sins of the people,[15] or else to show them that they must not trust to the

would insist upon the whole government of the Church, and in all other matters would defer to the king."

[13] See this extraordinary document in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland from 1638 to 1842*, pp. 122–128, Edinburgh, 1843. It is entitled "A solemne and seasonable warning to the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burrows, ministers, and commons of Scotland; as also to armies without and within this kingdom." In it (p. 123) occurs the following passage: "And for our part, our forces sent into that kingdom, in pursuance of that Covenant, have been so mercifully and manifestly assisted and blessed from heaven (though in the mids of many dangers and distresses, and much want and hardship), and have been so farre instrumentall to the foyling and scattering of two principall armies; first, the Marquesse of Newcastle his army; and afterward Prince Rupert's and his together; and to the reducing of two strong cities, York and Newcastle, that we have what to answer the enemy that reproacheth us concerning that businesse, and that which may make iniquitie it self to stop her mouth. But which *is more unto us than all victories or whatsomever temporall blessing*, the reformation of religion in England, and uniformity therein between both kingdoms (a principal end of that Covenant), is so far advanced, that the English Service-Book with the Holy-Dayes and many other ceremonies contained in it, together with the Prelacy, the fountain of all these, are abolished and taken away by ordinance of parliament, and a directory for the worship of God in all the three kingdoms agreed upon in the Assemblies, and in the Parliaments of both kingdoms, without a contrary voice in either; the government of the kirk by congregational elderships, classical presbyteries, provincial and national assemblies, is agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, which is also voted and concluded in both Houses of the Parliament of England."

[14] In 1644 "God ansuered our Wednesday's prayers: Balfour and Waller had gotten a glorious victorie over Forth and Hopton, and routed them totallie, horse and foot." *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 155. In the same year, thanksgivings being offered at Aberdeen for the victory of Leslie over Rupert, "oure minister Mr. William Strathauchin declairit out of pulpit that this victory wes miraculous, wrocht by the fynger of God." *Spalding's History of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 254. In 1648 the Commissioners of the General Assembly, in an address to the Prince of Wales, stated that the Deity had been "fighting for his people;" meaning by his people, the Scotch people. They added that the fact of their enemies having been repulsed was a proof of "how sore the Lord hath been displeased with their way." *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 424, Oxford, 1773, folio.

[15] Two Scotch notices are now before me of the fatal battle of Dunbar. According to one, the defeat was intended to testify against "the great sin and wickedness" of the people. *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland*, p. 75. According to the

arms of the flesh.[16] Nothing was natural; all was supernatural. The entire course of affairs was governed not by their own antecedents, but by a series of miracles. To assist the Scotch, winds were changed, and storms were lulled. Such intelligence as was important for them to receive was often brought by sea; and on those occasions it was expected that, if the wind were unfavourable, Providence would interfere, would shift it from one quarter to another, and, when the news had safely arrived, would allow it to return to its former direction.[17]

It was in this way that, in Scotland, everything conspired to strengthen that religious element which the force of circumstances had at an early period made prominent, and which now threatened to absorb all the other elements of the national character. The clergy were supreme; and habits of mind natural and becoming to themselves were diffused among all classes. The theories of a single profession outweighed those of all other professions; and not only war, but also trade, literature, science, and art, were held of no account unless they ministered to the general feeling. A state of society so narrow and so one-sided has never been seen in any other country equally civilized. Nor did there appear much chance of abating this strange monopoly. As the seventeenth century advanced the same train of events was continued; the clergy and the people always making common cause against the crown, and being, by the necessity of self-preservation, forced into the most intimate union with each other. Of this the preachers availed themselves to strengthen their own influence; and for upwards of a century their exertions stopped all intellectual culture, discouraged all independent inquiry, made men in religious matters fearful and austere, and coloured the whole national character with that dark hue, which, though now gradually softening, it still retains.

other, it was owing to the anger of the Deity at the Scotch showing any favour to the partizans of Charles. For, says the Reverend Alexander Shields, "both at that time and since that time, the Lord never countenanced an expedition where that malignant interest was taken in unto the state of the quarrel. Upon this, our land was invaded by Oliver Cromwell, who defeat our army at Dunbar, where the anger of the Lord was evidently seen to smoke against us, for espousing that interest." *Shields' Hind Let Loose*, p. 75. These opinions were formed after the battle. Before the battle, a different hypothesis was broached. Sir Edward Walker, who was in Scotland at the time, tells us that the clergy assured the people that "they had an army of saints, and that they could not be beaten." *Journal of Affairs in Scotland in 1650*, in *Walker's Historical Discourses*, London, 1705, folio, p. 165.

[16] "Each new victory of Montrose was expressly attributed to the admonitory 'indignation of the Lord' against his chosen people for their sin, in 'trusting too much to the arm of flesh.'" *Napier's Life of Montrose*, Edinburgh, 1840, p. 283. Compare *Guthrie's Considerations contributing unto the Discovery of the Dangers that threaten Religion*, pp. 274, 275, reprinted Edinburgh, 1846. Guthrie was at the height of his reputation in the middle of the seventeenth century. Lord Somerville says of the Scotch, when they were making war against Charles I., that it was "ordinary for them, dureing the wholl tyme of this warre, to attribute ther great successe to the goodnesse and justice of their cause, untill Divyne Justice trysted them with some crosse dispensatione, and then you might have heard this language from them, that it pleased the Lord to give his oune the heavyest end of the tree to bear, that the saints and people of God must still be sufferers while they are here away; that that malignant party was God's rod to punish them for their unthankfullnesse," etc. *Somerville's Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii. pp. 351, 352. [Buckle appears to forget that Cromwell habitually spoke of his victories as divine dispensations; and that a *Te Deum* is still the recognized ritual after a military success.—Ed.]

[17] Baillie mentions, in 1644, an instance of these expectations being fulfilled. He says (*Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 138), "These things were brought in at a very important nick of time, by God's gracious providence: Never a more quick passage from Holy Island to Yarmouth in thirtie houres; they had not cast anchor halfe an houre till the wind turned contrare." Compare p. 142: "If this were past, we look for a new lyfe and vigoure in all affaires, especiallie if it please God to send a sweet north-wind, carrying the certain news of the taking of Newcastle, which we dailie expect."

The Scotch, during the seventeenth century, instead of cultivating the arts of life, improving their minds, or adding to their wealth, passed the greater part of their time in what were called religious exercises. The sermons were so long and so frequent that they absorbed all leisure, and yet the people were never weary of hearing them. When a preacher was once in the pulpit, the only limit to his loquacity was his strength. Being sure of a patient and reverential audience, he went on as long as he could. If he discoursed for two hours without intermission, he was valued as a zealous pastor, who had the good of his flock at heart; and this was about as much as an ordinary clergyman could perform, because, in uttering his sentiments, he was expected to display great vehemence, and to evince his earnestness by toiling and sweating abundantly.[18] This boundary was, however, often passed by those who were equal to the labour; and Forbes, who was vigorous as well as voluble, thought nothing of preaching for five or six hours.[19] But in the ordinary course of nature such feats were rare; and as the people were in these matters extremely eager, an ingenious contrivance was hit upon whereby their desires might be satisfied. On great occasions several clergymen were present in the same church, in order that, when one was fatigued, he might leave the pulpit, and be succeeded by another, who, in his turn, was followed by a third; the patience of the hearers being apparently inexhaustible.[20] Indeed, the Scotch, by the middle of the seventeenth century, had grown accustomed to look up to their minister as if he were a god, and to dwell with rapture upon every word that dropped from his lips. To hear a favourite preacher they would incur any fatigue, and would undertake long journeys without sleep or food.[21] Their power of attention was marvellous.

[18] No one, perhaps, carried this further than John Menzies, the celebrated professor of divinity at Aberdeen. "Such was his uncommon fervour in the pulpit, that, we are informed, he 'used to change his shirt always after preaching, and to wet two or three napkins with tears every sermon.'" Note in *Wodrow's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 222. James Forbes, also, was "an able and zealous preacher, who after every sermon behooved to change his shirt, he spoke with such vehemency and sweating." *Select Biographies*, published by the Wodrow Society, vol. i. p. 333. Lord Somerville, who wrote in 1679, mentions "their thundering preachings." *Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii. p. 388. A traditionary anecdote, related by the Dean of Edinburgh, refers to a later period, but is characteristic of the class. "Another description I have heard of an energetic preacher more forcible than delicate—'Eh, our minister had a great power o' watter, for he grat, and spat, and swat like mischeef.'" *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, by E. B. Ramsay, Dean of Edinburgh, p. 201.

[19] He "was a very learned and pious man; he had a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time." *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 38. Even early in the eighteenth century, when theological fervour was beginning to decline, and sermons were consequently shorter, Hugh Thomson came near to Forbes. "He was the longest preacher ever I heard, and would have preached four (or) five hours, and was not generally under two hours; that almost every body expected." . . . "He was a piouse good man, and a fervent affectionat preacher, and, when I heard him, he had a vast deal of heads, and a great deal of matter, and generally very good and practicall, but very long." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 203.

[20] In 1653 Lamont casually mentions, in his journal, that "the one came doune from the pulpit and the other went vp, in the tyme that the psalme after the first sermon was singing, so that ther was no intermission of the exercise, nether were the peopell dismissed till both sermons were ended." *The Diary of Mr. John Lamont of Newton*, p. 58. Burnet (*History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 92) says, "I remember in one fast day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a service."

[21] When Guthrie preached at Fenwick, "his church, although a large country one, was overlaid and crowded every Sabbath-day, and very many, without doors, from distant parishes, such as Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, Lanerk, Kilbryde, Glasford, Strathaven, Newmills, Egelsham, and many other places, who hungered for the pure gospel preached, and got a meal by the word of his ministry. It was their usual practice to

The same congregation would sometimes remain together for ten hours, listening to sermons and prayers, interspersed with singings and readings.[22] In an account of Scotland in 1670, it is stated that, in a single church in Edinburgh, thirty sermons were delivered every week.[23] Nor is this at all unlikely, considering the religious enthusiasm of the age. For in those times the people delighted in the most harassing and ascetic devotions. Thus, for instance, in 1653, when the sacrament was administered, they pursued the following course. On Wednesday, they fasted, and listened to prayers and sermons for more than eight hours. On Saturday, they heard two or three sermons ; and on Sunday, the number of sermons was so great that they stayed in church more than twelve hours ; while, to conclude the whole, three or four additional ones were preached on Monday by way of thanksgiving.[24]

Such eagerness, and yet such patience, indicate a state of society altogether peculiar, and for which we find no parallel in the history of any civilized country. This intense desire to hear whatever the preachers had to say was in itself a homage of the most flattering kind, and was naturally accompanied by a belief that they were endowed with a light which was withheld from their less gifted countrymen. It is not surprising that the clergy, who, at no period, and in no nation, have been remarkable for their meekness, or for a want of confidence in themselves, should, under circumstances so eminently favourable to their pretensions, have been somewhat elated, and should have claimed an authority even greater than that which was conceded to them. And as this is intimately connected with the subsequent history of Scotland, it will be necessary to collect some evidence respecting their conduct, which will have the further advantage of exhibiting the true character of spiritual domination, and of showing how it works, not only on the intellectual, but also on the practical, life of a people.

According to the Presbyterian polity, which reached its height in the seventeenth century, the clergyman of the parish selected a certain number of laymen on whom he could depend, and who, under the name of elders, were his councillors, or rather the ministers of his authority. They, when assembled together, formed what was called the Kirk-Session, and this little court, which enforced the decisions uttered in the pulpit, was so supported by the superstitious reverence of the people, that it was far more powerful than any civil tribunal. By its aid

come to Fenwick on Saturday, and to spend the greatest part of the night in prayer to God, and conversation about the great concerns of their souls, to attend the public worship on the Sabbath, to dedicate the remainder of that holy day in religious exercises, and then to go home on Monday the length of ten, twelve or twenty miles without grudging in the least at the long way, want of sleep or other refreshments ; neither did they find themselves the less prepared for any other business through the week." *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, 2nd edit. Glasgow, 1781, p. 311. One woman went forty miles to hear Livingstone preach. See her own statement, in *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 249.

[22] Spalding gives the following account of what happened at Aberdeen in 1644. "So heir in Old Abirdene, upone the sevint of July, we had ane fast, entering the churche be nyne houris, and continewit praying and preiching whill tua houris. Efter sermon, the people sat still heiring reiding whill efternone's sermon began and endit, whiche continewit till half hour to sex. Then the prayer bell rang to the evening prayeris, and continewit whill seven." *Spalding's History of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 244, edit. Edinburgh, 1829, 4to. See also p. 42 : "The people keipit churche all day." This was also at Aberdeen, in 1642.

[23] "Out of one pulpit now they have thirty sermons per week, all under one roof." *A Modern Account of Scotland*, in *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 138, edit. Park, London, 1810, 4to.

[24] "But where the greatest part was more sound, they gave the sacrament with a new and unusual solemnity. On the Wednesday before, they held a fast day, with prayers and sermons for about eight or ten hours together: on the Saturday they had two or three preparation sermons: and on the Lord's day they had so very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in some places: and all ended with three or four sermons on Monday for thanksgiving." *Burnet's History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 108.

the minister became supreme. For whoever presumed to disobey him was excommunicated, was deprived of his property, and was believed to have incurred the penalty of eternal perdition.[25] Against such weapons, in such a state of society, resistance was impossible. The clergy interfered with every man's private concerns, ordered how he should govern his family, and often took upon themselves the personal control of his household.[26] Their minions, the elders, were everywhere; for each parish was divided into several quarters, and to each quarter one of these officials was allotted, in order that he might take special notice of what was done in his own district.[27] Besides this, spies

[25] "The power of those kirk-sessions, which are now private assemblages, in whose meetings and proceedings the public take no interest whatever, is defined to be the cognizance of parochial matters and cases of scandal; but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially during the Covenanting reign of terror after the outbreak of the Civil War against Charles I., the kirk-sessions of Scotland were the sources of excessive tyranny and oppression—were arbitrary, inquisitorial, and revengeful, to an extent which exceeds all belief. It is truly stated by the author of the 'Memoirs of Locheill'—'Every parish had a tyrant, who made the greatest Lord in his district stoop to his authority. The kirk was the place where he kept his court; the pulpit his throne or tribunal from whence he issued out his terrible decrees; and twelve or fourteen sour ignorant enthusiasts, under the title of Elders, composed his council. If any, of what quality soever, had the assurance to disobey his orders, the dreadful sentence of excommunication was immediately thundered out against him, his goods and chattels confiscated and seized, and he himself being looked upon as actually in the possession of the devil, and irretrievably doomed to eternal perdition.'" Introduction to *The Kirk-Session Register of Perth*, in *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii. pp. 229, 230, Edinburgh, 1845. In regard to the perdition which the sentence of excommunication was supposed to involve, one of the most influential Scotch divines of that time merely expresses the prevailing notion when he asserts that whoever was excommunicated was thereby given up to Satan. "That he who is excommunicated may be truly said to be delivered to Sathan is undeniable." *Gillespie's Aaron's Rod Blossoming, or the Divine Ordinance of Church Government Vindicated*, 1646, 4to, p. 239. "Excommunication, which is a shutting out of a Church-member from the Church, whereby Sathan commeth to get dominion and power over him." *Ibid.*, p. 297. "Sure I am an excommunicate person may truly be said to be delivered to Sathan." p. 424.

[26] Clarendon, under the year 1640, emphatically says (*History of the Rebellion*, p. 67), "The preacher reprehended the husband, governed the wife, chastised the children, and insulted over the servants, in the houses of the greatest men." The theory was, that "ministers and elders must be submitted unto as fathers." *Shields' Enquiry into Church Communion*, 2nd edit. Edinburgh, 1747, p. 66. In the middle of the seventeenth century, one of the most famous of the Scotch preachers openly asserted the right of his profession to interfere in family matters, on the ground that such was the custom in the time of Joshua. "The Ministers of God's house have not only the ministry of holy things, as Word and Sacraments, committed to their charge, but also the power of ecclesiastical government to take order with scandalous offences within the familie; both these are here promised to Joshua and the Priests." *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Minor Prophets*, vol. iii. p. 72, London, 1654. In 1603 the Presbytery of Aberdeen took upon themselves to order that every master of a house should keep a rod, that his family, including his servants, might be beaten if they used improper language. "It is concludit that thair salbe in ewerie houss a palmar." *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, printed for the Spalding Club, 4to, Aberdeen, 1846, p. 194. It also appears (p. 303) that in 1674 the clergyman was expected to exercise supervision over all visitors to private houses; since he ought to be informed, "iff ther be anie persone receaved in the familie without testimoniall presented to the minister."

[27] In 1650 it was ordered "That everie paroche be divydit in severall quarteris, and each elder his owne quarter, over which he is to have speciall inspectioun, and that everie elder visit his quarter once everie month at least, according to the act of the Generall Assemblie, 1649, and in thair visitatioun tak notice of all disorderlie walkeris, especiallie

were appointed, so that nothing could escape their supervision.[28] Not only the streets, but even private houses, were searched, and ransacked to see if any one was absent from church while the minister was preaching.[29] To him all must listen, and him all must obey. Without the consent of his tribunal, no person might engage himself, either as a domestic servant, or as a field labourer.[30] If any one incurred the displeasure of the clergy, they did not scruple to summon his servants, and force them to state whatever they knew respecting him, and whatever they had seen done in his house.[31] To speak disrespectfully of a preacher was a grievous offence ; [32] to differ from him was a heresy ; [33] even to pass him in the streets without saluting him was punished as a crime.[34] His

neglectouris of God's worship in thair families, sueareris, haunteris of aill houses, especiallie at vnseasonable tymes, and long sitteris thair, and drinkeris of healthis ; and that he dilate these to the Sessioun." *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, printed for the Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1837, 4to, p. 168. "The elders each one in his own quarter, for trying the manners of the people." *The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1690, p. 14. This scarce little volume is reprinted from the edition of 1641. See the advertisement at the beginning.

[28] In 1652 the Kirk-Session of Glasgow "brot boyes and servants before them, for breaking the Sabbath, and other faults. They had clandestine censors, and gave money to some for this end." *Wodrow's Collections*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 74, Glasgow, 1848, 4to.

[29] "It is thocht expedient that ane baillie with tua of the sessioun pas throw the towne everie Sabboth day, and nott sic as thay find absent fra the sermones ather afoir or efter none ; and for that effect that thay pas and *sersche sic houss as they think maist meit*, and pas athort the streittis." *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 26. "To pas throw the towne to caus the people resort to the hering of the sermones." p. 59. "Ganging throw the towne on the ordinar preiching dayes in the weik, als weill as on the Saboth day, to caus the people resort to the sermones." p. 77. See also p. 94 ; and *Wodrow's Collections*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 37 : "The Session allous the searchers to go into houses and apprehend absents from the kirk."

[30] "Another peculiarity was the supervision wielded over the movements of people to such a degree that they could neither *obtain lodging nor employment* except by a licence from the Kirk-Session, or, by defying this police court, expose themselves to fine and imprisonment." *Lawson's Book of Perth*, p. xxxvii., Edinburgh, 1847.

[31] In 1652 Sir Alexander Irvine indignantly writes that the presbytery of Aberdeen, "when they had tried many wayes, bot in vaine, to mak probable this their vaine imaginatione, they at lenthe, when all other meanes failed thame, by ane unparalelled barbaritie, enforced my serwandis to reweall upon oathe what they sawe, herd, or knewe done within my house, beyond which no Turkische inquisitione could pase." *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iii. p. 206, Aberdeen, 1846, 4to.

[32] In 1656 a servant was ordered to be brought before the Kirk-Session of Aberdeen "for her rayleing againest Mr. Andrew Cant, minister, in saying that becaus the said Mr. Andrew spak againest Yuill, he spak lyke ane old fool." *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 138. In 1642 the Presbytery of Lanark had up a certain James Baillie, because he stated the extremely probable circumstance "that two fooles mett togither, when the Minister and his sone mett togither." *Selections from the Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, printed for the Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1839, 4to, p. 30.

[33] In 1644, "If you dissent from them in a theological tenet, it is heresy." *Presbytery Displayed*, 1644, p. 39, reprinted London, 1663, 4to. In 1637, "If ye depart from *what I taught you in a hair-breadth* for fear or favour of men, or desire of ease in this world, I take heaven and earth to witness, that ill shall come upon you in end." *Rutherford's Religious Letters*, p. 116. In 1607 "Mr. William Cowper, Minister, complained upon Robert Keir that he had disdainfully spoken of his doctrine. The (Kirk) Session ordained him to be warned to the morrow." *Lawson's Book of Perth*, p. 247.

[34] In 1619 a man was summoned before the Kirk-Session of Perth, because, among other things, he would not perform "that civil duty of salutation, as becomes him to his pastor ; " but "passed by him without using any kind of reverence." *The Chronicle of Perth*, Edinburgh, 1831, 4to, p. 80. The complaint was preferred by the minister

very name was regarded as sacred, and not to be taken in vain. And that it might be properly protected, and held in due honour, an Assembly of the Church, in 1642, forbade it to be used in any public paper unless the consent of the holy man had been previously obtained.[35]

These and similar proceedings, being upheld by public opinion, were completely successful. Indeed they could hardly have been otherwise, seeing that it was generally believed that whoever gainsaid the clergy would be visited not only with temporal penalties, but also with spiritual ones. For such a crime there was punishment here, and there was punishment hereafter. The preachers willingly fostered a delusion by which they benefited. They told their hearers that what was spoken in the pulpit was binding upon all believers, and was to be regarded as immediately proceeding from the Deity.[36] This proposition being established, other propositions naturally followed. The clergy believed that they alone were privy to the counsels of the Almighty, and that by virtue of this knowledge they could determine what any man's future state would be.[37] Going still further, they claimed the power not only of foretelling his future state, but also of controlling it; and they did not scruple to affirm that by their censures they could open and shut the kingdom of heaven.[38] As if this were

himself. Indeed, the Scotch clergy took these things so much to heart, that they set up a theory to the effect that whoever showed them any disrespect was prompted thereto by Satan. "It is Satan's great engine to draw men to contemne God and his word, under pretext of disrespect and prejudice against the Messengers only." . . . "It may let us see their guilt who despise most eminent ordinary Messengers." *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Minor Prophets*, vol. i. pp. 205, 233.

[35] The General Assembly of Saint Andrews, in 1642, passed "an act against using ministers' names in any of the public papers, without their own consent." *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 503.

[36] "Directions for a believer's walk, given by Christ's ministers from his word, are his own, and are accounted by him as if he did immediately speak them himself." *Durham's Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, p. 102. I quote from the Glasgow reprint of 1788. That my references may be easily verified, and any error, if error there be, detected, I mention that the exact edition used will, in every case, be found specified in the List of Authors at the beginning of the volume. But if it will give the reader any additional confidence, I will venture to observe, that I am always scrupulously careful in reference to quotations, having looked out each passage afresh as the sheets came from the printer's hands. Some of the circumstances narrated in this chapter are so monstrous, that I hope to be excused in saying that I have taken all possible pains to secure their literal accuracy.

[37] "Yea, such was their arrogance, that, as if they had been privy to the councils of God, or the dispensers of his vengeance to the world, they presumed to pronounce upon their future state, and doomed them, both body and soul, to eternal torments." *Wishart's Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, p. 237. "Ye heard of me the whole counsel of God." *Rutherford's Religious Letters*, p. 16. "I am free from the blood of all men; for I have communicated to you the whole counsel of God." *Ibid.*, p. 191. "This is the great business of Gospel Ministers, to declare the whole counsel of God." *Halyburton's Great Concern of Salvation*, p. 4. "Asserting that he had declared the whole counsel of God, and had keeped nothing back." *Life of the Rev. Alexander Peden*, p. 41, in vol. i. of *Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana*.

[38] "The power of the keys is given to the ministers of the church, wherewith not only by the preaching of the word, but also to church censures, (*sic*) they open and shut the kingdom of heaven." *Dickson's Truth's Victory over Error*, p. 282. "To preach the Word, impugne, rebuik, admonishe, exhort and correct, and that under no less paine then casting both bodie and soull into eternall hell's fire." *Forbes' Certaine Records touching the Estate of the Kirk*, p. 519. "The next words, 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven,' being spoken to the Apostles, and in them to other Ministers of Jesus Christ." *Gillespie's Aaron's Rod Blossoming*, p. 366. "The keys of the kingdom of Heaven" . . . "are committed and intrusted to the pastors and other ruling officers of the Church." *Ibid.*, p. 260.

not enough, they also gave out that a word of theirs could hasten the moment of death, and by cutting off the sinner in his prime, could bring him at once before the judgment-seat of God.[39]

Utterly horrible as such a pretension now appears, it was made not only with impunity but with advantage; and numerous instances are recorded in which the people believed that it was strictly enforced. The celebrated John Welsh, sitting one night at table, round which a party were assembled at supper, began to discourse to the company respecting the state of their souls. Those who were present listened with humility; but to this general feeling there was one exception. For it so happened that a Roman Catholic was in the room, and he, of course, disagreed with the opinions expressed by the Presbyterian divine. If he had been a cautious man, he would have kept his disagreement to himself; but being a hot-headed youth, and being impatient at seeing a single person engross the conversation, he lost his temper, and not only ridiculed Welsh, but actually made faces at him. Thereupon, Welsh charged the company to take heed, and see what the Lord was about to do to him who mocked. Scarcely had this threat been uttered, when it was carried into execution. He who had dared to jest at the minister, suddenly fell, sank under the table, and died there in presence of the whole party.[40]

This happened early in the seventeenth century, and, being bruited abroad, it became a great terror to all evildoers. But after a time its effect appears to have been weakened; since another man was equally rash some forty or fifty

[39] "Gird up the loins of your mind, and make you ready for meeting the Lord; I have often summoned you, and now I summon you again, to compear before your Judge, to make a reckoning of your life." *Rutherford's Religious Letters*, p. 235. "Mr. Cameron, musing a little, said, 'You, and all who do not know my God in mercy, shall know him in his judgments, which shall be sudden and surprising in a few days upon you; and I, as a sent servant of Jesus Christ, whose commission I bear, and whose badge I wear upon my breast, give you warning, and leave you to the justice of God.' Accordingly, in a few days after, the said Andrew, being in perfect health, took his breakfast plentifully, and before he rose fell a-vomiting, and vomited his heart's blood in the very vessel out of which he had taken his breakfast; and died in a most frightful manner." *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 406.

[40] "Sitting at supper with the Lord Ochiltree (who was uncle to Mr. Welsh's wife), as his manner was, he entertained the company with godly and edifying discourse, which was well received by all the company save only one debauched Popish young gentleman, who sometimes laughed, and sometimes mocked and made faces; whereupon Mr. Welsh brake out into a sad abrupt charge upon all the company to be silent, and observe the work of the Lord upon that profane mocker, which they should presently behold: upon which immediately the profane wretch sunk down and died beneath the table, but never returned to life again, to the great astonishment of all the company." *History of Mr. John Welsh, Minister of the Gospel at Ayr*, in *Select Biographies*, vol. i. p. 29. "Mr. Welsh being by the Captaine, set at the upper end, intertained the company with grave and edifying discourse which all delighted to hear, save this young Papist, who with laughter and derision laboured to silence him, which was little regarded by Mr. Welsh. But after supper while the guests sate a little, this youth stood up at the lower end of the table, and while Mr. Welsh proceeded from grave to gracious entertainment of his company, the youth came to that height of insolence as with the finger to point at him and with the face to make flouting grimaces, whereby he grieved the holy man, so as on a suddain he was forced to a silence. The whole company, who had heard him with delight, were silent with him. Within a little, Mr. Welsh, as moved by the spirit of God, broke forth into these words: 'Gentlemen, the spirit of God is provoked against us, and I shall intreat you not to be afraid to see what God shall do among you before you rise from the table, for he will smite some of you with death before you go hence.' All were silently astonished, waiting to see the issue with fear. And while every man feared himselfe, except the insolent youth, he fel down dead suddenly at the foot of the table to shew the power of God's jealousie against the mockers of his Spirit and the offers of his grace." *Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture*, pp. 374, 375.

years afterwards. It seems that a Scotch clergyman of considerable repute, Mr. Thomas Hog, was, like Welsh, sitting at supper, when it so chanced that the servant forgot to lay the knives. Mr. Hog, thinking the opportunity a favourable one, observed that such forgetfulness was of little moment, and that, while we thought so much of our comforts here, it was far more necessary to consider our condition hereafter. A gentleman present, amused either by the manner of Mr. Hog, or by the skill with which he introduced the topics of his own profession, was unable to restrain himself, and burst into a violent fit of laughter. The minister, however, was not to be checked, and he continued after such a fashion that the laughter was repeated louder than ever. At length Mr. Hog turned round, and told his merry comrade that very shortly he should seek for mercy, but find it not. That same night, the scoffer was taken ill, and in great alarm sent for Mr. Hog. It was, however, useless. Before the clergyman could reach his room, the sinner was lying dead, a lost and ruined man.[41]

Nor was it merely in private houses that such examples were made. Sometimes the clergyman denounced the offender from the pulpit, and the punishment was as public as the offence. It is said that Gabriel Semple, when preaching, had a strange habit of putting out his tongue, and that this excited the mirth of a drunken man, who went into the church, and by way of derision put out his tongue also. But to his horror he found that though he could put it out he could not draw it in again. The result was that the tongue stiffened; it lost all sensibility; and, paralysis coming on, the man died a few days after his transgression.[42]

[41] "When they sat doun to supper, it seems, knives were forgote; and when the servant was rebuked, Mr. Hogg said, there was noe matter, for he had one in his pocket, and it was a necessary companion for a travailer; and, as his use was upon evry thing, he took occasion to raise a spirituall discourse from it: 'If we wer soe carefull about accommodations in our way here, what care should we take in our spirituall journey!' and the like; at which the factour takes a kink of laughing. Mr. Hogg looked at him with a frown, and went on in his discourse. Within a little, at somewhat or other, he laughed out yet louder, and Mr. Hogg stoped a litle, and looked him very stern in the face, and went on in his discourse, upon the free grace of God; and, at some expression or other, the man fell a laughing and flouting very loud: Upon which Mr. Hogg stoped, and directed his discourse to him, to this purpose: 'Alace!' sayes he, 'my soul is afflicted to say what I must say to you, sir, and I am constrained and pressed in spirit to say it, and cannot help it. Sir, you now dispise the grace of God, and mock at it; but I tell you, in the name of the Lord, that the time is coming, and that very shortly, when you (will) seek ane offer of grace, but shall not find it!' Upon which the man arose, laughing and flouting, and went to his room. After he was away, the lady asked Mr. Hogg, What he thought would come upon him? He answered, he kneu noe more then he had said, and that he was constrained and oblidged to say it against his inclination; and he could not accompt for some of these impressions he sometimes felt, and after Providences would clear, and that shortly; but what it was, when, or where, he kneu not. The man told some of the servants that a phanatick Minister had been pronouncing a curse on him, but he did not value him nor it either. After Mr. Hogg had been somtime with the lady, he went to his room; and after he had, as he used to doe, spent some time in prayer, he putt off his cloaths, and just as he was stepping into his bedd, a servant comes and knocks at the dore and cryes, 'For the Lord's sake, Mr. Hogg, come doun staires, presently, to the factour's room!' He put on his cloaths, as quickly as possible, and came doun, but the wretch was dead before he reached him!" *Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences, mostly relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians*, by the Rev. Robert Wodrow, vol. i. pp. 265, 266. Compare *The Life of Mr. Thomas Hog*, in *Howie's Biographia*, p. 543, where a version is given, slightly different, but essentially the same.

[42] "He tells me, that when in the South country, he heard this story, which was not doubted about Geddart" (i.e. Jedburgh): "Mr. Gabriel Semple had gote a habite, when speaking and preaching, of putting out his tongue, and licking his lipps very frequently. Ther was a fellou that used to ape him, in a way of mock; and one day, in a druken

Occasionally the penalty was less severe, though the miracle was equally conspicuous. In 1682 a certain woman took upon herself to scold the famous divine, Peden, who was justly regarded as one of the great lights of the Scotch Church. "I wonder," said that eminent man, "I wonder your tongue is not sore with so much idle clatter." She indignantly replied that she had never suffered, either from a sore tongue, or from a sore mouth. He told her that she soon would. And the consequence of his saying so was that her tongue and gums swelled to that degree, that for some days she was unable to take her usual food.[43]

She escaped with her life; others were more sharply handled. A clergyman was interrupted in the midst of his sermon by three gentlemen leaving the church. It is not stated that there was anything offensive in their manner; but their object in going was to amuse themselves at some fair or race, and the minister, no doubt, thought that they should have been content with the gratification of hearing him. At all events he was dissatisfied, and after the sermon was over he censured their conduct, and threatened them with the divine displeasure. His words were remembered, and, to the awe of his parishioners, every tittle was fulfilled. Of the three gentlemen, all died violent deaths; one of them broke his neck by falling from his horse, and another was found in his room with his throat cut.[44]

Cases of this sort were frequent during the seventeenth century; and as in that credulous age they were firmly believed and widely circulated, the power of the clergy was consolidated by them. The Laird of Hilton once ventured to pull a minister out of a pulpit which was not his own, and into which he had unlawfully intruded. "For the injury you have done to the servant of God," cried the enraged preacher, "you shall be brought into this church like a sticked sow." And so indeed he was. Yet a little while, and Hilton became entangled in a quarrel, was run through the body, and his corpse, still bleeding, was carried into the very church where the outrage had been committed.[45]

caball, he was aping him and putting out his tongue; and it turned stiffe and sensless, and he could not drau it in again, but in a feu dayes dyed. This accompt is soe odd, that I wish I may have it confirmed from other hands." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 187.

[43] "About the same time, wading Douglas-water very deep," (he) "came to a house there; the goodwife of the house insisted (as most part of women do not keep a bridle-hand) in chiding of him; which made him to fret, and said, I wonder that your tongue is not sore with so much idle clatter. She said, I never had a sore tongue nor mouth all my days. He said, It will not be long so. Accordingly, her tongue and gooms swelled so that she could get no meat taken for some days." *Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Walter Smith*, p. 93, in vol. ii. of *Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana*.

[44] "I hear from Lady Henriett Campbell, who was present at a Communion at Jeddart (Jedburgh), some years before Mr. Gabriel Semple's death, that either on the fast day or Saturnday, ther wer three gentlmen either in the parish or noturely knouen thereabout, who rose in the time of the last sermon, and with their servants went out of (the church), either to some fair or some race, not farr off. After sermon, when Mr. Semple rose to give the ordinary advertisements, he began with taking nottice of this, and said, he had remarked three gentlmen rise in time of sermon, and contemptuously and boldly leave God's service to goe to a fair, or race, as he supposed; but sayes, 'It's born in upon me, and I am perswaded of it, the Lord will not suffer them to goe off time, without some remarkable judgment, and I am much mistaken if the most part that have seen them committ the sin, will not hear of the punishment of such open despite to the ordinances of Christ.' This peremptoryness did very much surprize Lady H(enriett), and coming home from sermon with my Lord Lothian and his Lady, in coach, she expressed her surprize at it. My Lord Lothian said, 'The Minister is a man of God, and I am perswaded not one word of his will fall to the ground!' Within some feu moneths, my Lord or my Lady, writing to Lady H(enriett), signifyed to her, that one of these gentlmen was found in his room, (if I forgett not), with his throat cutt; and a second, being drunk, fell off his horse, and broke his neck; and some while after, shee heard the third had dyed some violent death." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. pp. 344, 345.

[45] "In the time of sermon, the Laird of Hiltoun comes in, and charges him in the

Even when a clergyman was in prison he retained the same power. His authority was delegated to him from on high, and no temporal misfortune could curtail it. In 1673 the Reverend Alexander Peden, when in confinement, heard a young girl laughing at him outside the door of his room, while he was engaged in those vociferous devotions for which he was celebrated. The mirth of the poor child cost her dear. Peden denounced against her the judgment of God. In consequence of that denunciation, the wind blew her from a rock on which she was walking, and swept her into the sea, where she was quickly drowned.[46]

Sometimes the vengeance of the clergy extended to the innocent offspring of the man who had offended them. A certain minister, whose name has not been preserved, met with opposition in his parish, and fell into pecuniary and other difficulties. He applied for aid to a trader, who, being wealthy, ought, he thought, to afford him assistance. The trader however thought otherwise, and refused. Upon this, the clergyman declared that God would visit him. The result was that his business not only declined, but his mind became impaired, and he died an idiot. He had two sons and two daughters. Both his sons went mad. One of his daughters likewise lost her reason. The other daughter being married, even her husband became destitute, and the children of that marriage became beggars, that the heinous crime might be visited to the third generation.[47]

midst of his work, to come out of (the) pulpite, in the king's name. Mr. Douglasse refused; whereupon the Laird comes to the pulpit, and pulls him out by force! When he sau he behoved to yeild, he said, 'Hiltoun, for this injury you have done to the servant of God, knou what you are to meet with! In a litle time you shall be brought into this very church, like a sticked sou!' And in some litle time after, Hilton was run throu the body, and dyed by, if I mistake not, Annandale's brother, either in a douell or a drunken toilzie, and his corpes wer brought in, all bleeding, into that church. 'Touch not mine annoynted, and doe my prophets noe harm!'" *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 154. In the same work (vol. iv. p. 268), the Reverend Mr. Wodrow writes that he had been subsequently informed "that the story is very true about the denuntiation upon the Laird of Hiltoun, as I have (I think) published it; and ther is a man yet alive who was witnes to it, and in the church at the time."

[46] "While prisoner in the Bass, one Sabbath morning, being about the publick worship of God, a young lass, about the age of thirteen or fourteen years, came to the chamber-door, mocking with loud laughter: He said, 'Poor thing, thou mocks and laughs at the worship of God; but ere long, God shall write such a sudden, surprising judgment on thee, that shall stay thy laughing, and thou shalt not escape it.' Very shortly thereafter, she was walking upon the rock, and there came a blast of wind, and sweeped her off the rock into the sea, where she was lost." *Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden*, p. 43, in vol. i. of *Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana*. See also *Howie's Biographia Presbyteriana*, p. 487.

[47] "He (Mr. Fordyce, in Aberdeen) tells me this following accompt, which he had from personall observation: When he lived near Frazerburge, in the North, there was a Minister setled there *jure devoluto*, the toun being biggotted against Presbytery to a pitch, and only two or three that had any seeming liking that way. After the Minister is setled, he expected much encouragment from one Ougstoun, I think his name was, who had professed much respect for him and that way. A while after, in some difficulty, the Minister came to him, and desired his countenance and assistance in the difficulty. He at first put the Minister off with delay; and within a little plainly mocked him, and would doe nothing. The Minister came from him to my informer, who lived a litle from the place, and gave him ane account (of) what had befallen him, and said, 'I expected much from that man, and reaconed upon his help and assistance, in soe comfortless a setlement as I have ventured on; and he has not only disappointed me, but mocked me!' And the Minister was like to sink under the thoughts of this carriage; and after some silence, he said, very peremptorly, 'I am much mistaken, yea, I'le say it, God hath sent me, and spoken by me. God will visite that man, and something more than ordinary will befall him and his!' My informer was very much stunned and greived at such a peremptory declaration. However, it was accomplished, to my informer's personall

To prosecute a minister, or even to assert one's rights against him before a civil tribunal, was not only a hazard but a certain ruin. About the year 1665 James Fraser was sued in a court of law for a large sum of money, said to be due from his father's estate. As usually happens in these cases, the party sued considered that he was unjustly treated, and that his opponent had no right to make the claim. So far, all was natural. But the peculiarity was that Fraser, against whom the action was brought, was a young man preparing for the ministry, and therefore under the immediate protection of Providence. Such an one was not to be vexed with impunity; and we are assured by Fraser himself that God specially interposed to prevent his ruin; that one of his opponents was made unable to appear in court, and that the Lord, laying his hand upon the others, put them to death, in order that every obstacle might be at once removed.[48]

While stories of this sort were generally believed, it was but natural that an opinion should grow up that it was dangerous to meddle with a minister, or in any way to interfere with his conduct.[49] The clergy, intoxicated by the

knowledge. The man was a trader, who was very rich, worth near four or five thousand pounds sterling in stock. He had two sons and two daughters. Within some litle time, one of his sons turned distracted, and I think continues soe still. The other son, in some distemper, turned silly, and litle better, and dyed. His daughters, one was maryed, and her husband lost all his stock at sea, twice or thrice; his good-father stocked him once or twice, and all was still lost, and they and their children are miserable. The other daughter fell into a distemper, wherein she lost her reason. The man himself, after that time, never throve; his means wasted away insensibly; and throu all things, he fell under melancholy, and turned silly, and dyed stupide. All this fell out in some feu years after what passed above; and my relator kneu all this particularly, and had occasion to be upon the man's bussiness and affairs." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. ii. pp. 175, 176. See also, in another work by this eminent Scotch divine, an account of what happened, when "a rash young man" having destroyed the property of a clergyman, named Boyd, "it was observed that that family did never thrive afterwards, but were in a decaying condition till they are reduced almost to nothing." *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of Ministers of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. part i. p. 215.

[48] See *Fraser's Life of Himself*, in vol. ii. of *Select Biographies*, edited by the Rev. W. K. Tweedie. "Nothing now remained of all my father's great fortune but a small wadset of sixteen chalders, liferented likewise by my mother. And about the same time a new (though an unjust) adversary charges both her and me for 36,000 merks, and a reduction of our rights; so that our whole livelihood was either gone or at the stake. For four years did this adversary vex us, and was like to have undone us as to our temporal condition, had not the Lord prevented." p. 196. "I, ignorant what defences to make, had in my company a registrate horning, which I accidentally and without premeditation (God putting it in my mind at the same time) did cast in, by which he, being the king's rebel, was incapacitate from pursuing me. And the Lord so ordered it that he never after compeared to trouble me, by which means I was delivered from a loss and a fashery, and had but one court to wait upon." p. 202. "My condition during this time was a wrestling condition with the sons of Zeruiah that were too strong for me; little or no overcoming, yet violent wrestling." . . . "For I humbled myself under the sense of the calamities of our family, and my own particular wants; I besought him to keep us from utter destruction. And the Lord was pleased to hear; *he destroyed by death my chief adversaries*, I found shifts to pay my many petty debts, gained our law-action, and was restored to some of my ancient possessions again." pp. 227, 228.

[49] "So hazardous a thing it is to meddle with Christ's sent servants." *Life of Mr. William Guthrie, Minister at Fenwick*, by the Rev. William Dunlop, reprinted in *Select Biographies*, vol. ii. p. 62. To arrest a clergyman on a civil or criminal process was an act full of danger, inasmuch as the Deity would hardly fail to avenge it. This applied even to the officers who executed the arrest, as well as to him by whom it was ordered. See, for instance, *Some Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. John Semple, Minister of the Gospel*, p. 171 (in *Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i.). "Some time thereafter, he gat orders to apprehend Mr. Semple; he intreated to excuse him, for Mr. Semple was the minister and man he would not meddle with: for he was sure, if he did that, some terrible mischief would suddenly befal him. Mr. Arthur Coupar, who was Mr.

possession of power, reached to such a pitch of arrogance that they did not scruple to declare that whoever respected Christ was bound on that very account to respect them.[50] They denounced the judgments of God upon all who refused to hear the opinions they propounded in their pulpits.[51] Nor did this apply merely to persons who usually formed their audience. Such was their conceit, and so greedy were they after applause, that they would not allow even a stranger to remain in their parish unless he too came to listen to what they chose to say.[52]

Semple's precentor, told these passages to a Reverend Minister in the church, yet alive, worthy of all credit, who told me." Durham boasts that, " when Ministers have most to do, and *meet with most opposition*, God often furnisheth them accordingly with more boldnesse, gifts, and assistance than ordinary. Christ's witnesses are a terrible party ; for as few as these witnesses are, none of their opposits do gain at their hand ; *whoever hurteth them shall in this manner be killed*. Though they be despicable in sackcloth, yet *better oppose a king in his strength, and giving orders from his throne covered in cloath of state, than them*: though they may burn some and imprison others, yet their opposers will pay sickerly for it. This is not because of any worth that is in them, or for their own sake ; But 1. for His sake and for His authority that sendeth them. 2. for the event of their word, which will certainly come to passe, and that more terribly, and as certainly, as ever any temporall judgement was brought on by Moses or Elias." *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 416.

[50] " These who are trusted by Christ to be keepers of the vineyard, and his ministers, ought also to be respected by the people over whom they are set ; and Christ allows this on them. Where Christ is respected and gets his due, there the keepers will be respected and get their due." *Durham's Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, pp. 450, 451. Fergusson complacently says that to affront a clergyman by not believing his statement, or " message," as he terms it, is a " dishonour done to God." *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 422.

[51] " As it is true concerning vs, that necessitie lyeth vpon vs to preach, and woe will bee to vs if wee preach not ; so it is true concerning you, that a necessitie lyeth vpon you to heare, and *woe will be to you if you heare not*." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 156.

[52] The following order was promulgated by the Kirk-Session of Aberdeen on the 12th July, 1607. " The said day, in respect it wes delatit to the sessioun that thair is sindrie landvart gentillmen and vtheris cum to this towne, quha mackis thair residence thairin, and resortis not to the preching nather on Saboth nor vlk dayes ; thairfor, it is ordanit that thrie elderis of everie quarter convene with the ministrie in the sessioun hous, immediatlie efter the ending of the sermone on Tuysday nixt, and thair tak vp the names of the gentillmen and vtheris skipperis duelling in this burgh, quha kepis nocht the Kirk, nor resortis not to the hering of Godis word ; and thair names being taken vp, ordains ane off the ministeris, with a baillie, to pas vnto thame and admoneis thame to cum to the preichingis, and keip the Kirk, vthervayes to remowe thame aff the towne." *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 58. It was not enough to go occasionally to church ; the attendance must be regular ; otherwise the clergy were dissatisfied, and punished the delinquents. In the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie it is recorded that, on the 29th September, 1649, " Mr. Johne Reidfurd being posed quhat diligence he had vsed to the Lady Frendraught, reported, shoe had hard three sermons, and so, as he thought, shoe intended to continow ane hearer. The bretheren, considering her long continowed contumacie and delay of her process, by *heiring a sermon now and then*, thought not *that kind of heiring satisfactorie*, quherfor Mr. Robert Watson, and Mr. Robert Irving, ver ordained to goe with Mr. Johne Reidfurd, and requyre the said Lady to subscryv the Covenant, quherby shoe might testifie her conformitie vith the Kirk of Scotland, quhilk, if shoe refused, the said Mr. Johne vas ordained to pronunce the sentence of excommunicatioun against hir before the Provinciall Assemblie, as he vold be answerable therto." *Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, p. 115. Neither distance nor illness might be pleaded as a valid excuse. Under no circumstances would the preachers tolerate the affront of any one displaying an unwillingness to hear their sermons. In 1650 " compeired the Lord Oliphant, being summondit for not keeping his parish kirk of Abercherdour, vho declared his inabilitie of bodie many tymes, and the want of houses for accommodating him and his familie so farr distant from the same

Because they had adopted the Presbyterian polity, they asserted that the Almighty had never failed to punish every one who tried to supersede it ;[53] and as this was the perfection of the church, those who were blind to its merits were given over to wrath, and were indeed the slaves of Satan.[54] The clergy who held this language respecting their opponents exhausted the choicest epithets of praise on themselves, and on their own pursuits. When one of them got into the pulpit, or took a pen in his hand, he seemed as if he could not find words strong enough to express his sense of the surpassing importance of that class of which he was himself a member.[55] They alone knew the truth ; they alone were able to inform and enlighten mankind. They had their instruction direct from heaven ; they were in fact the ambassadors of Christ ; from him they received their appointment ; and since no one else could reward them, so no one else had a right to rule them.[56]

vas the onlie caus, quhilk he promised to amend in tym comming. Mr. John Reidfurd ordained to report the same to the presbytrie, and vpon his continowed absence, to processe him." *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, p. 149. See more on this subject in *Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, pp. 5, 33, 67 ; *Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, pp. 67, 68, 90, 153 ; *Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, pp. 18, 55, 132 ; and *Spalding's History of the Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 57. Spalding also mentions (p. 114) that at Aberdeen, in 1643, the clergy discoursed every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, in the afternoon ; on which occasions " the people is compellit to attend their Lectureis, or then cryit out against."

[53] " And it may be truly said, as the Church of Scotland hath had no detractors but such as were ignorant of her or mis-informed about her, or whom faction, partiality, prejudice, wickedness, or love of unlawful liberty did inspire : so no person or party hath endeavoured hithertil to root out Presbytery, but the Lord hath made it a burdensome stone unto them." *Naphtali*, sig. B 2 rev. " The Lord's wrath shall so meet his enemies in the teeth, wheresoever they turn, that they shall be forced to forsake their pursuing of the Church." *Dickson's Explication of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 115.

[54] " The true children of the Kirk are indeed the excellent ones of the earth, and princes indeed, wherever they live, in comparison of all other men who are but the beastly slaves of Satan." *Dickson's Explication of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 312. Another high authority carefully identifies " the true religion " with " the true presbyterial profession." See *An Enquiry into Church Communion by Mr. Alexander Shields, Minister of the Gospel at Saint Andrews*, p. 126. His remark applies to the " Burgess-oaths."

[55] Fergusson gives an ingenious turn to this, and says that it was their duty to praise their own profession, not for their own sake, but for the sake of others. " It is the duty of Christ's ministers to commend and magnify their office, not for gaining praise and esteem to themselves, 2 Cor. iii. 1, but that the malice of Satan and his instruments may be hereby frustrated, 2 Cor. xi. 12, who labours to bring that sacred calling into contempt ; that so it may have the less of success upon people's hearts." *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 180.

[56] " Neither is there any mediate authoritie betweene the Lord and his ambassadours, in the affaires of their message : he only sendeth them ; he alone gives them to be pastors and doctors, etc. ; he alone shall judge them ; he alone shall reward them ; to him alone they must give an accompt of their dispensation ; and he himselfe alone doth immediatlie rule them by his spirit and word." *Forbes' Certaine Records touching the Estate of the Kirk*, p. 435. In reference to these amazing pretensions, the Scotch clergy were constantly terming themselves the ambassadors of the Deity ; thereby placing themselves infinitely above all other men. See, for instance, *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, pp. 86, 100, 160. *Durham's Law Unsealed*, pp. 85, 96. *Halyburton's Great Concern of Salvation*, p. 402. *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, pp. 17, 273. *Shields' Enquiry into Church Communion*, p. 72. *Binning's Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 118, vol. iii. p. 178. *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 122. *Monro's Sermons*, p. 207. *Gillespie's Aaron's Rod Blossoming*, pp. 240, 413. *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 166. *Rutherford's Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, p. 41. *Dickson's Truth's Victory over Error*, p. 274. *Gray's Great and Precious Promises*, pp. 50, 74. *Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture*, p. 429. *Cockburn's Jacob's Vow, or Man's Felicity and Duty*, p. 401. *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Book of Job*, pp. 461, 479.

As they were messengers sent by the Almighty, they were rightly termed angels, and it was the duty of the people to listen to their minister, as if he were really an angel who had descended upon earth.[57] His parishioners, therefore, were bound not only to acknowledge him and provide for him, but also to submit to him.[58] Indeed, no one could refuse obedience who considered who the clergy were, and what functions they performed. Besides being ambassadors and angels, they were watchmen, who spied out every danger, and whose sleepless vigilance protected the faithful.[59] They were the joy and delight of the earth. They were musicians, singing the songs of sweetness; nay, they were sirens, who sought to allure men from the evil path, and save them from perishing.[60] They were chosen arrows, stored up in the quiver of God.[61] They were burning lights and

[57] "Ministers are called Angels, because they are God's Messengers, intrusted by Him with a high and heavenly imployment; and it is a title that should put Ministers in mind of their duty, to do God's will on earth as the Angels do it in heaven, in a spiritual and heavenly way, cheerfully, willingly and readily; and it *should put people in mind of their duty, to take this word off Ministers hands, as from Angels.*" *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 496. "Therefore are Ministers called Angels, and Angels, Ministers." p. 596. Cockburn says that this is the reason why "we should behave ourselves decently and reverently" in church; "for if the presence of Kings overawe us, how much more should the presence of God and Angels." *Cockburn's Jacob's Vow, or Man's Felicity and Duty*, p. 356. Another Scotch divine asserts that he and his brethren are able to instruct the angels, and free them from their ignorance. See the audacious passage in *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 180: "*This may commend the ministers of the gospel not a little unto men*, and beget reverence in them towards the same, that even the blessed angels are in some sort bettered by it, and that it is therefore respected by them: for Paul commendeth his office from this, that by occasion thereof 'unto the principalities and powers, was made known the manifold wisdom of God.' Though angels be most knowing creatures, as enjoying the immediate sight and presence of God, Matt. xviii. 10, yet *they are ignorant of some things, which, by God's way of dispensing the Gospel to his church, they come to a more full knowledge of.*" After this it is a slight matter to find Monro insisting that "the people should consider our character as the most difficult and most sacred." *Monro's Sermons*, p. 202.

[58] "He is obliged to minister unto them in the gospel; and they are obliged to submit to him, strengthen him, acknowledge him, communicate to him in all good things, and to provide for him," &c. *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 90. That the clergy are "rulers and governors," and that their business is "ruling and watching over the flock," is likewise affirmed in *Gillespie's Aaron's Rod Blossoming*, pp. 172, 313. Compare *The Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow*, vol. i. p. 181: "Rule over the people and speak the word;" and *Rutherford's Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, p. 41: "The commanding power in the Ambassadour of Christ." See also the "reverential estimation" inculcated in *Boston's Sermons*, p. 186.

[59] "Called watchmen by a name borrowed from the practice of centinels in armies or cities." They are "Satan's greatest eye-sores." *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. ii. p. 158, vol. iii. p. 208. "They being made watchmen, do thereby become the butt of Satan's malice." . . . "The Enemy's principal design is sure to be against the watchman, because he prevents the surprising of his people by Satan, at least 'tis his business to do so." *Halyburton's Great Concern of Salvation*, p. 24. Compare *Guthrie's Considerations contributing unto the Discovery of the Dangers that threaten Religion*, p. 259; *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, pp. 97, 106; *Durham's Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, pp. 278, 443; and *Wodrow's Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 84, 244.

[60] One of the most popular of the Scotch preachers in the seventeenth century actually ranks himself, in this respect, as doing the same work as the Son of God. "Christ and his ministers are the musicians that do apply their songs to catch men's ears and hearts, if so be they may stop their course and not perish. These are blessed syrens that do so." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 265.

[61] Rutherford terms himself, "a chosen arrow hid in his quiver." *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 230. To read the coarse materialism contained in this and other extracts

shining torches. Without them darkness would prevail; but their presence illumined the world, and made things clear.[62] Hence they were called stars, which title also expressed the eminence of their office, and its superiority over all others.[63] To make this still more apparent, prodigies were vouchsafed, and strange lights might occasionally be seen, which, hovering round the form of the minister, confirmed his supernatural mission.[64] The profane wished to jest at these things, but they were too notorious to be denied; and there was a well-known case in which, at the death of a clergyman, a star was miraculously exhibited in the firmament, and was seen by many persons, although it was then midday.[65]

Nor was this to be regarded as a solitary occurrence. On the contrary, it usually happened that when a Scotch minister departed from this life the event was accompanied by portents, in order that the people might understand that something terrible was going on, and that they were incurring a serious, perhaps an irretrievable, loss. Sometimes the candles would be mysteriously extinguished, without any wind, and without any one touching them.[66] Sometimes, even when the clergyman was preaching, the supernatural appearance of an animal would announce his approaching end in face of the congregation, who might vainly mourn what they were unable to avert.[67] Sometimes the body of the holy man

will, I know, shock, and so far offend, many pure and refined minds, whose feelings I would not needlessly wound. But no one can understand the history of the Scotch intellect who refuses to enter into these matters; and it is for the reader to choose whether or not he will remain ignorant of what I, as an historian, am bound to disclose. His remedy is easy. He has only either to shut the book, or else to pass on at once to the next chapter.

[62] "The Lord calleth men to be preachers, and hath them in his hand as starres, holding them out sometime to one part of the world, and sometime to another, that we may communicate light to them that are sitting in darkness." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 360.

[63] "Ministers are called Stars, for these reasons: 1. To signifie and point out the eminence and dignity of the office, that it is a glorious and shineing office. 2. To point out what is the especiall end of this office; It is to give light: as the use of Stars is to give light to the world; so it's Ministers main imployment to shine and give light to others; to make the world which is a dark night, to be lightsome." *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 43. See also pp. 151, 368; and *Dickson's Truth's Victory over Error*, p. 176.

[64] The Rev. James Kirkton says of the Rev. John Welsh, that some one who observed him walking, "saw clearly a strange light surround him, and heard him speak strange words about his spiritual joy." *Select Biographies*, edited by the Rev. W. K. Tweedie, vol. i. p. 12. But more than this remains to be told. The hearts of the Scotch clergy were so lifted up with pride, that they believed—horrible to relate—that they had audible and verbal communications from the Almighty God, which bystanders could hear. One of these stories, relating also to Welsh, will be found, as tradition handed it down, in *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 148. I cannot quote such blasphemy; and those who doubt my statement had better refer to the second edition of Howie's work, published at Glasgow in 1781. It may probably be met with in the British Museum.

[65] "Mr. Johne M'Birnie at Aberdeen, (but first at the South Ferrie, over aganis the Castell of Broughtie), a most zealous and painfull pastor, a great opposer of hierarchie. He was a shyning torch and a burning starre; wherefore the Lord miraculouslie made, at his death, a starre to appeare in heaven at the noonetyde of the day; whilk many yit alive testifies that they did evidentlie see it, (at Whitsunday 1609)." *Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 421.

[66] Mr. James Stirling, minister of Barony, Glasgow, writes respecting his father, Mr. John Stirling, minister at Kilbarchan, that the "day he was burryed ther wer two great candles burning in the chamber, and they did go out most surprisingly without any wind causing them to go out." *Analecta, or Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences*, by the Rev. Robert Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 37.

[67] "This night, Glanderston told me, that it was reported for a truth at Burroustoness, that about six weeks since Mr. David Williamson was preaching in his own church in

would remain for years unchanged and undecayed ; death not having the power over it which it would have had over the corpse of a common person.[68] On other occasions, notice was given to him of his death, years before it occurred ; [69] and, to strike greater awe into the public mind, it was remarked that when one minister died, others were taken away at the same time, so that, the bereavement being more widely felt, men might, by the magnitude of the shock, be rendered sensible of the inestimable value of those preachers whose lives were happily spared.[70]

It was moreover generally understood that a minister, during his abode in this world, was miraculously watched over and protected. He was peculiarly favoured by angels, who, though they did good offices to all members of the true church, were especially kind to the clergy ; [71] and it was well known that the celebrated Rutherford, when only four years old, having fallen into a well, was pulled out by an angel, who came there for the purpose of saving his life.[72] Another clergyman, who was in the habit of over-sleeping himself, used to be roused to his duty in the morning by three mysterious knocks at his door, which, if they did not produce a proper effect, were repeated close to his bed. These knocks never failed on Sunday, and on days when he had to administer the

Edinburgh, and in the middle of the Sermon, a ratton came and sat doun on his Bible. This made him stope ; and after a little pause, he told the congregation that this was a message of God to him, and broke off his sermon, and took a formall fareweel of his people, and went home, and continoues sick." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 12.

[68] "The same person" (*i.e.* the Rev. Mr. White) "adds, that some years ago, when Mr. Bruce's grave was opened, to lay in his grandchild, his body was almost fresh and uncorrupted, to the great wonder of many ; and if I right remember, the grave was again filled up, and another made. The fresh body had no noisome smell. It was then nearly eighty years after he was buried. My informer was minister of Larbert when this happened." *Wodrow's Life of Bruce*, p. 150, prefixed to *Bruce's Sermons*.

[69] "He" (John Lockhart) "tells me Mr. Robert Paton, minister at Barnweel, his father-in-lau, had a particular for-notice, seven or eight years before, of his death : That he signifyed so much to my informer." . . . "When my informer came, he did not apprehend any hazard, and signifyed so much to his father-in-lau, Mr. Paton. He answered, 'John, John, I am to dye at this time : and this is the time God warned me of, as I told you.' In eight or ten dayes he dyed. Mr. Paton was a man very much (beloved) and mighty in prayer." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 451. Compare the case of Henderson (in *Wodrow's Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 33), where the notice was much shorter, but "all fell out as he had foretold."

[70] "Generally, I observe that Ministers' deaths are not single, but severall of them together." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 275.

[71] The Rev. William Row (in his *Continuation of Blair's Autobiography*, p. 153) says, "Without all doubt, though it cannot be proven from Scripture that every one has a tutelar angel, yet it is certain that the good angels do many good offices to the people of God, *especially to his ministers and ambassadors*, which we do not see, and do not remark or know."

[72] "Mr. James Stirling, and Mr. Robert Muir, and severall others in the company, agreed on this accompt of Mr. Rutherford. When about four years old, he was playing about his father's house, and a sister of his, somewhat older than he, with him. Mr. Rutherford fell into a well severall fathoms deep, and not full, but faced about with heuen stone, soe that it was not possible for any body to get up almost, far less a child. When he fell in, his sister ran into the house near by, and told that Samuell was fallen into the well ; upon which his father and mother ran out, and found him sitting on the grasse beside the well ; and when they asked him, Hou he gote out ? he said, after he was once at the bottome, he came up to the tope, and ther was a bonny young man pulled him out by the hand. Ther was noe body near by at the time ; and soe they concluded it was noe doubt ane angell. The Lord had much to doe with him." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 57. See also vol. iii. pp. 88, 89, where this circumstance is again mentioned as "a tradition anent him" in the place of his birth.

communion ; and they lasted during the whole of his ministry, until he became old and infirm, when they entirely ceased.[73]

By the propagation of these and similar stories, in a country already prepared for their reception, the Scotch mind became imbued with a belief in miraculous interposition to an extent which would be utterly incredible if it were not attested by a host of contemporary and unimpeachable witnesses. The clergy, partly because they shared in the general delusion, and partly because they derived benefit from it, did everything they could to increase the superstition of their countrymen, and to familiarize them with notions of the supernatural world such as can only be paralleled in the monastic legends of the Middle Ages.[74] How they laboured to corrupt the national intellect, and how successful they were in that base vocation, has been hitherto known to no modern reader ; because no one has had the patience to peruse their interminable discourses, commentaries, and the other religious literature in which their sentiments are preserved. As, however, the preachers were in Scotland more influential than all other classes put together, it is only by comparing their statements with what is to be found in the general memoirs and correspondence of the time, that we can at all succeed in reconstructing the history of a period which, to the philosophic student of the human mind, is full of great though melancholy interest. I shall therefore make no apology for entering into still further details respecting these matters ; and I hope to put the reader in possession of such facts as will connect the past history of Scotland with its present state, and will enable him to understand why it is that so great a people are in many respects still struggling in darkness, simply because they still live under the shadow of that long and terrible night which for more than a century covered the land. It will also appear that their hardness and moroseness of character, their want of gaiety, and their indifference to many of the enjoyments of life, are traceable to the same cause, and are the natural product of the gloomy and ascetic opinions inculcated by their religious

[73] "Mr. William Trail, minister at ****, tells me that his father, Mr. William Trail, minister at Borthwick, used every morning, when he had publick work on his hand, to hear three knocks at his chamber dore ; and if, throu wearynes, or heaviness, he did sitt these, ther wer ordinarily three knocks at his bed-head, which he never durst sitt, but gott up to his work. This was ordinarly about three in the morning. This, at first, in his youth, frighted him ; but at lenth it turned easy to him, and he believed these knocks and awaknings proceeded from a good art. That these never failed him on Sabbaths and at Communions, when he was oblidged to rise early : That when he turned old and infirm, toward the close of his dayes, they intirely ceased and left him." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 307. This work, in four quarto volumes, is invaluable for the history of the Scotch mind ; being a vast repertory of the opinions and traditions of the clergy during the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. Wodrow was a man of ability, certainly above the average ; his honesty is unimpeachable, as the jealous scrutiny which the episcopalians have made of his great work on the History of the Church of Scotland decisively proves ; and he was in the constant habit of personal and epistolary communication with the leading characters of his age. I have therefore freely used his *Analecta* ; also his *Collections upon the Lives of Ministers*, which is likewise in four quarto volumes ; and his *Correspondence*, in three thick octavo volumes. It would be difficult to find a more competent witness respecting the sentiments of his ecclesiastical brethren. It would be impossible to find a more candid one.

[74] In illustration of this, a volume might be filled with extracts from the writings of the Scotch divines of the seventeenth century. The following passage is perhaps as good as any. "Yea, it can hardly be instanced any great change, or revolution in the earth, which hath not had some such extraordinary herald going before. Can the world deny how sometimes these prodigious signes have been shaped out to point at the very nature of the stroke then imminent, by a strange resemblance to the same, such as a flaming sword in the air, the appearance of armies fighting even sometimes upon the earth, to the view of many most sober and judicious onlookers, also showers of blood, the noise of drummes, and such like, which are known usually to go before warr and commotions?" *Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture*, 1681, p. 216.

teachers. For in that age as in every other, the clergy, once possessed of power, showed themselves harsh and unfeeling masters. They kept the people in a worse than Egyptian bondage, inasmuch as they enslaved mind as well as body, and not only deprived men of innocent amusements, but taught them that those amusements were sinful. And so thoroughly did they do their work that, though a hundred and fifty years have elapsed since their supremacy began to wane, the imprint of their hands is everywhere discernible. The people still bear the marks of the lash; the memory of their former servitude lives among them; and they crouch before their clergy as they did of old, abandoning their rights, sacrificing their independence, and yielding up their consciences to the dictates of an intolerant and ambitious priesthood.

Of all the means of intimidation employed by the Scotch clergy, none was more efficacious than the doctrines they propounded respecting evil spirits and future punishment. On these subjects they constantly uttered the most appalling threats. The language which they used was calculated to madden men with fear, and to drive them to the depths of despair. That it often had this consequence, and produced most fatal results, we shall presently see. And what made it more effectual was that it completely harmonized with those other gloomy and ascetic notions which the clergy inculcated, and according to which, pleasures being regarded as sinful, sufferings were regarded as religious. Hence that love of inflicting pain, and that delight in horrible and revolting ideas, which characterized the Scotch mind during the seventeenth century. A few specimens of the prevailing opinions will enable the reader to understand the temper of the time, and to appreciate the resources which the Scotch clergy could wield, and the materials with which they built up the fabric of their power.

It was generally believed that the world was overrun by evil spirits, who not only went up and down the earth, but also lived in the air, and whose business it was to tempt and hurt mankind.[75] Their number was infinite, and they were to be found at all places and in all seasons. At their head was Satan himself, whose delight it was to appear in person, ensnaring or terrifying every one he met.[76] With this object, he assumed various forms. One day he would visit the earth as a black dog;[77] on another day, as a raven;[78] on another, he would be heard

[75] Durham, after mentioning "old abbacies or monasteries, or castles when walls stand and none dwelleth in them," adds, "If it be asked, If there be such a thing, as the haunting of evill spirits in these desolate places? We answer 1. That there are evill spirits rangeing up and down through the earth is certain, even though hell be their prison properly, yet have they a sort of dominion and abode both in the earth and air; partly, as a piece of their curse, this is laid on them to wander; partly as their exercise to tempt men, or bring spirituall or temporall hurt to them," &c. *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 582. So, too, Hutcheson (*Exposition of the Book of Job*, p. 9): "We should remember that we sojourn in a world where Devils are, and do haunt among us;" and Fleming (*Fulfilling of the Scripture*, p. 217): "But the truth itself is sure, that such a party is at this day, encompassing the earth, and trafficking up and down there, to prove which by arguments were to light a candle to let men see that it is day, while it is known what *ordinary familiar converse many have therewith*." One of their favourite abodes was the Shetland Islands, where, in the middle of the seventeenth century, "almost every family had a Brouny or evil spirit so called." See the account given by the Rev. John Brand, in his work entitled *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland-Firth, and Caithness*, pp. 111, 112, Edinburgh, 1701.

[76] "There is not one whom he assaulteth not." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 101. "On the right hand and on the left." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 273. Even early in the eighteenth century the "most popular divines" in Scotland affirmed that Satan "frequently appears clothed in a corporeal substance." *Memoirs of Charles Lee Lewes, written by Himself*, vol. iii. pp. 29, 30, London, 1805.

[77] "This night James Lochheid told me, that last year, if I mistake not, at the Communion of Bafron, he was much helped all day. At night, when dark somewhat, he went out to the feilds to pray: and a terrible slavish fear came on him, that he almost lost his senses. Houever, he resolved to goe on to his duty. By (the time) he was at the

in the distance, roaring like a bull.[79] He appeared sometimes as a white man in black clothes;[80] and sometimes he came as a black man in black clothes, when it was remarked that his voice was ghastly, that he wore no shoes, and that one of his feet was cloven.[81] His stratagems were endless. For, in the opinion of divines, his cunning increased with his age; and having been studying for more than five thousand years, he had now attained to unexampled dexterity.[82] He could, and he did, seize both men and women, and carry them away through

place, his fear was off him; and lying on a knou-side, a black dogg came to his head and stood. He said he kneu it to be Satan, and shooke his hand, but found nothing, it evanishing." . . . "Lord help against his devices, and strenthen against them!" *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 24. The *Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, p. 77, contain a declaration, in 1650, that "the devill appeared like a little whelpe," and afterwards, "like a brown whelpe."

[78] The celebrated Peden was present when "there came down the appearance of a raven, and sat upon one man's head." . . . Thereupon, "going home, Mr. Peden said to his land-lord, I always thought there was Devilry among you, but I never thought that he did appear visibly among you, till now I have seen it. O, for the Lord's sake quit this way." *The Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden, late Minister of the Gospel at New Glenluce in Galloway*, pp. 111, 112, in vol. i. of *Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana*.

[79] "I heard a voice just before me on the other side of the hedge, and it seemed to be like the groaning of an aged man. It continued so some time. I knew no man could be there; for, on the other side of the hedge, where I heard the groaning, there was a great stank or pool. I nothing doubted but it was Satan, and I guessed his design; but still I went on to beg the child's life. At length he roared and made a noise like a bull, and that very loud. From all this I concluded that I had been provoking God some way or other in the duty, and that he was angry with me, and had let the enemy loose on me and might give him leave to tear me in pieces. This made me intreat of God, to show me wherefore he contended, and begged he would rebuke Satan. The enemy continued to make a noise like a bull, and seemed to be coming about the hedge towards the door of the summer-seat, bellowing as he came along." *Stevenson's Rare, Soul-Strengthening, and Comforting Cordial for Old and Young Christians*, p. 29. This book was published, and prepared for the press, by the Rev. William Cupples. See Mr. Cupples' letter at the beginning.

[80] In 1684, with "black cloaths, and a blue band, and white handcuffs." *Sinclair's Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 8.

[81] "He observed one of the black man's feet to be cloven, and that the black man's apparel was black, and that he had a blue band about his neck, and white hand-cuffs, and that he had hoggers upon his legs without shoes; and that the black man's voice was hollow and ghastly." *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 9. "The devil appeared in the shape of a black man." p. 31. See also *Brand's Description of Orkney*, p. 126: "All in black."

[82] "The acquired knowledge of the Devill is great, hee being an advancing student, and still learning now above five thousand yeares." *Rutherford's Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himselfe*, p. 204. "He knowes very well, partly by the quicknesse of his nature, and partly by long experience, being now very neere six thousand yeeres old." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 219. "Hee, being compared with vs, hath many vantages; as that he is more subtill in nature, being of greater experience, and more ancient, being now almost sixe thousand yeeres old." *Ibid.*, p. 403. "The diuell here is both diligent and cunning, and (now almost of sixe thousand yeeres) of great experience." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 142. "Satan, such an ingenious and experimented spirit." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 67. "His great sleight and cunning." *Ibid.*, p. 110. Other eulogies of his skill may be seen in *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 475; and in *Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture*, p. 45. A "minister," whose name is not mentioned, states that he is "of an excellent substance, of great natural parts, long experience, and deep understanding." *Sinclair's Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 78.

the air.[83] Usually he wore the garb of laymen, but it was said that on more than one occasion he had impudently attired himself as a minister of the gospel.[84] At all events, in one dress or other, he frequently appeared to the clergy, and tried to coax them over to his side.[85] In that, of course, he failed ; but, out of the ministry, few indeed could withstand him. He could raise storms and tempests ; he could work not only on the mind, but also on the organs of the body, making men hear and see whatever he chose.[86] Of his victims, some he prompted to

[83] In Professor Sinclair's work (*Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 141), we find, in 1684, "an evident instance that the devil can transport the bodies of men and women through the air. It is true, he did not carry her far off, but not for want of skill and power." Late in the seventeenth century, it was generally believed that one of Satan's accomplices was literally "strangled in his chair by the devil, lest he should make a confession to the detriment of the service." *Crawfurd's History of the Shire of Renfrew*, part iii. p. 319.

[84] See the account of a young preacher being deceived in this way, in *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. pp. 103, 104. The Rev. Robert Blair detected the cheat, and "with ane awful seriousness appearing in his countenance, began to tell the youth his hazard, and that the man whom he took for a Minister was the Divel, who had trepanned him, and brought him into his net ; advised him to be earnest with God in prayer, and likewise not to give way to dispair, for ther was yet hope." The preacher had on this occasion been so far duped as to give the devil "a written promise" to do whatever he was requested. As soon as the Rev. Mr. Blair ascertained this fact, he took the young man before the Presbytery, and narrated the circumstance to the members. "They were all strangely affected with it, and resolved unanimously to dispatch the Presbitry business presently, and to stay all night in town, and on the morrow to meet for prayer in one of the most retired churches of the Presbitry, acquainting none with their business, (but) taking the youth alongst with them, whom they keeped alwise close by them. Which was done, and after the Ministers had prayed all of them round, except Mr. Blair, who prayed last, in time of his prayer there came a violent rushing of wind upon the church, so great that they thought the church should have fallen down about their ears, and with that the youth's paper and covenant" (*i.e.* the covenant which he had signed at the request of Satan) "droops down from the roof of the church among the Ministers."

[85] "The devil strikes at them, that in them he may strike at the whole congregation." *Boston's Sermons*, p 186. Fleming (*Fulfilling of the Scripture*, p. 379) gives an account of his appearing to one of the Scotch clergy. Compare *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 110. In 1624 Bruce writes, "I heard his voice as vively as ever I heard anything, not being sleeping, but waking." *Life of Bruce*, p. 8, prefixed to *Bruce's Sermons*. The only remedy was immediate resistance. "It is the duty of called ministers to go on with courage in the work of the Lord, notwithstanding of any discouragement of that kind, receiving manfully the first onset chiefly of Satan's fury, as knowing their ceding to him will make him more cruel." *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 74. In the seventeenth century, the Scotch clergy often complimented each other upon having baffled him, and thereby put him in a passion. Thus, in 1626, Dickson writes to Boyd : "The devil is mad against you, he fears his kingdom." *Life of Robert Boyd, in Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of Ministers*, vol. ii. part i. p. 238. See also pp. 165, 236.

[86] "He can delude ears, eyes, &c., either by misrepresenting external objects, or by inward disturbing of the faculties and organes, whereby men and women may, and do often, apprehend that they hear, see, &c. such and such things, which, indeed, they do not." *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 128. "Raise tempests." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 122. "His power and might, whereby through God's permission he doth raise up storms, commove the elements, destroy cattle," &c. *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 264. "Hee can work curiously and strongly on the walls of bodily organs, on the shop that the understanding soule lodgeth in, and on the necessary tooles, organs, and powers of fancie, imagination, memory, humours, senses, spirits, bloud," &c. *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, p. 212. Semple, giving notice of his intention to administer the sacrament, told the congregation "that the Devil would be so envious about the good work they were to go about, that he was afraid he would be permitted to raise a storm in the air with a speat of rain, to raise the waters, designing

commit suicide,[87] others to commit murder.[88] Still, formidable as he was, no Christian was considered to have attained to a full religious experience unless he had literally seen him, talked to him, and fought with him.[89] The clergy were constantly preaching about him, and preparing their audience for an interview with their great enemy. The consequence was that the people became almost crazed with fear. Whenever the preacher mentioned Satan, the consternation was so great that the church resounded with sighs and groans.[90] The aspect of a Scotch congregation in those days is indeed hard for us to conceive. Not unfrequently the people, benumbed and stupefied with awe, were rooted to their seats by the horrible fascination exercised over them, which compelled them to listen, though they are described as gasping for breath, and with their hair standing on end.[91] Such impressions were not easily effaced. Images of terror were left on the mind, and followed the people to their homes, and in their daily pursuits. They believed that the devil was always, and literally, at hand; that he was haunting them, speaking to them, and tempting them. There was no escape. Go where they would, he was there. A sudden noise, nay, even the sight of an inanimate object, such as a stone, was capable of reviving the association of ideas, and of bringing back to the memory the language uttered from the pulpit.[92]

Nor is it strange that this should be the case. All over Scotland the sermons

to drown some of them; but it will not be within the compass of his power to drown any of you, no not so much as a dog." *Remarkable Passages of the Life and Death of Mr. John Semple, Minister of the Gospel*, pp. 168, 169, in vol. i. of *Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana*.

[87] *Sinclair's Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, p. 137. *Memoirs of the Life and Experiences of Marion Laird of Greenock, with a Preface by the Rev. Mr. Cock*, pp. 43, 44, 45, 84, 85, 172, 222, 223.

[88] "I shall next show how the murderer Satan visibly appeared to a wicked man, stirred him up to stab me, and how mercifully I was delivered therefrom." *The Autobiography of Mr. Robert Blair, Minister of St. Andrews*, p. 65. See also *Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture*, pp. 379, 380.

[89] "One Mr. Thomas Hogg, a very popular presbyterian preacher in the North, asked a person of great learning, in a religious conference, whether or not he had seen the Devil? It was answered him, 'That he had never seen him in any visible appearance.' 'Then, I assure you,' saith Mr. Hogg, 'that you can never be happy till you see him in that manner; that is, untill you have both a personal converse and combat with him.'" *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, pp. 28, 29.

[90] "Ye go to the kirk, and when ye hear the devil or hell named in the preaching, ye sigh and make a noise." *The Last and Heavenly Speeches of John, Viscount Kenmure*, in *Select Biographies*, vol. i. p. 405.

[91] Andrew Gray, who died in 1656, used such language, "that his contemporary, the foresaid Mr. Durham, observed, That many times he caused the very hairs of their head to stand up." *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 217. James Hutcheson boasted of this sort of success. "As he expressed it, 'I was not a quarter of ane hour in upon it, till I sau a dozen of them all gasping before me.' He preached with great freedome *all day*, and fourteen or twenty dated their conversion from that sermon." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 131. When Dickson preached, "many were so choaked and taken by the heart, that through terrour, the spirit in such a measure convincing them of sin, in hearing of the word they have been made to fall over, and thus carried out of the church." *Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture*, p. 347. There was hardly any kind of resource which these men disdained. Alexander Dunlop "entered into the ministry at Paislay, about the year 1643 or 1644." . . . "He used in the pulpit, to have a kind of a groan at the end of some sentences. Mr. Peebles called it a holy groan." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iii. pp. 16, 21.

[92] A schoolmaster, recording his religious experiences (*Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. i. p. 246), says: "If any thing had given a knock, I would start and shiver, the seeing of a dogg made me affrayed, the seeing of a stone in the feild made me affrayed, and as I thought a voice in my head saying, 'It's Satan.'"

were, with hardly an exception, formed after the same plan, and directed to the same end. To excite fear was the paramount object.[93] The clergy boasted that it was their special mission to thunder out the wrath and curses of the Lord.[94] In their eyes, the Deity was not a beneficent being, but a cruel and remorseless tyrant. They declared that all mankind, a very small portion only excepted, were doomed to eternal misery. And when they came to describe what that misery was, their dark imaginations revelled and gloated at the prospect. In the pictures which they drew they reproduced and heightened the barbarous imagery of a barbarous age. They delighted in telling their hearers that they would be roasted in great fires, and hung up by their tongues.[95] They were to be lashed with scorpions, and see their companions writhing and howling around them.[96] They were to be thrown into boiling oil and scalding lead.[97] A river of fire and brimstone, broader than the earth, was prepared for them ;[98] in that they were to be immersed ; their bones, their lungs, and their liver were to boil, but never be consumed.[99] At the same time, worms

[93] Only those who are extensively read in the theological literature of that time can form an idea of this, its almost universal tendency. During about a hundred and twenty years the Scotch pulpits resounded with the most frightful denunciations. The sins of the people, the vengeance of God, the activity of Satan, and the pains of hell, were the leading topics. In this world, calamities of every kind were announced as inevitable ; they were immediately at hand ; that generation, perhaps that year, should not pass away without the worst evils which could be conceived falling on the whole country. I will merely quote the opening of a sermon which is now lying before me, and which was preached in 1682 by no less a man than Alexander Peden. "There is three or four things that I have to tell you this day ; and the first is this, A bloody sword, a bloody sword, a bloody sword, for thee, O Scotland, that shall reach the most part of you to the very heart. And the second is this, Many a mile shall ye travel in thee, O Scotland ! and shall see nothing but waste places. The third is this, The most fertile places in thee, O Scotland ! shall be waste as the mountain tops. And fourthly, The women with child in thee, O Scotland ! shall be dashed in pieces. And fifthly, There hath been many conventicles in thee, O Scotland ! but ere it be long, God shall have a conventicle in thee, that shall make thee Scotland tremble. Many a preaching hath God wared on thee, O Scotland ! but ere it be long God's judgments shall be as frequent in Scotland as these precious meetings, wherein he sent forth his faithful servants to give faithful warning in his name of their hazard in apostatizing from God, and in breaking all his noble vows. God sent out a Welsh, a Cameron, a Cargill, and a Semple to preach to thee ; but ere long God shall preach to thee by a bloody sword." *Sermons by Eminent Divines*, pp. 47, 48.

[94] To "thunder out the Lord's wrath and curse." *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 191. "It is the duty of Ministers to preach judgments." *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. i. p. 93. "If ministers when they threaten be not the more serious and fervent, the most terrible threatening will but little affect the most part of hearers." *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 421.

[95] The clergy were not ashamed to propagate a story of a boy who, in a trance, had been mysteriously conveyed to hell, and thence permitted to revisit the earth. His account, which is carefully preserved by the Rev. Robert Wodrow (*Analecta*, vol. i. p. 51) was, that "ther wer great fires and men roasted in them, and then cast into rivers of cold water, and then into boyling water ; others hung up by the tongue."

[96] "Scortched in hell-fire and hear the howling of their fellow-prisoners, and see the ugly devils, the bloody scorpions with which Satan lasheth miserable soules." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, pp. 491, 492.

[97] "Boiling oil, burning brimstone, scalding lead." *Sermons by Eminent Divines*, p. 362.

[98] "A river of fire and brimstone broader than the earth." *Rutherford's Religious Letters*, p. 35. "See the poor wretches lying in bundles, boiling eternally in that stream of brimstone." *Halyburton's Great Concern of Salvation*, p. 53.

[99] "Tongue, lungs, and liver, bones and all, shall boil and fry in a torturing fire." *Rutherford's Religious Letters*, p. 17. "They will be universal torments, every part of

were to prey upon them; and while these were gnawing at their bodies, they were to be surrounded by devils, mocking and making pastime of their pains.[100] Such were the first stages of suffering, and they were only the first. For the torture, besides being unceasing, was to become gradually worse. So refined was the cruelty that one hell was succeeded by another; and lest the sufferer should grow callous, he was after a time moved on, that he might undergo fresh agonies in fresh places, provision being made that the torment should not pall on the sense, but should be varied in its character, as well as eternal in its duration.[101]

All this was the work of the God of the Scotch clergy.[102] It was not only his work, it was his joy and his pride. For, according to them, hell was created before man came into the world; the Almighty, they did not scruple to say, having spent his previous leisure in preparing and completing this place of torture, so that when the human race appeared it might be ready for their reception.[103] Ample, however, as the arrangements were, they were insufficient; and hell, not being big enough to contain the countless victims incessantly poured into it, had in these latter days been enlarged.[104] There was now sufficient room. But in that vast expanse there was no void, for the whole of it reverberated with the shrieks and yells of undying agony.[105] They rent the air with horrid sound, and amid their pauses other scenes occurred, if possible still more excruciating. Loud reproaches filled the ear: children reproaching their parents, and servants reproaching their masters. Then indeed terror was rife, and abounded on every side. For while the child cursed his father, the father, consumed by remorse, felt his own guilt; and both children and fathers made hell echo with their piercing screams, writhing in convulsive agony at the torments which they suffered, and knowing that other torments more grievous still were reserved for them.[106]

the creature being tormented in that flame. When one is cast into a fiery furnace, the fire makes its way into the very bowels, and leaves no member untouched: what part then can have ease, when the damned swim in a lake of fire burning with brimstone?" *Boston's Human Nature in its Four-fold State*, p. 458.

100 "While wormes are sporting with thy bones, the devils shall make pastime of thy paines." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 97. "They will have the society of devils in their torments, being shut up with them in hell." *Boston's Human Nature in its Four-fold State*, p. 442. "Their ears filled with frightful yellings of the infernal crew." *Ibid.*, p. 460.

101 This fundamental doctrine of the Scotch divines is tersely summed up in *Binning's Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 130: "You shall go out of one hell into a worse; eternity is the measure of its continuance, and the degrees of itself are answerable to its duration." The author of these sermons died in 1653.

102 And, according to them, the barbarous cruelty was the natural result of His Omniscience. It is with pain that I transcribe the following impious passage. "Consider, Who is the contriver of these torments. There have been some very exquisite torments contrived by the wit of men, the naming of which, if ye understood their nature, were enough to fill your hearts with horror; but *all these fall as far short of the torments ye are to endure, as the wisdom of man falls short of that of God.*" . . . "*Infinite wisdom has contrived that evil.*" *The Great Concern of Salvation, by the late Reverend Mr. Thomas Halyburton*, edit. Edinburgh, 1722, p. 154.

103 "Men wonder what he could be doing all that time, if we may call it time which hath no beginning, and how he was employed." . . . "Remember that which a godly man answered some wanton curious wit, who, in scorn, demanded the same of him—'He was preparing hell for curious and proud fools,' said he." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 194.

104 "Hell hath inlarged itselfe." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 146.

105 "Eternal shriekings." *Sermons by Eminent Divines*, p. 394. "Screakings and howlings." *Gray's Great and Precious Promises*, p. 20. "O! the screechs and yels that will be in hell." *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 654. "The horrible scrieches of them who are burnt in it." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 175.

106 "When children and servants shall go, as it were, in sholes to the Pit, cursing their

Even now such language freezes the blood, when we consider what must have passed through the minds of those who could bring themselves to utter it. The enunciation of such ideas unfolds the character of the men, and lays bare their inmost spirit. We shudder when we think of the dark and corrupted fancy, the vindictive musings, the wild, lawless, and uncertain thoughts which must have been harboured by those who could combine and arrange the different parts of this hideous scheme. No hesitation, no compunction, no feelings of mercy, ever seem to have entered their breasts. It is evident that their notions were well matured; it is equally evident that they delighted in them. They were marked by a unity of conception, and were enforced with a freshness and vigour of language, which shows that their heart was in their work. But before this could have happened, they must have been dead to every emotion of pity and of tenderness. Yet they were the teachers of a great nation, and were in every respect the most influential persons in that nation. The people, credulous and grossly ignorant, listened and believed. We, at this distance of time, and living in another realm of thought, can form but a faint conception of the effect which these horrible conceits produced upon them. They were convinced that in this world they were incessantly pursued by the devil, and that he and other evil spirits were constantly hovering around them, in bodily and visible shape, tempting them, and luring them on to destruction. In the next world the most frightful and unheard-of punishments awaited them; while both this world and the next were governed by an avenging Deity, whose wrath it was impossible to propitiate. No wonder that, with these ideas before them, their reason should often give way, and that a religious mania should set in, under whose influence they in black despair put an end to their lives.[107]

parents and their masters who brought them there. And parents and masters of families shall be in multitudes plunged headlong in endless destruction, because they have not only murdered their own souls, but also imbrued their hands in the blood of their children and servants. O how doleful will the reckoning be amongst them at that day! When the children and servants shall upbraid their parents and masters. 'Now, now, we must to the Pit, and we have you to blame for it; your cursed example and lamentable negligence has brought us to the Pit.'" . . . "And on the other hand, how will the shrieks of parents fill every ear? 'I have damn'd myself, I have damn'd my children, I have damn'd my servants. While I fed their bodies, and clothed their backs, I have ruined their souls, and brought double damnation on myself.'" *Halyburton's Great Concern of Salvation*, pp. 527, 528. See this further worked out in *Boston's Human Nature in its Four-fold State*, pp. 378, 379: "Curses instead of salutations, and tearing of themselves, and raging against one another, instead of the wonted embraces."

[107] William Vetch, "preaching in the town of Jedburg to a great congregation, said, 'There are two thousand of you here to day, but I am sure fourscore of you will not be saved;' upon which, three of his ignorant hearers being in despair, despatch'd themselves soon after." *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p. 23. See also the life, or rather panegyric, of Vetch in *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, where this circumstance is not denied but on the contrary is stated to be no "disparagement to him," p. 606. The frame of mind which the teachings of the clergy encouraged, and which provoked self-murder, is vividly depicted by Samuel Rutherford, the most popular of all the Scotch divines of the seventeenth century. "Oh! hee lieth down, and hell beddeth with him; hee sleepeth, and hell and hee dreame together; he riseth, and hell goeth to the fields with him; hee goes to his garden, there is hell." . . . "The man goes to his table, O! hee dare not eat, hee hath no right to the creature; to eat is sin and hell; so hell is in every dish. To live is sinne, *hee would faine chuse strangling*; every act of breathing is sin and hell. Hee goes to church, there is a dog as great as a mountaine before his eye: Here be terrors." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, 1647, 4to, pp. 41, 42. Now listen to the confessions of two of the tortured victims of the doctrines enunciated by the clergy; victims who, after undergoing ineffable agony, were more than once, according to their own account, tempted to put an end to their lives. "The cloud lasted for two years and some months." . . . "The arrows of the Almighty did drink up my spirits; night and day his hand lay heavy upon me, so that even my bodily moisture was turned into

Little comfort, indeed, could men then gain from their religion. Not only the devil, as the author of all evil, but even He whom we recognize as the author of all good, was in the eyes of the Scotch clergy a cruel and vindictive being, moved with anger like themselves. They looked into their own hearts, and there they found the picture of their God. According to them, He was a God of terror, instead of a God of love.[108] To Him they imputed the worst passions of their own peevish and irritable nature. They ascribed to Him revenge, cunning, and a constant disposition to inflict pain. While they declared that nearly all mankind were sinners beyond the chance of redemption, and were indeed predestined to eternal ruin, they did not scruple to accuse the Deity of resorting to artifice against these unhappy victims; lying in wait for them, that He might catch them unawares.[109] The Scotch clergy taught their hearers that the Almighty was so sanguinary, and so prone to anger, that He raged even against walls and houses and senseless creatures, wreaking His fury more than ever, and scattering desolation on every side.[110] Sooner than miss His fell and malignant purpose, He would, they said, let loose avenging angels, to fall upon men and upon their families.[111] Independently of this resource, He had various

the drought of summer. When I said sometimes that my couch would ease my complaint, I was filled with tossings to the dawning of the day." . . . "Amidst all my downcastings, I had the roaring lion to grapple with, who likes well to fish in muddy waters. He strongly suggested to me that I should not eat, because I had no right to food; or if I ventured to do it, the enemy assured me that the wrath of God would go down with my morsel; and that I had forfeited a right to the divine favour, and therefore had nothing to do with any of God's creatures." . . . "However, so violent were the temptations of the strong enemy, that I frequently forgot to eat my bread, and durst not attempt it; and when, through the persuasion of my wife, I at any time did it, the enemy through the day did buffet me in a violent way, assuring me that the wrath of God had gone over with what I had taken." . . . "The enemy after all did so pursue me, that he violently suggested to my soul, that, some time or other, God would suddenly destroy me as with a thunderclap: which so filled my soul with fear and pain, that, every now and then, I looked about me, to receive the divine blow, still expecting it was a coming; yea, many a night I durst not sleep, lest I had awakened in everlasting flames." *Stevenson's Rare Cordial*, pp. 11–13. Another poor creature, after hearing one of Smiton's sermons in 1740, says, "Now, I saw myself to be a condemned criminal; but I knew not the day of my execution. I thought that there was nothing between me and hell, but the brittle thread of natural life." . . . "And in this dreadful confusion, I durst not sleep, least I had awakened in everlasting flames." . . . "And Satan violently assaulted me to take away my own life, seeing there was no mercy for me." . . . "Soon after this, I was again violently assaulted by the tempter to take away my own life; he presented to me a knife therewith to do it; no person being in the house but myself. The enemy pursued me so close, that I could not endure so much as to see the knife in my sight, but laid it away." . . . "One evening, as I was upon the street, Satan violently assaulted me to go into the sea and drown myself; it would be the easiest death. Such a fear of Satan then fell upon me, as made my joints to shake, so that it was much for me to walk home; and when I came to the door, I found nobody within; I was afraid to go into the house, lest Satan should get power over me." *Memoirs of the Life and Experiences of Marion, Laird of Greenock*, pp. 13, 14, 19, 45, 223, 224.

[108] Binning says, that "since the first rebellion" (that is, the fall of Adam), "there is nothing to be seen but the terrible countenance of an angry God." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 254.

[109] "He will, as it were, lie in wait to take all advantages of sinners to undo them." *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. i. p. 247.

[110] "His wrath rages against walls, and houses, and senselesse creatures more now then at that time" (*i.e.* at the time when the Old Testament was written). "See what desolation he hath wrought in Ireland, what eating of horses, of infants, and of killed souldiers, hath beene in that land, and in Germany." *Rutherford's Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, pp. 244, 245.

[111] "Albeit there were no earthly man to pursue Christ's enemies; yet avenging

ways whereby He could at once content Himself and plague His creatures, as was particularly shown in the devices which He employed to bring famine on a people.[112] When a country was starving, it was because God, in His anger, had smitten the soil, had stopped the clouds from yielding their moisture, and thus made the fruits of the earth to wither.[113] All the intolerable sufferings caused by a want of food, the slow deaths, the agony, the general misery, the crimes which that misery produced, the anguish of the mother as she saw her children wasting away and could give them no bread, all this was His act, and the work of His hands.[114] In His anger, He would sometimes injure the crops by making the spring so backward, and the weather so cold and rainy, as to insure a deficiency in the coming harvest.[115] Or else He would deceive men, by sending them a favourable season, and after letting them toil and sweat in the hope of an abundant supply, He would at the last moment suddenly step in, and destroy the corn just as it was fit to be reaped.[116] For the God

angels, or evil spirits shall be let forth upon them and their families to trouble them." *Dickson's Explication of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 229.

[112] "God hath many wayes and meanes whereby to plague man, and *reach his contentments*." *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. i. p. 286. "God hath variety of means whereby to plague men, and to bring upon them any affliction he intendeth against them; and particularly he hath several wayes whereby to bring on famine. He can arme all his creatures to cut off men's provision, one of them after another; he can make the change of aire, and small insects do that worke when he pleaseth." *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 422. The same divine, in another elaborate treatise, distinctly imputes to the Deity a sensation of pleasure in injuring even the innocent. "When God sends out a scourge, of sword, famine, or pestilence, suddenly to overthrow and cut people off, not only are the wicked reached thereby (which is here supposed), but even the innocent, that is, such as are righteous and free of gross provocations; for, in any other sense, none are innocent, or free of sin, in this life. Yea, further, in trying of the innocent by these scourges, *the Lord seems to act as one delighted with it*, and little resenting the great extremities wherewith they are pressed." *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Book of Job*, 1669, folio, p. 123. Compare p. 359. "It pleaseth the Lord to exercise great variety in afflicting the children of men," &c. But after all, mere extracts can give but a faint idea of the dark and malignant spirit which pervades these writings.

[113] "The present death and famine quhilk seases vpon many, quhairby God his heavie wrath is evidentlie perceaved to be kindlit against vs." *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, p. 98. "Smiting of the fruits of the ground." *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. i. p. 277. "Makes fruits to wither." *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 183. "Hee restraines the clouds, and bindeth up the wombe of heaven, in extreme drought." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, p. 52. "Sometime hee maketh the heauen aboue as brasse, and the earth beneath as iron; so that albeit men labour and sow, yet they receiue no encrease: sometime againe hee giues in due season the first and latter raine, so that the earth renders abundance, but the Lord by blasting windes, or by the caterpiller, canker-worme and grasse-hopper doth consume them, who come out as exacters and officers sent from God to poind men in their goods." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 433.

[114] "Under the late dearth this people suffered greatly, the poor were numerous, and many, especially about the town of Kilsyth, were at the point of starving; yet, as I frequently observed to them, I could not see any one turning to *the Lord who smote them*, or crying to him because of their sins, while *they howled upon their beds for bread*." *Robe's Narratives of the Extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God*, p. 68.

[115] *Nicoll's Diary*, pp. 152, 153. Much rain in the autumn, was "the Lord's displeasure upon the land." *Minutes of the Presbyteries of Saint Andrews and Cupar*, p. 179.

[116] "Men sweat, till, sow much, and the sun and summer, and clouds, warme dewes and raines smile upon cornes and meddowes, yet God steppeth in betweene the mouth of the husbandman and the sickle, and blasteth all." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, p. 87. Compare *Baillie's Letters*, vol. iii. p. 52, on the "continuance of very intemperate rain upon the corns," as one of the "great signs of the wrath of God."

of the Scotch Kirk was a God who tantalized His creatures as well as punished them; and when He was provoked, He would first allure men by encouraging their expectations, in order that their subsequent misery might be more poignant.[117]

Under the influence of this horrible creed, and from the unbounded sway exercised by the clergy who advocated it, the Scotch mind was thrown into such a state that, during the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century, some of the noblest feelings of which our nature is capable, the feelings of hope, of love, and of gratitude, were set aside, and were replaced by the dictates of a servile and ignominious fear. The physical sufferings to which the human frame is liable, nay, even the very accidents to which we are casually exposed, were believed to proceed not from our ignorance, nor from our carelessness, but from the rage of the Deity. If a fire chanced to break out in Edinburgh, the greatest alarm was excited, because it was the voice of God crying out against a luxurious and dissolute city.[118] If a boil or a sore appeared on your body, that too was a divine punishment, and it was more than doubtful whether it might lawfully be cured.[119] The small-pox, being one of the most fatal as well as one of the most loathsome of all diseases, was especially sent by God; and on that account the remedy of inoculation was scouted as a profane attempt to frustrate His intentions.[120] Other disorders, which, though less terrible,

[117] "When the Lord is provoked, he can not only send an affliction, but so order it, by faire appearances of a better lot, and heightening of the sinners expectation and desire, as may make it most sad." *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. iii. pp. 9, 10.

[118] In 1696 there was a fire in Edinburgh; whereupon Moncrief, in his sermon next day, "told us, 'That God's voice was crying to this city, and that he was come to the very ports, and was crying over the walls to us; that we should amend our ways, lest he should come to our city, and consume us in a terrible manner.' I cannot tell what this Dispensation of Providence wrought on me," &c. *Memoirs or Spiritual Exercises of Elizabeth Wast, written by her own Hand*, pp. 41, 42. See also, at pp. 122, 123, the account of another conflagration, where it is said, "There was much of God to be seen in this fire." Compare a curious passage in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 455, 456.

[119] The Rev. James Fraser had a boil, and afterwards a fever. "During this sickness he miraculously allayed the pain of my boil, and speedily, and that without means, cured it; for however I bought some things to prevent it, yet, looking on it as a punishment from God, I knew not if I could be free to take the rod out of his hand, and to counterwork him." *Memoirs of the Rev. James Fraser of Brea, Minister of the Gospel at Culross, written by Himself*, in *Select Biographies*, vol. ii. p. 223. Durham declaims against "sinful shunning and shifting off suffering;" and Rutherford says, "No man should rejoice at weakness and diseases; but I think we may have a sort of gladness at boils and sores, because, without them, Christ's fingers, as a slain Lord, should never have touched our skin." *Durham's Law Unsealed*, p. 160; *Rutherford's Religious Letters*, p. 265. I do not know what effect these passages may produce upon the reader; but it makes my flesh creep to quote them. Compare *Stevenson's Rare, Soul-strengthening, and Comforting Cordial*, p. 35.

[120] It was not until late in the eighteenth century that the Scotch clergy gave up this notion. At last, even they became influenced by the ridicule to which their superstition exposed them, and which produced more effect than any argument could have done. The doctrines, however, which they and their predecessors had long inculcated, had so corrupted the popular mind, that instances will, I believe, be found even in the nineteenth century, of the Scotch deeming precautions against small-pox to be criminal, or, as they called it, flying in the face of Providence. The latest evidence I can at this moment put my hand on is in a volume published in 1797. It is stated by the Rev. John Paterson that in the parish of Auldearn, in the county of Nairn, "very few have fallen a sacrifice to the small-pox, though the people are in general averse to inoculation, from the general gloominess of their faith, which teaches them that all diseases which afflict the human frame are instances of the Divine interposition, for the punishment

were very painful, proceeded from the same source, and all owed their origin to the anger of the Almighty.[121] In everything His power was displayed, not by increasing the happiness of men, nor by adding to their comforts, but by hurting and vexing them in all possible ways. His hand, always raised against the people, would sometimes deprive them of wine by causing the vintage to fail;[122] sometimes would destroy their cattle in a storm;[123] and sometimes would even make dogs bite their legs when they least expected it.[124] Sometimes He would display His wrath by making the weather excessively dry;[125] sometimes by making it equally wet.[126] He was always punishing; always busy in increasing the general suffering, or, to use the language of the time, making the creature smart under the rod.[127] Every fresh war was the result of His special interference; it was not caused by the meddling folly or insensate ambition of statesmen, but it was the immediate work of the Deity, who was thus made responsible for all the devastations, the murders, and other crimes more horrible still which war produces.[128] In the intervals of peace, which

of sin; any interference, therefore, on their part, they deem an usurpation of the prerogative of the Almighty." *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xix. p. 618, Edinburgh, 1797. See also vol. xiv. p. 52, Edinburgh, 1795. This is well said. No doubt so abject and so pernicious a superstition among the people was the result of "the general gloominess of their faith." But the Rev. John Paterson has forgotten to add that the gloominess of which he complains was in strict conformity with the teachings of the most able, the most energetic, and the most venerated of the Scotch clergy. Mr. Paterson renders scant justice to his countrymen, and should rather have praised the tenacity with which they adhered to the instructions they had long been accustomed to receive.

[121] The Rev. John Welsh, when suffering from a painful disorder, and also from other troubles, writes: "My douleurs ar impossible to expresse." . . . "It is the Lord's indignation." See his letter, in *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, vol. i. p. 558. See also *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 128. A pain in one's side was the work of "the Lord" (*Memoirs of Marion Laird*, p. 95); so was a sore throat (*Wast's Memoirs*, p. 203); and so was the fever in pleurisy (*Robe's Narratives of the Extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God*, p. 66).

[122] In January, 1653, "This tyme, and mony monethis befoir, thair wes great skairshtie of wynes. In this also appered Godis justice toward this natioun for abusing of that blissing many yeiris befoir." *Nicoll's Diary*, p. 105.

[123] This idea was so deeply rooted that we actually find a public fast and humiliation ordered, on account of "this present uncouth storme of frost and snaw, quhilk hes continewit sa lang that the bestiall ar dieing thik fauld." *Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 82.

[124] "There was a dog bit my leg most desperately. I no sooner received this, but I saw the hand of God in it." *Wast's Memoirs*, p. 114.

[125] "The evident documentis of Goddis wrath aganes the land, be the extraordinarie drouth." *Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 78.

[126] "The hynous synnes of the land produced much takines of Godis wraith; namelie, in this spring tyme, for all Februar and a great pairt of Marche wer full of havie weittis." *Nicoll's Diary*, p. 152.

[127] *Halyburton's Great Concern of Salvation*, p. 85. *Fleming's Fulfilling of Scripture*, pp. 101, 149, 176. *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. p. 169. *Boston's Sermons*, p. 52. *Boston's Human Nature in its Four-fold State*, pp. 67, 136. *Memoirs of Marion Laird*, pp. 63, 90, 113, 163. *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Book of Job*, pp. 62, 91, 140, 187, 242, 310, 449, 471, 476, 527, 528.

[128] "War is one of the sharp scourges whereby God punisheth wicked nations; and it cometh upon a people, not accidentally, but *by the especial providence of God*, who hath peace and war in his own hand." *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. ii. p. 3. In 1644, "Civill war wracks Spaine, and lately wracked Italie: it is coming by appearance shortlie upon France. The just Lord, who beholds with patience the wickednesse of nations, at last *arises in furie*." . . . "The Swedish and Danish fleets, after a hott fight, are making for a new onsett: great blood is feared shall be shortly shed

at that period were very rare, He had other means of vexing mankind. The shock of an earthquake was a mark of His displeasure ;[129] a comet was a sign of coming tribulation ;[130] and when an eclipse appeared, the panic was so universal that persons of all ranks hastened to church to deprecate His wrath.[131] What they heard there would increase their fear, instead of allaying it. For the clergy taught their hearers that even so ordinary an event as thunder was meant to excite awe, and was sent for the purpose of showing to men with how terrible a master they had to deal.[132] Not to tremble at thunder was therefore a mark of impiety ; and in this respect man was unfavourably contrasted with the lower animals, since they were invariably moved by this symptom of divine power.[133]

These visitations, eclipses, comets, earthquakes, thunder, famine, pestilence, war, disease, blights in the air, failures in the crops, cold winters, dry summers, these and the like were, in the opinion of the Scotch divines, outbreaks of the anger of the Almighty against the sins of men ; and that such outbreaks were incessant is not surprising, when we consider that in the same age and according to the same creed, the most innocent and even praiseworthy actions were deemed sinful, and worthy of chastisement. The opinions held on this subject are not only curious, but extremely instructive. Besides forming an important part of the history of the human mind, they supply decisive proof of the danger of allowing a single profession to exalt itself above all other professions. For in Scotland as elsewhere, directly the clergy succeeded in occupying a more than ordinary amount of public attention, they availed themselves of that circumstance to propagate those ascetic doctrines which, while they strike at the root of human happiness, benefit no one except the class which advocates them. That class, indeed, can hardly fail to reap advantage from a policy which, by increasing the apprehensions to which the ignorance and timidity of men make them too liable, does also increase their eagerness to fly for support to their spiritual advisers. And the greater the apprehension, the greater the eagerness. Of this the Scotch clergy, who were perfect masters of their own art,

there, both by sea and land. The *anger of the Lord* against all christendome is great." *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. pp. 190, 223.

129 " Earthquakes, whereby God, when he is angry, overthrows and overturns very mountains." *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Book of Job*, p. 114. " The ministris and sessioun convening in the sessioun hous, considdering the fearfull erthquak that wes yisternicht, the aucht of this instant, throughout this haill citie about nine houris at evin, to be a document that God is angrie aganes the land and aganes this citie in particular, for the manifauld sinnis of the people," &c. *Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 64.

130 " Whatever natural causes may be adduced for those alarming appearances, the system of comets is yet so uncertain, and they have so frequently preceded desolating strokes and turns in public affairs, that they seem designed in providence to stir up sinners to seriousness. Those preachers from heaven, when God's messengers were silenced, neither prince nor prelate could stop." *Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 421.

131 " People of all sortes rane to the churches to deprecat God's wrath." *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. p. 403. This was in 1598.

132 " By it he manifests his power and shows himself terrible." *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, p. 33. Compare *Row's History of the Kirk*, p. 333 ; and a passage in *Laird's Memoirs*, p. 69, which shows how greedily their credulous hearers imbibed such notions : " There were several signal evidences that the Lord's righteous judgments were abroad in the earth ; great claps of thunder," &c.

133 " The stupidity and senselessnesse of man is greater than that of the brute creatures, which are all more moved with the thunder then the hearts of men for the most part." *Dickson's Explication of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 193. Hutcheson makes a similar remark concerning earthquakes. " The shaking and trembling of insensible creatures, when God is angry, serves to condemn men, who are not sensible of it, nor will stoop under his hand." *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Book of Job*, p. 115.

were well aware. Under their influence a system of morals was established which, representing nearly every act as sinful, kept the people in perpetual dread, lest unwittingly they were committing some enormous offence, which would bring upon their heads a signal and overwhelming punishment.

According to this code, all the natural affections, all social pleasures, all amusements, and all the joyous instincts of the human heart were sinful, and were to be rooted out. It was sinful for a mother to wish to have sons ;[134] and, if she had any, it was sinful to be anxious about their welfare.[135] It was a sin to please yourself, or to please others ; for by adopting either course you were sure to displease God.[136] All pleasures, therefore, however slight in themselves, or however lawful they might appear, must be carefully avoided.[137] When mixing in society, we should edify the company, if the gift of edification had been bestowed upon us ; but we should by no means attempt to amuse them.[138] Cheerfulness, especially when it rose to laughter, was to be guarded against ; and we should choose for our associates grave and sorrowful men, who were not likely to indulge in so foolish a practice.[139] Smiling, provided it stopped short

[134] Lady Colsfeild "had born two or three daughters, and was sinfully anxious after a son, to heir the estate of Colsfeild." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 293.

[135] Under the influence of this terrible creed, the amiable mother of Duncan Forbes, writing to him respecting his own health and that of his brother, speaks of "my sinful, God-provoking anxiety, both for your souls and bodies." *Burton's Lives of Lovat and Forbes*, p. 274. The theological theory underlying and suggesting this was that "grace bridles these affections." *Boston's Human Nature in its Four-fold State*, p. 184. Hence its rigid application on days set apart for religious purposes. The Rev. Mr. Lyon (*History of Saint Andrews*, vol. i. p. 458) mentions that some of the Scotch clergy, in drawing up regulations for the government of a colony, inserted the following clause : "No husband shall kiss his wife, and no mother shall kiss her child on the Sabbath day."

[136] "The more you please yourselves and the world, the further you are from pleasing God." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 55. Elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 45) : "Amity to ourselves is enmity to God."

[137] "Pleasures are most carefully to be auoided : because they both harme and deceiue." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 251. At p. 268, the same authority says, "Beate downe thy body, and bring it to subiection by abstaining, not only from vnlawfull pleasures, but also from lawfull and indifferent delights."

[138] According to *Hutcheson's Exposition of Job*, p. 6, "there is no time wherein men are more ready to miscarry, and discover any bitter root in them, then when they are about the liberal use of the creatures, and amidst occasions of mirth and cheerfulness." How this doctrine ripened cannot be better illustrated than from the sentiments entertained, so late as the early part of the eighteenth century, by Colonel Blackader, a Scotch officer, who was also an educated man, who had seen much of the world, and might to some degree be called a man of the world. In December, 1714, he went to a wedding, and, on his return home, he writes : "I was cheerful, and perhaps gave too great a swing to raillery, but I hope not light or vain in conversation. I desire always to have my speech seasoned with salt, and ministering profit to the hearers. Sitting up late, and merry enough, though I hope innocent ; but I will not justify myself." *The Life and Diary of Lieut.-Col. J. Blackader, by Andrew Crichton*, p. 453. On another occasion (p. 511), in 1720, he was at an evening party. "The young people were merry. I laid a restraint upon myself for fear of going too far, and joined but little, only so as not to show moroseness or ill-breeding. We sat late, but the conversation was innocent, and no drinking but as we pleased. However, much time is spent ; which I dare not justify. *In all things we offend.*" At p. 159 he writes, "I should always be mixing something that may edify in my discourse ;" and, says his biographer (p. 437), "Conversation, when it ceased to accomplish this object, he regarded as *degenerating into idle entertainment*, which ought to be checked rather than encouraged."

[139] "Frequent the gravest company, and the fellowship of those that are sorrowfull." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 416. Compare the attacks on "too much carnal mirth and laughter," in *Durham's Law Unsealed*, p. 323 ; in *Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture*, p. 226 ; and in *Fergusson's Exposition of the Epistles of Paul*, p. 227. See also *Gray's Spiritual Warfare*, p. 42. Cowper savs, "Woe be unto them that now

of laughter, might occasionally be allowed; still, being a carnal pastime, it was a sin to smile on Sunday.[140] Even on week-days, those who were most imbued with religious principles hardly ever smiled, but sighed, groaned, and wept.[141] A true Christian would be careful in his movements to preserve invariable gravity, never running, but walking soberly, and not treading out in a brisk and lively manner, as unbelievers are wont to do.[142] So, too, if he wrote to a friend, he must beware lest his letter should contain anything like jocoseness; since jesting is incompatible with a holy and serious life.[143]

laugh, for assuredly they shall weepe, the end of their joy shall be endlesse mourning and gnashing of teeth, they shall shed tears abundantly with Esau, but shall find no place for mercy." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 271. Hutcheson, in a strain of unusual liberality, permits occasional laughter. He says, "There is a faculty of laughing given to men, which certainly is given for use, at least at some times; and diversions are sometime needfull for men who are serious and employed in weighty affairs." . . . "And particularly, laughter is sometime lawful for magistrates and others in publick charge, not only that they may recreate themselves, but that thereby, and by the like insinuating carriage, they may gain the affection of the people." *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Book of Job*, edit. folio, 1669, pp. 389, 390.

[140] In 1650, when Charles II. was in Scotland, "the clergy reprehended him very sharply, if he smiled on those days" (Sundays). *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, book xiii. p. 747, edit. Oxford, 1843.

[141] It is said of Donald Cargill, that "his very countenance was edifying to beholders; often sighing with deep groans." *A Cloud of Witnesses for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ*, p. 423. The celebrated James Durham was "a person of the utmost gravity, and scarce smiled at anything." *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 226. Of Livingston we are told "that he was a very affectionate person, and weeped much; that it was his ordinary way, and might be observed almost every Sabbath, that when he came into the pulpite he sate doun a litle, and looked first to the one end of the kirk, and then to the other; and then, ordinarly, the tear shott in his eye, and he weeped, and oftimes he began his preface and his work weeping." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. ii. p. 249. James Alexander "used to weep much in prayer and preaching; he was every way most savoury." *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 39. As to the Rev. John Carstairs, "his band in the Sabbath would have been all wett, as if it had been douked with tears, before he was done with his first prayer." p. 48. Aird, minister of Dalserf, "weeping much" (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 56), "Mr. James Stirling tells me was a most fervent, affectionat, weeping preacher." p. 172; and the Rev. Alexander Dunlop was noted for what was termed "a holy groan." vol. iii. p. 21. See also, on weeping as a mark of religion, *Wast's Memoirs*, pp. 83, 84; and *Robe's Narratives of the Extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God*, pp. 21, 31, 75, 150. One passage from the most popular of the Scotch preachers I hesitate as to the propriety of quoting; but it is essential that their ideas should be known, if the history of Scotland is to be understood. Rutherford, after stating whom it is that we should seek to imitate, adds: "Christ did never laugh on earth that we read of, but he wept." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, 1647, 4to, p. 525. I publish this with no irreverent spirit; God forbid that I should. But I will not be deterred from letting this age see the real character of a system which aimed at destroying all human happiness, exciting slavish and abject fear, and turning this glorious world into one vast theatre of woe.

[142] "Walk with a sober pace, not 'tinkling with your feet.'" *Memoirs of the Rev. James Fraser, written by Himself*, in *Select Biographies*, vol. ii. p. 280. "It is somewhat like this, or less than this, which the Lord condemneth, Isa. iii. 16, 'Walking and mincing, or tripping and making a tinkling with their feet.' What is that but disdaining the grave way of walking, to affect an art in it? as many do now in our days; and shall this be displeasing to the Lord, and not the other? seeing he loveth, and is best pleased with, the native way of carrying the body." *Durham's Law Unsealed*, p. 324. "The believer hath, or at least ought to have, and, if he be like himself, will have, a well ordered walk, and will be in his carriage stately and princely." *Durham's Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, p. 365.

[143] "At home, writing letters to a friend. My vein is inclined to jest and humour. The letter was too comical and jocose; and after I had sent it away, I had a check that.

It was moreover wrong to take pleasure in beautiful scenery; for a pious man had no concern with such matters, which were beneath him, and the admiration of which should be left to the unconverted.[144] The unregenerate might delight in these vanities, but they who were properly instructed saw Nature as she really was, and knew that as she for about five thousand years had been constantly on the move, her vigour was wellnigh spent, and her pristine energy had departed.[145] To the eye of ignorance she still seemed fair and fresh; the fact however was that she was worn out and decrepit; she was suffering from extreme old age; her frame, no longer elastic, was leaning on one side, and she soon would perish.[146] Owing to the sin of man, all things were getting worse, and nature was degenerating so fast that already the lilies were losing their whiteness, and the roses their smell.[147] The heavens were waxing old;[148] the very sun which lighted the earth was becoming feeble.[149] This universal degeneracy was sad to think of; but the profane knew it not. Their ungodly eyes were still pleased by what they saw. Such was the result of their obstinate determination to indulge the senses, all of which were evil; the eye being beyond comparison the most wicked. Hence it was especially marked out for divine punishment; and, being constantly sinning, it was afflicted with fifty-two different diseases, that is, one disease for each week in the year.[150]

it was too light, and jesting foolishly. I sent and got it back, and destroyed it. My temper goes too far that way, and I ought to check it, and be more on my guard, and study edification in everything." *Crichton's Life and Diary of Blackader*, pp. 536, 537. Even amongst young children, from eight years old and upwards, toys and games were bad: and it was a good sign when they were discarded. "Some very young, of eight and nine years of age, some twelve and thirteen. They still inclined more and more to their duty, so that they meet three times a day, in the morning, at night, and at noon. Also they have forsaken all their childish fancies and plays; so these that have been awakened are known by their countenance and conversation, their walk and behaviour." *Robe's Narratives of the Extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God*, pp. 79, 80.

144 "To the unmortified man, the world smelleth like the garden of God" . . . "the world is not to him an ill-smelled stinking corps." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, p. 498. But those who were properly mortified knew that "the earth is but a potter's house" (*Ibid.*, p. 286); "an old thred-bare-worn case" (*Ibid.*, p. 530); a "smoky house" (*Rutherford's Religious Letters*, p. 100); a "plaistered, rotten world" (*Ibid.*, p. 132); and "an ashy and dirty earth" (*Ibid.*, p. 169). "The earth also is spotted (like the face of a woman once beautifull, but now deformed with scabs of leprosie) with thistles, thornes, and much barren wildernesse." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 255.

145 "Wearinesse and motion is laid on Moon and Sunne, and all creatures on this side of the Moon. Seas ebbe and flow, and that's trouble; winds blow, rivers move, heavens and stars these five thousand yeares, except one time, have not had sixe minutes rest." . . . "The Sunne that never rests, but moves as swiftly in the night as in the day." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, pp. 12, 157. "This is the world's old age; it is declining; albeit it seem a fair and beautiful thing in the eyes of them who know no better, and unto them who are of yesterday and know nothing, it looks as if it had been created yesterday; yet the truth is, and a believer knows, it is near the grave." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 372.

146 "This then, I say, is the state all things ye see are in,—it is their old age. The creation now is an old rotten house that is all dropping through and leaning to the one side." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 398.

147 "The lilies and roses, which, no doubt, had more sweetnesse of beauty and smell, before the sin of man made them vanity-sick." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, p. 185.

148 "The heavens that are supposed to be incorruptible, yet they wax old as doth a garment." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 95.

149 "The neerer the sun drawes to the end of his daily course, the lesse is his strength, for we see the Sunne in the evening decayes in heat; so it is, the longer by reuolution he turnes about in his sphere, he waxes alway the weaker; and, to vse the similitude of the holy spirit, as a garment the older it groweth becomes the lesse beautifull." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 255.

150 "It is so delicate by nature, that since it was the first sense that offended, it is

On this account it was improper to care for beauty of any kind ; or, to speak more accurately, there was no real beauty. The world afforded nothing worth looking at, save and except the Scotch Kirk, which was incomparably the most beautiful thing under heaven.[151] To look at that was a lawful enjoyment, but every other pleasure was sinful. To write poetry, for instance, was a grievous offence, and worthy of especial condemnation.[152] To listen to music was equally wrong ; for men had no right to disport themselves in such idle recreation. Hence the clergy forbade music to be introduced even during the festivities of a marriage ;[153] neither would they permit, on any occasion, the national entertainment of pipers.[154] Indeed, it was sinful to look at any exhibition in the streets, even though you only looked at it from your own window.[155] Dancing was so extremely sinful that an edict expressly prohibiting it was enacted by the General Assembly, and read in every church in Edinburgh.[156] New Year's Eve had long been a period of rejoicing in Scotland, as in other parts of Europe. The Church laid her hands on this also, and ordered that no one should sing the songs usual on that day, or should admit such singers into his own private house.[157]

At the christening of a child the Scotch were accustomed to assemble their relations, including their distant cousins, in whom, then as now, they much

aboue all the rest made subject (as a condigne punishment) to as many maladies, as there are weekes in a yeere." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 501. The Scotch divines were extremely displeased with our eyes. Rutherford contemptuously calls them "two clay windows." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, p. 570. Gray, going still further, says, "these cursed eyes of ours." *Gray's Great and Precious Promises*, p. 53.

[151] "The true visible Kirk where God's ordinances are set up, as he hath appointed, where his word is purely preached, is the most beautifull thing under heaven." *Dickson's Explication of the First Fifty Psalms*, p. 341.

[152] I have one very late, and on that account very curious, instance of the diffusion of this feeling in Scotland. In 1767 a vacancy occurred in the mastership of the grammar-school of Greenock. It was offered to John Wilson, the author of "Clyde." But, says his biographer, "the magistrates and minister of Greenock thought fit, before they would admit Mr. Wilson to the superintendence of the grammar school, to stipulate that he should abandon 'the profane and unprofitable art of poem-making.'" *Lives of Eminent Scotsmen by the Society of Ancient Scots*, 1821, vol. v. p. 169.

[153] "Sept. 22, 1649.—The quhilk day the Sessioune caused mak this act, that ther sould be no pypers at brydels, and who ever sould have a pyper playing at their brydell on their mariage day, sall loose their consigned money, and be farder punisched as the Sessioune thinks fitt." *Extracts from the Registers of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and of the Kirk Sessions of the Parishes of Cambusnethan Humbie and Stirling*, p. 34. This curious volume is a quarto, and without date ; unless, indeed, one of the title-pages is wanting in my copy.

[154] See the Minutes of the Kirk Session of Glasgow, in *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of Ministers*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 76 ; also the case of "Mure, pyper," in *Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of Saint Andrews and Cupar*, p. 72.

[155] This notion lingered on, probably, to the beginning of this century ; certainly to late in the last. In a work published in Scotland in 1836, it is stated that a clergyman was still alive who was "severely censured," merely because, when Punch was performing, "the servant was sent out to the showman to request him to come below the windows of her master's house, that the clergyman and his wife might enjoy the sight." *Traditions of Perth by George Penny*, Perth, 1836, p. 124.

[156] "17 Feb. 1650. Ane act of the commissioun of the Generall Assemblie wes red in all the Churches of Edinburgh dischargeing promiscuous dansing." *Nicoll's Diary*, p. 3. See also *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1638–1842, p. 201 ; *Register of the Kirk Session of Cambusnethan*, p. 35 ; *Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, pp. 55, 181 ; *Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, pp. 150, 169, 175 ; and a choice passage in *A Collection of Sermons by Eminent Divines*, p. 51.

[157] See *Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, pp. 77, 78, forbidding any one to "giwe ony meatt or drink to these sangsteris or lat thame within thair houss." The singers were to be "put in prisoun."

abounded. But this caused pleasure, and pleasure was sinful. It was therefore forbidden; the number of guests was limited; and the strictest supervision was exercised by the clergy, to prevent the possibility of any one being improperly happy on such occasions.[158]

Not only at baptisms, but also at marriages, the same spirit was displayed. In every country it has been usual to make merry at marriages; partly from a natural feeling, and partly, perhaps, from a notion that a contract so often productive of misery might at all events begin with mirth. The Scotch clergy, however, thought otherwise. At the weddings of the poor they would allow no rejoicing;[159] and at the weddings of the rich it was the custom for one of them to go for the express purpose of preventing an excess of gaiety. A better precaution could hardly be devised; but they did not trust exclusively to it. To check the lusts of the flesh they furthermore took into account the cookery, the choice of the meats, and the number of the dishes. They were in fact so solicitous on these points, and so anxious that the nuptial feast should not be too attractive, that they fixed its cost, and would not allow any person to exceed the sum which they thought proper to name.[160]

Nothing escaped their vigilance. For in their opinion even the best man was at his best time so full of turpitude that his actions could not fail to be wicked.[161] He never passed a day without sinning, and the smallest sin deserved eternal wrath.[162] Indeed, everything he did was sinful, no matter how pure

[158] In 1643 the Presbytery of St. Andrews ordered that "because of the great abuse that is likewayes among them by conveening multitudes at baptismes and contracts, the ministers and sessions are appointed to take strict order for restraineing these abuses, that in number they exceid not sixe or seven. As also ordaines that the hostlers quho mak such feists salbe censured by the sessions." *Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, p. 11. See also *Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen*, pp. 109, 110, complaining of the custom "that everie base servile man in the towne, when he hes a barne to be baptesed, invitis tuelff or sextene persones to be his gossopes and godfatheris to his barne," &c.; and enacting "that it shall not be lesume to any inhabitant within this burt quhasoever, to invite any ma persones to be godfatheris to thair barne in ony tyme cumming bot tua or four at the most, lyk as the Kirk officier is expresslie commandit and prohibitt that from hence furth he tak vp no ma names to be godfatheris, nor giwe any ma vp to the redar bot four at the most, vnder all hiest censure he may incur be the contrarie, and this ordinance to be intimat out of pulpitt, that the people pretend no ignorance thairof."

[159] They forbade music and dancing; and they ordered that not more than twenty-four persons should be present. See the enactment, in 1647, respecting "Pennie bryddells," in *Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, p. 117. In 1650, "The Presbyterie being sadly weghted with the report of the continwance, and exhorbitant and unnecessarly numerous confluences of people at pennie brydles, and of inexpedient and wnlawfull pypeing and dancing at the same, so scandalous and sinfull in this tyme of our Churches lamentable conditioun; and being apprehensive that ministers and Kirk Sessiouns have not bein so vigilant and active (as neid werre), for repressing of these disorders, doe therfor most seriously recommend to ministers and Kirk Sessiouns to represse the same." *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170. See, further, *Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, p. 29; and *Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, pp. 4, 144.

[160] See two curious instances of limitation of price, in *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, p. 567; and in *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of Ministers*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 34.

[161] "What a vile, haughty, and base creature he is—how defiled and desperately wicked his nature—how abominable his actions; in a word, what a compound of darkness and wickedness he is—a heap of defiled dust, and a mass of confusion—a sink of impiety and iniquity, *even the best of mankind*, those of the rarest and most refined extraction, *take them at their best estate*." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 302. Compare *Boston's Human Nature in its Four-fold State*, pp. 26, 27.

[162] "The least sin cannot but deserve God's wrath and curse eternally." *Dickson's Truth's Victory over Error*, p. 71. "All men, even the regenerate, sin daily." *Ibid.*, p. 153.

his motives.[163] Man had been gradually falling lower and lower, and had now sunk to a point of debasement which made him inferior to the beasts that perish.[164] Even before he was born, and while he was yet in his mother's womb, his guilt began.[165] And when he grew up, his crimes multiplied thick and fast ; one of the most heinous of them being the practice of teaching children new words,—a horrible custom, justly visited by divine wrath.[166] This, however, was but one of a series of innumerable and incessant offences ; so that the only wonder was that the earth could restrain herself at the hideous spectacle which man presented, and that she did not open her mouth, as of old, and swallow him even in the midst of his wickedness.[167] For it was certain that in the whole creation there was nothing so deformed and monstrous as he.[168]

Such being the case, it behoved the clergy to come forward, and to guard men against their own vices, by controlling their daily actions, and forcing them to a right conduct. This they did vigorously. Aided by the elders, who were their tools and the creatures of their power, they, all over Scotland, organized themselves into legislative bodies, and in the midst of their little senate they enacted laws which the people were bound to obey. If they refused, woe be to them. They became unruly sons of the Church, and were liable to be imprisoned, to be fined, or to be whipped,[169] or to be branded with a hot iron,[170] or to do penance before the whole congregation, humbling themselves, barefooted, and with their hair cut on one side,[171] while the minister, under pretence

[163] " Our best works have such a mixture of corruption and sin in them, that they deserve his curse and wrath." *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[164] " But now, falling away from God, hee hath also so farre degenerated from his owne kind, that he is become inferiour to the beasts." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 251. " O ! is not man become so brutish and ignorant, that he may be sent unto the beasts of the field to be instructed of that which is his duty ? " *Gray's Spiritual Warfare*, p. 28. " Men are naturally more brutish than beasts themselves." *Boston's Human Nature in its Four-fold State*, p. 58. " Worse than the beast of the field." *Halyburton's Great Concern of Salvation*, p. 71.

[165] " Infants, even in their mother's belly, have in themselves sufficient guilt to deserve such judgments ; " *i.e.* when women with child are " ript up." *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. i. p. 255.

[166] " And in our speech, our Scripture and old Scots names are gone out of request ; instead of *Father* and *Mother*, *Mamma* and *Papa*, training children to speak nonsense, and what they do not understand. These few instances, amongst many that might be given, are additional causes of God's wrath." *The Life and Death of Mr. Alexander Peden, late Minister of the Gospel at New Glenluce, in Galloway*, in *Walker's Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i. p. 140.

[167] " Yea, if the Lord did not restraine her, shee would open her mouth and swallow the wicked, as she did Corah, Dathan, and Abiram." *Cowper's Heaven Opened*, p. 257. Compare *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. i. p. 507.

[168] " There is nothing so monstrous, so deformed in the world, as man." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 234. " There is not in all the creation such a miserable creature as man." *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 321. " Nothing so miserable." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 37.

[169] " December 17th, 1635. Mention made of a correction house, which the Session ordeans persons to be taken to, both men and women, and appoints them to be whipt every day during the Session's will." *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of Ministers*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 67.

[170] On the 22nd October, 1648, the Kirk Session of Dunfermline ordered that a certain Janet Robertson " shall be cartit and scourged through the town, and markit with an hot iron." *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline*, p. 437.

[171] " As they punish by pecuniary fines, so corporally too, by imprisoning the persons of the delinquents, using them disgracefully, carting them through cities, making them stand in Iogges, as they call them, pillaries (which in the country churches are fixed to the two sides of the main door of the Parish Church), cutting the halfe of their hair, shaving their beards, &c., and it is more than ordinary, by their ' original ' and ' proper power,' to banish them out of the bounds and limits of the parish, or presbytery, as they list to order it." *Presbytery Displayd*, p. 4.

of rebuking them, enjoyed his triumph.[172] All this was natural enough. For the clergy were the delegates of heaven, and the interpreters of its will. They, therefore, were the best judges of what men ought to do ; and any one whom they censured was bound to submit with humility and repentance.[173]

The arbitrary and irresponsible tribunals which now sprung up all over Scotland united the executive authority with the legislative, and exercised both functions at the same time. Declaring that certain acts ought not to be committed, they took the law into their own hands, and punished those who had committed them. According to the principles of this new jurisprudence, of which the clergy were the authors, it became a sin for any Scotchman to travel in a Catholic country.[174] It was a sin for any Scotch innkeeper to admit a Catholic into his inn.[175] It was a sin for any Scotch town to hold a market either on Saturday or on Monday, because both days were near Sunday.[176] It was a sin for a Scotch woman to wait at a tavern ; [177] it was a sin for her to live alone ; [178] it was also a sin for her to live with unmarried sisters.[179] It was a

[172] The Scotch clergy of the seventeenth century were not much given to joking but on one of these occasions a preacher is said to have hazarded a pun. A woman, named Ann Cantly, being made to do penance, "Here" (said the minister), "Here is one upon the stool of repentance, they call her *Cantly* ; she saith herself, she is an honest woman, but I trow *scantly*." *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, p. 125. From what I have read of Scotch theology, I can bear testimony to the accuracy of this book, so far as its general character is concerned. Indeed, the author, through fear of being entirely discredited, has often rather understated his case.

[173] As Durham says, in his *Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, p. 451, "It is no burden to an honest believer to acknowledge Christ's ministers, to obey their doctrine, and submit to their censures."

[174] A man named Alexander Laurie was brought before the Kirk Session of Perth, "and being inquired by the minister if, in his last being out of this country, he had been in Spain, answered that he was in Portugal, but was never present at mass, neither gave reverence to any procession, and that he was never demanded by any concerning his religion. The said Alexander being removed and censured, it was thought good by the (Kirk) Session that he should be admonished not to travel in these parts again, except that they were otherwise reformed in religion." *Extracts from the Kirk-Session Register of Perth*, in *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 274. Still earlier, that is in 1592, the clergy attempted to interfere even with commerce, "allegeing that the marchands could not mak vayage in Spayne without danger of thair sawlis, and tharefore willit thayme in the nayme of God to absteyne." *The Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 254.

[175] See the case of Patrick Stewart, and Mr. Lawson's note upon it, in *Lawson's Book of Perth*, p. 238. In this instance, the "Roman Catholic gentleman" had been excommunicated, which made matters still worse.

[176] The Presbytery of Edinburgh, "by their transcendent sole authority, discharged any market to be kept on Monday ; the reason was, because it occasioned the travelling of men and horse the Lord's-day before, which prophaned the Sabbath." *Presbytery Displayd*, p. 10. In 1650 Saturday was also taken in by another ecclesiastical senate. "The Presbyterie doe appoint the severall brethren in burghes to deale with such as have not changed ther Mondayes and Satterdayes mercats to other dayes of the weeke, that they may doe the same *primo quoque tempore*." *Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, p. 53.

[177] In 1650, "For 'the down-bearing of sin,' women were not allowed to act as waiters in taverns, but 'allenarly men-servands and boys.'" *Chambers' Annals*, vol. ii. p. 196. This order "wes red and publictlie intimat in all the kirkis of Edinburgh." *Nicoll's Diary*, p. 5.

[178] "Forsameikle as dilatation being made, that Janet Watson holds an house by herself, where *she may give occasion of slander*, therefore Patrick Pitcairn, elder, is ordained to admonish her in the session's name, either to marry, or then pass to service, otherwise that she will not be suffered to dwell by herself." *Kirk-Session Records of Perth*, in *The Chronicle of Perth*, p. 86.

[179] "Ordains the two sisters, Elspith and Janet Stewart, that they be not found in

sin to go from one town to another on Sunday, however pressing the business might be.[180] It was a sin to visit your friend on Sunday ;[181] it was likewise sinful either to have your garden watered[182] or your beard shaved.[183] Such things were not to be tolerated in a Christian land. No one, on Sunday, should pay attention to his health, or think of his body at all. On that day, horse-exercise was sinful ;[184] so was walking in the fields, or in the meadows, or in the streets, or enjoying the fine weather by sitting at the door of your own house.[185] To go to sleep on Sunday, before the duties of the day were over, was also sinful, and deserved church censure.[186] Bathing, being pleasant as well as wholesome, was a particularly grievous offence ; and no man could be allowed to swim on Sunday.[187] It was in fact doubtful whether swimming

the house again with their sister, but every one of them shall go to service, or where they may be best entertained without slander, under the penalty of warding their persons and banishment of the town." *Kirk-Session Register*, in *Lawson's Book of Perth*, p. 169.

180 " Compeirit William Kinneir, and confest his travelling on the Sabbath day, which he declairit was out of meer necessitie, haveing two watters to croce, and ane tempestuos day, quhilk moowit him to fear that he wold not get the watters crost, and so his credit might faill. He was sharpelie admonished ; and promist newer to doe the lyke again." *Selections from the Records of the Kirk-Session of Aberdeen*, p 136.

181 " Compearit Thomas Gray, and confest that one Sunday in the morning he went to Culter to visit a friend, and stayed thair all night. The sessioune warnit him, *apud acta*, to the next day, and appointed Patrick Gray, his master, to be cited to the next day, to give furder informatioune in the matter. (Sharply rebuked before the pulpit.) " *Selections from the Records of the Kirk-Session of Aberdeen*, p. 146.

182 " It was reported that Margaret Brotherstone did water her kaill wpon the Sabbath day, and thairwpon was ordained to be cited." . . . " Compeired Margaret Brotherstone, and confessed her breach of Sabbath in watering of her kaill, and thairwpon ordained to give evidence in publick of her repentance the next Lord's day." *Extracts from the Register of the Kirk-Session of Humbie*, p. 42.

183 Even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, " clergymen were sometimes libelled " . . . " for shaving " on Sunday. *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvi. p. 34, Edinburgh, 1795. At an earlier period, no one might be shaved on that day. See *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 276 ; and *Lawson's Book of Perth*, pp. 224, 225.

184 " Compeired John Gordon of Avachie, and confessed that he had transgressed in travailing on the Sabbath day with horse, going for a milston. Referred to the session of Kinor for censure." *Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, p. 236. See also the case mentioned in *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 172 ; " This riding on horseback of a Sunday was deemed a great scandal."

185 In 1647 the punishment was ordered of whoever was guilty of " sitting or walking idle upon the streetes and feildes " on Sunday. *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife*, p. 152. In 1742 " sitting idle at their doors " and " sitting about doors " was profane. *Robe's Narratives of the Extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God*, pp. 109, 110. In 1756, at Perth, " to stroll about the fields, or even to walk upon the inches, was looked upon as extremely sinful, and an intolerable violation of the fourth commandment." *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, p. 36.

186 In 1656, " Cite Issobell Balfort, servand to William Gordone, tailyeor, beeing found sleeping at the Loche side on the Lord's day in tyme of sermon." *Selections from the Records of the Kirk-Session of Aberdeen*, p. 137. It was a sin even for children to feel tired of the interminable sermons which they were forced to hear. Halyburton, addressing the young people of his congregation, says, " Have not you been glad when the Lord's day was over ; or, at least, *when the preaching was done*, that ye might get your liberty ? Has it not been a burden to you, to sit so long in the church ? Well, *this is a great sin*." See this noticeable passage in *Halyburton's Great Concern of Salvation*, p. 100.

187 In 1719 the Presbytery of Edinburgh indignantly declares, " Yea, some have arrived at that height of impiety, as not to be ashamed of washing in waters and swimming in rivers upon the holy Sabbath." *Register of Presbytery of Edinburgh, 29th April, 1719*, in *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, p. 204.

was lawful for a Christian at any time, even on week-days, and it was certain that God had on one occasion shown His disapproval by taking away the life of a boy while he was indulging in that carnal practice.[188]

That it was a sin to cleanse one's body might indeed have been taken for granted; seeing that the Scotch clergy looked on all comforts as sinful in themselves, merely because they were comforts.[189] The great object of life was to be in a state of constant affliction.[190] Whatever pleased the senses was to be suspected.[191] A Christian must beware of enjoying his dinner; for none but the ungodly relished their food.[192] By a parity of reasoning, it was wrong for a man to wish to advance himself in life, or in any way to better his condition.[193] Either to make money or to save it was unsuited to Christians; and even to possess much of it was objectionable, because it not only ministered to human pleasures but encouraged those habits of foresight and of provision for the future which are incompatible with complete resignation to the Divine will. To wish for more than was necessary to keep oneself alive was a sin as well as a folly, and was a violation of the subjection we owe to God.[194] That

[188] So late as 1691, the Kirk-Session of Glasgow attempted to prevent all boys from swimming, whatever the day might be. But as the Church was then on the decline, it was necessary to appeal to the civil authority for help. What the result was I have not been able to ascertain. There is however a curious notice in *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of Ministers*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 77, stating that on "August 6th, 1691, the Session recommends it to the magistrates to think on some overtures for discharging boyes from swimming, in regard one was lately lost." I have met with other evidence respecting this; but I cannot remember the passages.

[189] The Rev. James Fraser says, "The world is a dangerous thing and a great evil, and the comforts of it a hell." *Select Biographies*, vol. ii. p. 220. Compare *Gray's Spiritual Warfare*, p. 22.

[190] "It is good to be continually afflicted here." *Select Biographies*, vol. ii. p. 220. Gray, advocating the same doctrine, sums up his remarks by a suggestion, that, "I think David had never so sweet a time as then, when he was pursued as a partridge by his son Absalom." *Gray's Great and Precious Promises*, p. 14.

[191] "Suspect that which pleaseth the senses." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 63.

[192] Durham, in his long catalogue of sins, mentions as one, "the preparing of meat studiously, that is, when it is too riotously dressed, for pleasing men's carnal appetite and taste, or palate, by the fineness of it, and other curiosities of that kind." *Durham's Law Unsealed*, p. 333. See also p. 48, on "palate-pleasers;" and Dickson's opinion of the "rarest dishes and best meats." *Dickson's Explication of the Psalms*, p. 84. According to another of the Scotch divines, whoever makes one good meal and has enough left for a second, is in imminent peril. "He that is full, and hath enough to make him fuller, will easily deny God, and be exalted against him: his table shall be a snare to his body, and a snare to his soule." *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 421.

[193] For, says Abernethy (*Physicke for the Soule*, p. 488), "men are loth to lend their eare to the Word, when they abound in prosperity." So, too, Hutcheson, in his *Exposition of the Book of Job*, p. 387: "Such is the weakness even of godly men, that they can hardly live in a prosperous condition, and not be overtaken with some security, carnal confidence, or other miscarriage."

[194] See this theory worked out in *Cockburn's Jacob's Vow, or Man's Felicity and Duty*, pp. 71–75. He says, "And certainly to crave and be desirous of more than what is competent for the maintenance and support of our lives, is both inconsistent with that dependence and subjection we owe to God, and doth also bespeak a great deal of vanity, folly, and inconsiderateness." Boston, striking at the very foundation of that practice of providing for the future which is the first and most important maxim in all civil wisdom, and which peculiarly distinguishes civilized nations from barbarians, asks his hearers, "Why should men rack their heads with cares how to provide for to-morrow, while they know not if they shall then need anything?" *Boston's Human Nature in its Four-fold State*, p. 300. Hutcheson thinks that those who are guilty of such impious prudence deserve to be starved. "When men are not content with food and rayment,

it was contrary to His desire was moreover evident from the fact that He bestowed wealth liberally upon misers and covetous men ; a remarkable circumstance, which, in the opinion of Scotch divines, proved that He was no lover of riches, otherwise He would not give them to such base and sordid persons.[195]

To be poor, dirty, and hungry, to pass through life in misery, and to leave it with fear, to be plagued with boils, and sores, and diseases of every kind, to be always sighing and groaning, to have the face streaming with tears and the chest heaving with sobs, in a word, to suffer constant affliction, and to be tormented in all possible ways ; to undergo these things was deemed a proof of goodness, just as the contrary was a proof of evil. It mattered not what a man liked ; the mere fact of his liking it made it sinful. Whatever was natural was wrong. The clergy deprived the people of their holidays, their amusements, their shows, their games, and their sports ; they repressed every appearance of joy, they forbade all merriment, they stopped all festivities, they choked up every avenue by which pleasure could enter, and they spread over the country an universal gloom.[196] Then, truly, did darkness sit on the land. Men in their daily actions and in their very looks became troubled, melancholy, and ascetic. Their countenance soured, and was downcast. Not only their opinions, but their gait, their demeanour, their voice, their general aspect, were influenced by that deadly blight which nipped all that was genial and warm. The way of life fell into the sear and yellow leaf ; its tints gradually deepened ; its bloom faded, and passed off ; its spring, its freshness, and its beauty were gone ; joy and love either disappeared or were forced to hide themselves in obscure corners, until at length the fairest and most endearing parts of our nature, being constantly repressed, ceased to bear fruit, and seemed to be withered into perpetual sterility.

Thus it was that the national character of the Scotch was in the seventeenth century dwarfed and mutilated. With nations, as with individuals, the harmony and free development of life can only be attained by exercising its principal functions boldly and without fear. Those functions are of two kinds ; one set of them increasing the happiness of the mind, another set increasing the happiness of the body. If we could suppose a man completely perfect, we should take for granted that he would unite these two forms of pleasure in the highest degree, and would extract, both from body and mind, every enjoyment consistent with his own happiness and with the happiness of others. But

but would still heap up more, it is just with God to leave them not so much as bread and to suffer men to have an evil eye upon them, and to pluck at them, even so long as they have meat." *Hutcheson's Exposition of the Book of Job*, p. 296. Binning, going still further, threatens eternal ruin. "Ye may have things necessary here—food and raiment ; and if ye seek more, if ye will be rich, and will have superfluities, then ye shall fall into many temptations, snares, and hurtful lusts which shall drown you in perdition." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 355.

[195] "If God loved riches well, do ye think he would give them so liberally, and heap them up upon some base covetous wretches ? Surely no." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. iii. p. 366. Gray, in his zeal against wealth, propounds another doctrine, which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. He says, "All that the owner of riches hath is the seeing of them ; which a man, who is a passer by, may likeways have, though he be not possessor of them." *Gray's Spiritual Warfare*, p. 128. I hope that the reader will not suspect me of having maliciously invented any of these passages. The books from which they are quoted are, with only two or three exceptions, all in my library, and may be examined by persons who are curious in such matters.

[196] "The absence of external appearances of joy in Scotland, in contrast with the frequent holidayings and merry-makings of the continent, has been much remarked upon. We find in the records of ecclesiastical discipline clear traces of the process by which this distinction was brought about. To the puritan kirk of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, every outward demonstration of natural good spirits was a sort of sin, to be as far as possible repressed." . . . "The whole sunshine of life was, as it were, squeezed out of the community." *Chambers' Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 336, vol. ii. p. 156.

as no such character is to be found, it invariably occurs that even the wisest of us are unable to hold the balance; we therefore err, some in over-indulging the body, some in over-indulging the mind. Comparing one set of indulgences with the other, there can be no doubt that the intellectual pleasures are in many respects superior to the physical; they are more numerous, more varied, more permanent, and more ennobling; they are less liable to cause satiety in the individual, and they produce more good to the species. But for one person who can enjoy intellectual pleasures there are at least a hundred who can enjoy physical pleasures. The happiness derived from gratifying the senses being thus diffused over a wider area, and satisfying at any given moment a greater number of persons than the other form of happiness is capable of, does on that account possess an importance which many who call themselves philosophers are unwilling to recognize. Too often have philosophic and speculative thinkers, by a foolish denunciation of such pleasures, done all in their power to curtail the quantity of happiness of which humanity is susceptible. Forgetting that we have bodies as well as minds, and forgetting, too, that in an immense majority of instances the body is more active than the mind, that it is more powerful, that it plays a more conspicuous part, and is fitted for greater achievements, such writers commit the enormous error of despising that class of actions to which ninety-nine men out of every hundred are most prone, and for which they are best fitted. And for committing this error they pay the penalty of finding their books unread, their systems disregarded, and their scheme of life adopted, perhaps, by a small class of solitary students, but shut out from that great world of reality, for which it is unsuited, and in which it would produce the most serious mischief.

If, then, we review the history of opinion in connexion with the history of action, we may probably say that the ascetic notions of philosophers, such, for instance, as the doctrines of the Stoics, and similar theories of mortification, have not worked the harm which might have been expected, and have not succeeded in abridging to any perceptible extent the substantial happiness of mankind. There are, I apprehend, two reasons why they have failed. In the first place, these philosophers have with hardly an exception had little real acquaintance with human nature, and have therefore been unable to touch those chords, and appeal to those hidden motives, by influencing which one man gains over another to his side. And in the second place, they, fortunately for us, have never possessed authority, and have therefore been unable either to enforce their doctrine by penalties, or to recommend it by rewards.

But though philosophers have failed in their effort to lessen the pleasures of mankind, there is another body of men who, in making the same attempt, have met with far greater success. I mean, of course, the theologians, who, considered as a class, have in every country and in every age deliberately opposed themselves to gratifications which are essential to the happiness of an overwhelming majority of the human race. Raising up a God of their own creation, whom they hold out as a lover of penance, of sacrifice, and of mortification, they under this pretence forbid enjoyments which are not only innocent but praiseworthy. For every enjoyment by which no one is injured, is innocent; and every innocent enjoyment is praiseworthy, because it assists in diffusing that spirit of content and of satisfaction which is favourable to the practice of benevolence towards others. The theologians, however, for reasons which I have already stated, cultivate an opposite spirit, and, whenever they have possessed power they have always prohibited a large number of pleasurable actions, on the ground that such actions are offensive to the Deity. That they have no warrant for this, and that they are simply indulging in peremptory assertions on subjects respecting which we have no trustworthy information, is well known to those who, impartially, and without preconceived bias, have studied their arguments, and the evidence which they adduce. On this, however, I need not dilate; for inasmuch as men are, almost every year, and certainly every generation, becoming more accustomed to close and accurate reasoning, just in the same proportion is the conviction spreading that theologians proceed from arbitrary assumptions, for which they have no proof, except by appealing to

other assumptions, equally arbitrary and equally unproven. Their whole system reposes upon fear, and upon fear of the worst kind ; since, according to them, the Great Author of our being has used His omnipotence in so cruel a manner as to endow His creatures with tastes, instincts, and desires, which He not only forbids them to gratify, but which, if they do gratify, shall bring on themselves eternal punishment.

What the theologians are to the closet, that are the priests to the pulpit. The theologians work upon the studious, who read ; the clergy act upon the idle, who listen. Seeing, however, that the same man often performs both offices, and seeing too that the spirit and tendency of each office are the same, we may for practical purposes consider the two classes as identical ; and, putting them together, and treating them as a whole, it must be admitted by whoever will take a comprehensive view of what they have actually done, that they have been not only the most bitter foes of human happiness, but also the most successful ones. In their high and palmy days, when they reigned supreme, when credulity was universal and doubt unknown, they afflicted mankind in every possible way ; enjoining fasts, and penances, and pilgrimages, teaching their simple and ignorant victims every kind of austerity, teaching them to flog their own bodies, to tear their own flesh, and to mortify the most natural of their appetites. This was the state of Europe in the Middle Ages. It is still the state of every part of the world where the priesthood are uncontrolled. Such ascetic and self-tormenting observances are the inevitable issue of the theological spirit, if that spirit is unchecked. Now, and owing to the rapid march of our knowledge, it is constantly losing ground, because the scientific and secular spirit is encroaching on its domain. Therefore in our time, and especially in our country, its most repulsive features are disguised, and it is forced to mask its native ugliness. Among our clergy, a habit of grave and decent compromise has taken the place of that bold and fiery war which their predecessors waged against a sensual and benighted world. Their threats have perceptibly diminished. They now allow us a little pleasure, a little luxury, a little happiness. They no longer tell us to mortify every appetite, and to forego every comfort. The language of power has departed from them. Here and there we find vestiges of the ancient spirit ; but this is only among uneducated men, addressing an ignorant audience. The superior clergy, who have a character to lose, are grown cautious ; and whatever their private opinion may be, they rarely venture on those terrific denunciations with which their pulpits once resounded, and which in times of yore made the people shrink with fear, and humbled every one except him by whom the denunciation was uttered.

Still, though much of this has vanished, enough remains to show what the theological spirit is, and to justify a belief that nothing but the pressure of public opinion prevents it from breaking out into its former extravagance. Many of the clergy persist in attacking the pleasures of the world, forgetting that not only the world, but all which the world contains, is the work of the Almighty, and that the instincts and desires which they stigmatize as unholy are part of His gifts to man. They have yet to learn that our appetities, being as much a portion of ourselves as any other quality we possess, ought to be indulged, otherwise the whole individual is not developed. If a man suppresses part of himself, he becomes maimed and shorn. The proper limit to self-indulgence is that he shall neither hurt himself nor hurt others. Short of this, everything is lawful. It is more than lawful ; it is necessary. He who abstains from safe and moderate gratification of the senses lets some of his essential faculties fall into abeyance, and must on that account be deemed imperfect and unfinished. Such an one is incomplete ; he is crippled ; he has never reached his full stature. He may be a monk ; he may be a saint ; but a man he is not. And now, more than ever, do we want true and genuine men. No previous age has had so much work to do, and to accomplish that work we need robust and vigorous natures, whose every function has been freely exercised without let or hindrance.* Never before was the practice of life so arduous ; never were the

[* Buckle here somewhat overshoots his own mark. The very principle of harming

problems presented to the human mind so numerous, or so complicated. Every addition to our knowledge, every fresh idea, opens up new difficulties, and gives birth to new combinations. Under this accumulated pressure we shall assuredly sink, if we imitate the credulity of our forefathers, who allowed their energies to be cramped and weakened by those pernicious notions which the clergy, partly from ignorance, and partly from interest, have in every age palmed on the people, and have thereby diminished the national happiness, and retarded the march of national prosperity.

In the same way, we constantly hear of the evils of wealth, and of the sinfulness of loving money; although it is certain that, after the love of knowledge, there is no one passion which has done so much good to mankind as the love of money. It is to the love of money that we owe all trade and commerce; in other words, the possession of every comfort and luxury which our own country is unable to supply. Trade and commerce have made us familiar with the productions of many lands, have awakened curiosity, have widened our ideas by bringing us in contact with nations of various manners, speech, and thought, have supplied an outlet for energies which would otherwise have been pent up and wasted, have accustomed men to habits of enterprise, forethought and calculation, have moreover communicated to us many arts of great utility, and have put us in possession of some of the most valuable remedies with which we are acquainted, either to save life or to lessen pain. These things we owe to the love of money. If theologians could succeed in their desire to destroy that love, all these things would cease, and we should relapse into comparative barbarism. The love of money, like all our appetites, is liable to abuse; but to declaim against it as evil in itself, and above all to represent it as a feeling the indulgence of which provokes the wrath of God, is to betray an ignorance natural, perhaps, in former ages, but shameful in our time, particularly when it proceeds from men who give themselves out as public teachers, and profess that it is their mission to enlighten the world.

Injurious, however, as all this is to the best interests of society, it is nothing in comparison with the doctrines formerly advocated by the Scotch divines. What their ideas were I have shown from their own sermons, the reading of which has been the most painful literary task I ever undertook, since, in addition to the narrowness and the dogmatism which even the best of such compositions contain, there is in these productions a hardness of heart, an austerity of temper, a want of sympathy with human happiness, and a hatred of human nature, such as have rarely been exhibited in any age, and, I rejoice to think, have never been exhibited in any other Protestant country. These things I have resuscitated from the oblivion in which they had long been buried, partly because it was necessary to do so in order to understand the history of the Scotch mind, and partly because I desired to show what the tendency of theologians is, when that tendency is uncontrolled. Protestants, generally, are too apt to suppose that there is something in their creed which protects them against those hurtful extravagances which have been and to a certain extent still are practised in the Catholic Church. Never was a greater mistake. There is but one protection against the tyranny of any class; and that is, to give that class very little power. Whatever the pretensions of any body of men may be, however smooth their language, and however plausible their claims, they are sure to abuse power, if much of it is conferred on them. The entire history of the world affords no instance to the contrary. In Catholic countries, France alone excepted, the clergy have more authority than in Protestant countries. Therefore in Catholic countries they do more harm than in Protestant countries, and their peculiar views are developed with greater freedom. The difference depends not on the nature of the creed, but on the power of the class. This is very apparent in Scotland, where the clergy, being supreme, did, Protestants though they were, imitate the ascetic, the unsocial, and the cruel doctrines which in the Catholic

neither ourselves nor others is a "let or hindrance." Of course he had in mind superstitious and supererogatory hindrances.—Ed.]

Church gave rise to convents, fastings, scourgings, and all the other appliances of an uncouth and ungenial superstition.

Indeed the Scotch divines, in some of their theories, went beyond any section of the Catholic Church, except the Spanish. They sought to destroy not only human pleasures, but also human affections. They held that our affections are necessarily connected with our lusts, and that we must therefore wean ourselves from them as earthly vanities.[197] A Christian had no business with love or sympathy. He had his own soul to attend to, and that was enough for him. Let him look to himself. On Sunday, in particular, he must never think of benefiting others; and the Scotch clergy did not hesitate to teach the people that on that day it was sinful to save a vessel in distress, and that it was a proof of religion to leave ship and crew to perish.[198] They might go; none but their wives and children would suffer, and that was nothing in comparison with breaking the Sabbath. So, too, did the clergy teach that on no occasion must food or shelter be given to a starving man, unless his opinions were orthodox.[199] What need for him to live? Indeed they taught that it was a sin to tolerate his notions at all, and that the proper course was to visit him with sharp and immediate punishment.[200] Going yet further, they broke the domestic ties, and set parents against their offspring. They taught the father to smite the unbelieving child, and to slay his own boy sooner than allow him to propagate error.[201] As if this were not enough, they tried to extirpate another affection

[197] "A Christian should mortifie his affections, which are his predominant lusts, to which our affections are so much joined, and our soul doth so much go out after." *Gray's Spiritual Warfare*, p. 29. "That blessed work of weaning of affections from all things that are here." *Gray's Great and Precious Promises*, p. 86.

[198] "One of our more northern ministers, whose parish lies along the coast between Spey and Findorn, made some fishermen do penance for sabbath-breaking, in going out to sea, though purely with endeavour to save a vessel in distress by a storm." *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 173.

[199] "The master of a family may, and ought to, deny an act of humanity or hospitality to strangers that are false teachers." *Rutherford's Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, p. 176. "The Holy Ghost forbiddeth the master of every Christian family to owne a hereticke as a guest." *Ibid.*, p. 219. See also p. 235.

[200] "We hold that tolleration of all religions is not farre from blasphemy." *Rutherford's Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*, p. 20. "If wolves be permitted to teach what is right in their own erroneous conscience, and there be no 'Magistrate to put them to shame,' Judg. xviii. 7, and no King to punish them, then godlinesse and all that concernes the first Table of the Law must be marred." *Ibid.*, p. 230. "Wilde and atheisticall liberty of conscience." p. 337. "Cursed toleration." p. 400. See also, in the same work (pp. 110, 244), Rutherford's remarks on the murder of Servetus. In 1645 Baillie, who was then in London, writes, "The Independents here plead for a tolleration both for themselfes and other sects. My Dissuasive is come in time to doe service here. We hope God will assist us to remonstrate the wickedness of such an tolleration." And on account of the Independents wishing to show common charity towards persons who differed in opinions from themselves, Baillie writes next year (1646), "The Independents has the least zeale to the truth of God of any men we know." *Baillie's Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. pp. 328, 361. Blair, who was in London in 1649, was sorely vexed with "the most illegal, irreligious, and wicked proceedings and actings of the sectarian army;" one of their crimes being the attempt "to ruin religion by their toleration." *Continuation of the Autobiography of Mr. Robert Blair, Minister of St. Andrews*, p. 213. For other evidence of this persecuting spirit, see *Dickson's Truth's Victory over Error*, pp. 159, 163, 199–202; *Abernethy's Physicke for the Soule*, p. 215; *Durham's Exposition of the Song of Solomon*, p. 147; *Durham's Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation*, pp. 141, 143, 330; and *Shields' Hind Let Loose*, p. 168.

[201] "A third benefit (which is a branch of the former), is zeal in the godly against false teachers, who shall be so tender of the truth and glory of God, and the safety of the Church (all which are endangered by error), that it shall overcome natural affection in them; so that parents shall not *spare their own children*, being seducers, but shall

even more sacred and more devoted still. They laid their rude and merciless hands on the holiest passion of which our nature is capable, the love of a mother for her son. Into that sanctuary they dared to intrude; into that they thrust their gaunt and ungentle forms. If a mother held opinions of which they disapproved, they did not scruple to invade her household, take away her children, and forbid her to hold communication with them.[202] Or if, perchance, her son had incurred their displeasure, they were not satisfied with forcible separation, but they laboured to corrupt her heart, and harden it against her child, so that she might be privy to the act. In one of these cases, mentioned in the records of the church of Glasgow, the Kirk-Session of that town summoned before them a woman, merely because she had received into her house her own son, after the clergy had excommunicated him. So effectually did they work upon her mind that they induced her to promise not only that she would shut her door against her child, but that she would aid in bringing him to punishment. She had sinned in loving him; she had sinned even in giving him shelter; but, says the record, "she promised not to do it again, and to tell the magistrates when he comes next to her." [203]

She promised not to do it again. She promised to forget him whom she had borne of her womb and suckled at her breast. She promised to forget her boy who had ofttimes crept to her knees, who had slept in her bosom, and whose tender frame she had watched over and nursed. All the dearest associations of the past, all that the most exquisite form of human affection can give or receive, all that delights the memory, all that brightens the prospect of life, all vanished, all passed away from the mind of this poor woman, at the bidding of her spiritual masters. At one fell swoop all were gone. So potent were the arts of these men, that they persuaded the mother to conspire against her son, that she might deliver him up to them. They defiled her nature by purging it of its love. From that day her soul was polluted. She was lost to herself, as well as lost to her son. To hear of such things is enough to make one's blood surge again, and raise a tempest in our inmost nature. But to have seen them, to have lived in the midst of them, and yet not to have rebelled against them, is to us utterly inconceivable, and proves * in how complete a thraldom the Scotch were held, and how thoroughly their minds as well as their bodies were enslaved.

What more need I say? What further evidence need I bring to elucidate the real character of one of the most detestable tyrannies ever seen on the earth? When the Scotch Kirk was at the height of its power, we may search history in vain for any institution which can compete with it, except the Spanish Inquisition. Between these two there is a close and intimate analogy. Both were intolerant, both were cruel, both made war upon the finest parts of human nature, and both destroyed every vestige of religious freedom. One difference however there was, of vast importance. In political matters, the Church, which was servile in Spain, was rebellious in Scotland. Hence, the Scotch always had one direction in which they could speak and act with unrestrained liberty.† In politics

either by an heroick act (such as was in Phinehas, Numb. xxv. 8), *themselves judge him worthy to die, and give sentence and execute it*, or cause him to be punished, by bringing him to the Magistrate," &c. . . . "The toleration of a false religion in doctrine or worship, and the exemption of the erroneous from civil punishment, is no more lawful under the New Testament than it was under the Old." *An Exposition of the Prophecie of Zechariah*, in *Hutcheson's Exposition on the Minor Prophets*, vol. iii. p. 203, 8vo, 1654.

[202] *Selections from the Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, pp. x. 33, 56, 63, 65, 73.

[203] I copy the exact words from *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of Ministers of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 71. An order had been previously obtained from the government, "requiring the magistrates to expell furth of the Toun all excommunicated persons."

[* Hiatus in the text. Read "and their toleration of such things proves."—Ed.]

[† This is not the complete account of the case. English books could circulate in Scotland. Thus there was always some little nourishment for the intellectual life of the better minds.—Ed.]

they found their vent. There the mind was free. And this was their salvation. This saved them from the fate of Spain, by securing to them the exercise of those faculties which otherwise would have lain dormant, if indeed they had not been entirely destroyed by that long and enfeebling servitude in which their clergy retained them, and from which, but for this favourable circumstance, no escape would have been open.

CHAPTER VI

An Examination of the Scotch Intellect during the Eighteenth Century

To complete the history and analysis of the Scotch mind I have now to examine the peculiar intellectual movement which appeared in the eighteenth century, and which for several reasons deserves careful attention. It was essentially a reaction against that theological spirit which predominated during the seventeenth century. Such a reaction would hardly have been possible except for the fact which I have already noticed, namely, that the political activity which produced the rebellion against the Stuarts saved the Scotch mind from stagnating, and prevented that deep slumber into which the progress of superstition would naturally have thrown it. The long and stubborn conflict with a despotic government kept alive a certain alertness and vigour of understanding, which survived the struggle that gave it birth. When the contest was ended, and peace was restored, the faculties which for three generations had been exercised in resisting the executive authority, sought other employment, and found another field in which they could disport themselves. Hence it was that the boldness which in the seventeenth century was practical, became in the eighteenth century speculative, and produced a literature which attempted to unsettle former opinions, and to disturb the ancient landmarks of the human mind. The movement was revolutionary, and bore the same relation to ecclesiastical tyranny which the previous movement had borne to political tyranny. But this new rebellion had one striking characteristic. In nearly every other country, when the intellect has fairly arrayed itself against the exclusive pretensions of the Church, it has happened that the secular philosophy which has been engendered has been an inductive philosophy, taking for its basis individual and specific experience, and seeking by that means to overthrow the general and traditional notions on which all church power is founded. The plan has been to refuse to accept principles which could not be substantiated by facts ; while the opposite and theological plan is to force the facts to yield to the principles. In the former case, experience precedes theory ; in the latter case, theory precedes experience, and controls it. In theology certain principles are taken for granted ; and it being deemed impious to question them, all that remains for us is to reason from them downwards. This is the deductive method. On the other hand, the inductive method will concede nothing, but insists upon reasoning upwards,* and demands that we shall have the liberty of ascertaining the principles for ourselves. In a complete scheme of our knowledge, and when all our resources are fully developed and marshalled into order, as they must eventually be, the two methods will be, not hostile, but supplementary, and will be combined into

[* In this and subsequent passages Buckle assumes that there is a clear and undisputed antithesis between "induction" and "deduction," though in the closing chapter he admits that probably "all deduction is preceded by induction." Beyond this, however, there is the difficulty that the term Induction is used in several senses, even Mill so extending it as to make it trench on deduction. See *Cairnes' Character and Logical Method of Political Economy*, ed. 1875, pp. 60–62. For the strict definition of induction see Bain, *Logic*, Pt. II. *Induction*, ch. i. Compare also Buckle's own remarks in his essay on *Mill on Liberty* (*Misc. Works*, abridged ed. i. 95 seq.).—Ed.]

a single system. At present, however, we are very far from such a result ; * and not only is every mind more prone to one method than to another, but we find, historically, that different ages and different countries have been characterized by the extent to which one of these two schemes has predominated ; and we also find that a study of this antagonism is the surest way of understanding the intellectual condition of any period.

That the inductive philosophy is even more marked by its secular tendencies than by its scientific ones, will be evident to whoever observes the epochs in which it has been most active, and has possessed most adherents. Of this the history of the French mind in the eighteenth century affords a good instance, where, after the death of Louis XIV., we may clearly trace the connexion between the growth of the inductive method and the subsequent overthrow of the Gallican church. In England, too, the rise of the Baconian philosophy, with its determination to subordinate ancient principles to modern experience, was the heaviest blow which has ever been inflicted on the theologians, whose method is to begin not with experience but with principles which are said to be inscrutable, and which we are bound to believe without further difficulty. And I need hardly remind the reader that scarcely was that philosophy established among us, when it produced those bold inquiries which quickly ended in the downfall of the English Church under Charles I.† From that terrible defeat our clergy did for a time partly rally ; but as their apparent success in the reign of Charles II. was owing to political changes, and not to social ones, they were unable to recover their hold over society, and, unless the nation should retrograde, there is no possibility that they ever should recover it. Over the inferior order of minds they still wield great influence ; but the Baconian philosophy, by bringing their favourite method into disrepute, has sapped the very base of their system. From the moment that their mode of investigation was discredited, the secret of their power was gone. From the moment that men began to insist on inquiring into the validity of first principles, instead of accepting them without inquiry and humbly submitting to them as matters of faith and of necessary belief ; from that moment, the theologians, driven from one post to another, and constantly receding before the pressure of advancing knowledge, have been forced to abandon entrenchment after entrenchment, until what they have retained of their former territory is hardly worth the struggle. As a last resource, they at the close of the eighteenth century determined to use the weapons of their opponents ; and Paley and his successors, enlarging the scheme which Ray and Derham had feebly sketched, endeavoured by a skilful employment of the inductive method to compensate their party for the failure of the deductive one. But their project, though ably conceived, has come to naught. It is now generally admitted that nothing can be made of it, and that it is impossible to establish the old theological premisses by a chain of inductive reasoning. Respecting this, the most eminent philosophers agree with the most eminent theologians ; and since the time of Kant in Germany, and of Coleridge in England, none of our ablest men, even among divines themselves, have recurred to a plan which Paley indeed pursued with vigour, but of which our Bridgewater Treatises, our Prize-Essays, and such schoolboy productions, are poor and barren imitations.[1] No great thinkers now follow this course in matters

[1] Of course I say this merely in reference to their theological bearings. Some of the Bridgewater Treatises, such as Bell's, Buckland's, and Prout's, had great scientific merit

[* See, however, the contrary admissions below, above, *note* 150, beginning of par.—Ed.]

[† This is perhaps the worst grounded of Buckle's theses concerning the Rebellion. There is not the slightest ground for ascribing it in any measure whatever to the influence of the Baconian philosophy, which was probably even less known among the Parliamentary party than among the royalists. His first notable disciple was Hobbes. It is true that Bacon before Hobbes desired to subject the Church to the State ; but it was not at his fountain that the rebels drank. The early members of the Royal Society, who greatly admired his work, were quietists, shunning political and religious controversy. Bacon had been a supporter of the royal prerogative.—Ed.]

of religion. On the contrary, they prefer the safer as well as the more philosophic method of dealing with these subjects on transcendental grounds, frankly confessing that they elude the grasp of that inductive philosophy which in the department of science has achieved such signal triumphs.

The opposition of these two methods, and the inapplicability of the inductive method to theological pursuits being thus apparent, it is not strange that the Scotch should have adopted one of the methods with great zeal, and to the almost complete exclusion of the other. Scotland, being essentially theological, followed the theological plan. The intellectual history of that country in the seventeenth century is almost entirely the history of theology. With the single exception of Napier, who was born in the middle of the sixteenth century, all the most vigorous thinkers were divines. In physical science scarcely anything was done.[2] There was no poetry, no drama, no original philosophy, no fine compositions, no secular literature, now worth reading.[3] The only men of real in-

at the time of their appearance, and may even now be studied with advantage; but the religious portion of them is pitiable, and shows either that their heart was not in their work, or else that the subject was too wide for them. At all events, it is to be hoped that we shall never again see men of equal eminence hiring themselves out as paid advocates, and receiving fees to support particular opinions. It is truly disgraceful that such great speculative questions, instead of being subjected to fair and disinterested argument, with a view of eliciting the truth, should be turned into a pecuniary transaction, in which any one of much money and little wit can bribe as many persons as he likes to prejudice the public ear in favour of his own theories.

[2] "It is humiliating to have to remark, that the notices of comets which we derive from Scotch writers down to this time (1682) contain nothing but accounts of the popular fancies regarding them. Practical astronomy seems to have then been unknown in our country; and hence, while in other lands men were carefully observing, computing, and approaching to just conclusions regarding these illustrious strangers of the sky, our diarists could only tell us how many *yards* long they seemed to be, what *effects* were apprehended from them in the way of war and pestilence, and how certain pious divines 'improved' them for spiritual edification. Early in this century Scotland had produced one great philosopher, who had supplied his craft with the mathematical instrument by which complex problems, such as the movement of comets, were alone to be solved. It might have been expected that the country of Napier, seventy years after his time, would have had many sons capable of applying his key to such mysteries of nature. But no one had arisen—nor did any rise for fifty years onward, when at length Colin Maclaurin unfolded in the Edinburgh University the sublime philosophy of Newton. There could not be a more expressive signification of the character of the seventeenth century in Scotland. Our unhappy contentions about external religious matters had absorbed the whole genius of the people, rendering to us the age of Cowley, of Waller, and of Milton, as barren of elegant literature as that of Horrocks, of Halley, and of Newton, was of science." *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 444, 445.

[3] "Thus, during the whole seventeenth century, the English were gradually refining their language and their taste; in Scotland, the former was much debased and the latter almost entirely lost." *History of Scotland*, book viii., in *Robertson's Works*, p. 260.

"But the taste and science, the genius and the learning of the age, were absorbed in the gulph of religious controversy. At a time when the learning of Selden and the genius of Milton conspired to adorn England, the Scots were reduced to such writers as Baillie, Rutherford, Guthrie, and the two Gillespies." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 510. "From the Restoration down to the Union, the only author of eminence whom Scotland produced was Burnet." *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 406.

"The seventeenth century, fatal to the good taste of Italy, threw a total night over Scotland." . . . "Not one writer who does the least credit to the nation flourished during the century from 1615 to 1715, excepting Burnet, whose name would indeed honour the brightest period. In particular, no poet whose works merit preservation arose. By a singular fatality, the century which stands highest in English history and genius is one of the darkest in those of Scotland." *Ancient Scotish Poems, edited by John Pinkerton*, vol. i. pp. iii. iv., London, 1786.

fluence were the clergy. They governed the nation,* and the pulpit was the chief engine of their power. From the pulpit they moved all classes and all sorts of intellects; the highest as well as the lowest.† There they instructed them and threatened them; saying whatever they liked, and knowing that what they said would be believed.[4] But all their sermons, and all their controversial writings, are eminently deductive; not one of them attempts an inductive argument. The bare idea of such a thing never entered their heads. They assumed the truth of their own religious and moral notions, most of which they had borrowed from antiquity; they made those notions the major premisses of their syllogisms, and from them they reasoned downwards, till they obtained their conclusions. They never suspected that premisses taken from ancient times might be the result of the inductions of those times, and that, as knowledge advanced, the inductions might need revising. They assumed that God has given to us first principles, and that He, having revealed them, it would ill become us to scrutinize them. That He had revealed them, they took for granted, and deemed it unnecessary to prove.[5] Their method being thus entirely deductive, all they were concerned with was to beware that no error crept in between the premisses and the conclusions. And this part of their task they accomplished with great ability. They were acute dialecticians, and rarely blundered in what is termed the formal part of logic. In dealing with their premisses after they obtained them, they were extremely skilful; how they obtained them, they were very heedless. That was a point they never examined with anything approaching to impartiality. According to their method, all that was requisite was to draw inferences from what had been supernaturally communicated. On the other hand the inductive method would have taught them that the first question was, whether or not they had been supernaturally communicated? They, as deductive reasoners, assumed the very preliminaries which inductive reasoners would have disputed.‡ They proceeded from generals to particulars, instead of from particulars to generals. And they would not allow either themselves or others to sift the general propositions, which were to cover and control the particular facts. It was enough for them that the wider propositions were already established, and were to be treated according to the rules of the old and syllogistic logic. Indeed, they were so convinced

[4] Ray, who visited Scotland in 1661, could not suppress a little professional envy when he saw how much higher ecclesiastics were rated there than in England. He says, "The people here frequent their churches much better than in England, and have their ministers in more esteem and veneration." *Ray's Memorials, edited by Dr. Lankester for the Ray Society*, p. 161.

[5] "Believing ignorance is much better than rash and presumptuous knowledge. Ask not a reason of these things, but rather adore and tremble at the mystery and majesty of them." *Binning's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 143. Even Biblical criticism was prohibited; and Dickson says of the different books of the Bible, "We are not to trouble ourselves about the name of the writer or time of writing of any part thereof, especially because God of set purpose concealeth the name sundry times of the writer, and the time when it was written." *Dickson's Explication of the Psalms*, p. 291.

[* That is, the minds of the people. It has been shown in a previous chapter that the Government after the Restoration stood for absolutism and Episcopalianism.—Ed.]

[† Burton, on the contrary, writes that "the higher orders have always in Scotland but scantily partaken in the religious fervour so abundant among the humbler body of the people" (*History of Scotland*, vii. 425); and Buckle in his own MSS. had transcribed testimony to the same effect (*Misc. Works*, abridged ed. ii. 234).—Ed.]

[‡ As did all theologians till sceptics attacked them. On this point the English theologians were in the same case. However inductive, they never "disputed" their own creed. Strictly speaking, as Buckle virtually admits a few sentences earlier, orthodoxy sets out not with a deduction but with an imperfect induction, inasmuch as it reasons from the contents of the Bible to its inspired authority. That being taken as granted, the deduction follows, as on a scientific principle.—Ed.]

of the impropriety of the inductive method that they did not hesitate to assert that it was by means of the syllogism that the Deity communicated His wishes to man.[6]

It was naturally to be expected that the clergy holding these views respecting the best means of arriving at truth, should do all in their power to bring over the nation to their side, and should labour to make their own method of investigation entirely supersede the opposite method. Nor was this a very difficult task. The prevailing credulity was one great point in their favour, inasmuch as it made men more willing to accept propositions than to scrutinize them. When the propositions were accepted, nothing was left but to reason from them; and the most active intellects in Scotland, being constantly engaged in this process, acquired complete mastery over it, and the dexterity they displayed increased its repute. Besides this, the clergy, who were its zealous champions, had monopolized all the sources of education, both public and private. In no other Protestant country have they exercised such control over the universities; not only the doctrines taught, but also the mode of teaching them, being in Scotland placed under the supervision of the Church.[7] This power they of course used to propagate their own plan of obtaining truth; and as long as their power remained undiminished, it was hardly possible that the opposite or inductive plan should gain a hearing. Over grammar-schools the clergy possessed an authority fully equal to that which they had in the universities.[8] They also appointed and removed, at their own pleasure, teachers of every grade, from village schoolmasters to tutors in private families.[9] In this way each generation, as it arose, was brought under their influence, and made subject to their notions. Taking the mind of Scotland while it was young and flexible, they bent it to their own method. Hence that method became supreme; it reigned everywhere; not a voice was lifted up against it; and no one had an idea that there was more than one path by which truth could be reached, or that

[6] "Christ from heaven proposeth a syllogism to Saul's fury." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, p. 180. "The conclusion of a practical syllogism, whereby the believer concludeth from the gospel that he shall be saved." *Durham's Law Unsealed*, p. 97. "All assurance is by practical syllogism, the first whereof must needs be a Scripture truth." *Gray's Precious Promises*, p. 139. [This does not involve alleging "impropriety" in the inductive method. A syllogism proceeds upon data which may be inductively reached. If the "first" be a text, it is none the less a supposed datum of experience, and the "second" may be any fact of observation.—ED.]

[7] Bower (*History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 217) says, "The history of the universities and of the church is in modern Europe, and perhaps in every other civilized portion of the globe, very nearly connected. They are more nearly connected in Scotland than in any other civilized country called Protestant; because the General Assembly have the legal power of inquiring into the economy of the institutions, both as it respects the mode of teaching, and the doctrines, whether religious, moral, or physical, which are taught." Spalding, under the year 1639, gives an instance of the power of the General Assembly in "the College of Old Aberdeen." *Spalding's History of the Troubles*, vol. i. p. 178. See also, on the authority exercised by the General Assembly over the universities, a curious little book, called *The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1690, p. 25. [These writers do not seem to have considered the case of New England.—ED.]

[8] In 1632 the "ministers" of Perth were greatly displeased because John Row was made master of the grammar-school without their consent. *The Chronicle of Perth*, p. 33, where it is stated that, consequently, "thair wes much outcrying in the pulpett."

[9] See, for instance, *Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, pp. 66, 83, 84, 118. One of the entries is, that in January, 1648, "The Presbyterie ordained that all young students, who waittes on noblemen or gentlemen within thir bounds, aither to teach ther children, or catechise and pray in ther families, to frequent the Presbyterie, that the brether may cognosce what they ar reading, and what proficiencie they make in ther studies, and to know also ther behaviour in the said families, and of their affectione to the Covenant and present religione." p. 118. Compare *Selections from the Registers of the Presbytery of Lanark*, pp. 56, 65.

the human understanding was of any use, except to deal deductively with premisses which were not to be inductively examined.

The inductive or analytic spirit * being thus unknown, and the deductive or synthetic spirit being alone favoured, it happened that when, early in the eighteenth century, the circumstances already mentioned gave rise to a great intellectual movement, that movement, though new in its results, was not new in the method by which the results were obtained. A secular philosophy was indeed established, and the ablest men, instead of being theological, became scientific. But so completely had the theological plan occupied Scotland, that even philosophers were unable to escape from its method, and, as I am about to show, the inductive method exercised no influence over them.† This most curious fact is the key to the history of Scotland in the eighteenth century, and explains many events which would otherwise appear incompatible with each other. It also suggests an analogy with Germany, where the deductive method has for a long period been equally prevalent, owing to precisely the same causes. In both countries the secular movement of the eighteenth century was unable to become inductive ; and this intellectual affinity between two such otherwise different nations is, I have no doubt, the principal reason why the Scotch and German philosophies have so remarkably acted and reacted upon each other ; Kant and Hamilton being the most finished specimens of their intercourse. To this England forms a complete contrast. For more than a hundred and fifty years after the death of Bacon, the greatest English thinkers, Newton and Harvey excepted,‡ were eminently inductive ; nor was it until the nineteenth century that signs were clearly exhibited of a counter-movement, and an attempt was made to return in some degree to the deductive method.[10] This we are in many respects justified in doing, because in the progress of our knowledge we have by a long course of induction arrived at several conclusions which we may safely treat deductively ; that is to say, we may make them the major premisses of new arguments. The same process has been seen in France, where the exclusively inductive philosophy of the eighteenth century || preceded

[10] This I have already touched upon (above, p. 501). Hereafter, and in my special history of the English mind, I shall examine it carefully and in detail. The revival of the old logic is a great symptom of it. Works like those of Whately, De Morgan, and Mansel, could not have been produced in the eighteenth century, or, at all events, if by some extraordinary combination of events they had been produced, they would have found no readers. As it is, they have exercised a very extensive and very salutary influence ; and although Archbishop Whately was not well acquainted with the history of formal logic, his exposition of its ordinary processes is so admirably clear that he has probably contributed more than any other man towards impressing his contemporaries with a sense of the value of deductive reasoning. He has however not done sufficient justice to the opposite school, and has indeed fallen into the old academical error of supposing that all reasoning is by syllogism. We might just as well say that all movement is by descent.

[* This definition will hardly hold good. Analysis may be carried on deductively ; and many of the Scottish writers of the eighteenth century are much given to it. Hume's philosophy is at many points an analysis of experience.—Ed.]

[† This specific statement is probably an error. Secular thinkers, such as Kames, Smith, Hume, Ferguson, and the other historians, must have been *influenced* by inductive processes, though what they undertook to do as reasoners was to argue their problems on deductive lines. Parts of Hume's philosophic argument are inductive, though he usually gives prominence to his deductions. See Buckle's own words, above, p. 143. —Ed.]

[‡ Even these must often have reasoned inductively. Harvey certainly made autopsies, and even experiments on animals, though he seems to have profited little by the latter. See the citations, as distinct from the arguments, of Mr. S. Paget, *Experiments on Animals*, 1900, pp. 6–10.—Ed.]

[|| If this be accurate, the Scottish thinkers were certainly " influenced " by the inductive method ; for they were all influenced by their French contemporaries. See *Carlyle's Essay on Burns*, 1869 ed. of *Miscellanies*, ii. 37–38.—Ed.]

a partial resuscitation of deductive philosophy in the nineteenth century. In Scotland, however, there have been no such vicissitudes. In that country men have always been deductive; even the most original thinkers being unable to liberate themselves from the universal tendency, and being forced to accept a method which time had consecrated, and which was interwoven with all the associations of the national mind.

To understand the investigation into which we are about to enter, the reader must firmly seize, and keep before his eyes, the essential difference between deduction, which reasons from principles, and induction, which reasons to principles. He must remember that induction proceeds from the smaller to the greater; deduction from the greater to the smaller. Induction is from particulars to generals, and from the senses to the ideas; deduction is from generals to particulars, and from the ideas to the senses. By induction we rise from the concrete to the abstract; by deduction we descend from the abstract to the concrete. Accompanying this distinction there are certain qualities of mind which, with extremely few exceptions, characterize the age, nation, or individual in which one of these methods is predominant. The inductive philosopher is naturally cautious, patient, and somewhat creeping; while the deductive philosopher is more remarkable for boldness, dexterity, and often rashness. The deductive thinker invariably assumes certain premisses, which are quite different from the hypotheses essential to the best induction. These premisses are sometimes borrowed from antiquity; sometimes they are taken from the notions which happen to prevail in the surrounding society; sometimes they are the result of a man's own peculiar organization; and sometimes, as we shall presently see, they are deliberately invented with the object of arriving not at truth, but at an approximation to truth. Finally, and to sum up the whole, we may say that a deductive habit, being essentially synthetic, always tends to multiply original principles or laws; while the tendency of an inductive habit is to diminish those laws by gradual and successive analysis.*

These being the two fundamental divisions of human inquiry, it is surely a most remarkable fact in the history of Scotland that during the eighteenth century all the great thinkers belonged to the former division, and that in the very few instances of induction which their works contain, it is evident, from the steps they subsequently took, that they regarded such inductions as unimportant in themselves, and as only valuable in so far as they supplied the premisses for another and deductive investigation. As the various departments of our knowledge have never yet been co-ordinated and treated as a whole, probably no one is aware of the universality of this movement in Scotland, and of the extent to which it pervaded every science, and governed every phase of thought. To prove, therefore, the force with which it acted, I now purpose to examine its working in all the principal forms of speculation, whether physical or moral, and to show that in each the same method was adopted. In doing this I must for the sake of clearness proceed according to a natural arrangement of the different topics; but I will, whenever it is possible, also follow the chronological order in which the Scotch mind unfolded itself; so that we may understand not only the character of that remarkable literature, but likewise the steps of its growth, and the astonishing vigour with which it emancipated itself from the shackles which superstition had imposed.

The beginning of the great secular philosophy of Scotland is undoubtedly due to Francis Hutcheson.[11] This eminent man, though born in Ireland, was of

[11] See a letter from Sir James Mackintosh to Parr, in *Mackintosh's Memoirs*, London,

[* This creates a difficulty for Buckle's thesis. It cannot be maintained that Hume and Smith "multiplied original principles" in their reasonings. It would have been more accurate to speak of *à priori* and *à posteriori* methods. If we take the theory of planetary angels, or deities of the elements, as a sample of spontaneous induction, and Newton's law of gravitation as a sample of deduction, the facts are not as Buckle says. —Ed.]

Scotch family, and was educated in the University of Glasgow, where he received the appointment of Professor of Philosophy in the year 1729.[12] By his lectures, and by his works, he diffused a taste for bold inquiries into subjects of the deepest importance, but concerning which it had previously been supposed nothing fresh was to be learned; the Scotch having hitherto been taught that all truths respecting our own nature which were essential to be known, had been already revealed. Hutcheson, however, did not fear to construct a system of morals according to a plan entirely secular, and no example of which had been exhibited in Scotland before his time. The principles from which he started were not theological, but metaphysical.* They were collected from what he deemed the natural constitution of the mind, instead of being collected as heretofore from what had been supernaturally communicated. He therefore shifted the field of study. Though he was a firm believer in revelation, he held that the best rules of conduct could be ascertained without its assistance, and could be arrived at by the unaided wit of man; and that, when arrived at, they were in their aggregate to be respected as the Law of Nature.[13] This confidence in the power of the human understanding was altogether new in Scotland,† and its appearance forms an epoch in the national literature. Previously, men had been taught that the understanding was a rash and foolish thing, which ought to be repressed, and which was unfit to cope with the problems presented to it.[14] Hutcheson, however, held that it was quite able to deal with them, but that to do so it must be free and unfettered. Hence he strenuously advocated that right of private judgment which the Scotch Kirk had not only assailed, but had almost destroyed. He insisted that each person had a right to form his opinion according to the evidence he possessed, and that, this right being inalien-

1835, vol. i. p. 334. "To Hutcheson the taste for speculation in Scotland, and all the philosophical opinions (except the Berkleian Humism) may be traced." M. Cousin (*Histoire de la Philosophie*, première série, vol. iv. p. 35, Paris, 1846) observes, that before Hutcheson "il n'avait paru en Ecosse ni un écrivain ni un professeur de philosophie un peu remarquable."

[12] *Tytler's Memoirs of Kames*, Edinburgh, 1814, vol. i. p. 223. *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. iii., London, 1755, 4to.

[13] "The intention of Moral Philosophy is to direct men to that course of action which tends most effectually to promote their greatest happiness and perfection; as far as it can be done by observations and conclusions discoverable from the constitution of nature, without any aids of supernatural revelation: these maxims or rules of conduct are therefore reputed as laws of nature, and the system or collection of them is called the LAW OF NATURE." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 1.

[14] "The natural understanding is the most whorish thing in the world." . . . "The understanding, even in the search of truth amongst the creatures, is a rash, precipitate, and unquiet thing." *Rutherford's Christ Dying*, p. 181. "Innocent Adam," indeed, says Boston, "Innocent Adam had a stock of gracious abilities, whereby he might have, by the force of moral considerations, brought himself to perform duty aright. But where is that with us?" *Boston's Sermons*, p. 65.

[* In that case, the "deductive" method must be ascribed to a popular English thinker, for Hutcheson as a moralist was certainly a disciple of Shaftesbury. See the editor's introduction to *Shaftesbury's Characteristics*, 1900, pp. xiv., xxxvii. Buckle himself noted in his Commonplace Book (*Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works*, abridged ed. 1885, i. 277), that Shaftesbury "followed the deductive method." But Prof. Sidgwick pronounces Shaftesbury "the first moralist who distinctly takes psychological experience as the basis of ethics," adding that "the substance of Shaftesbury's main arguments was adopted by Butler." (*Outlines of the History of Ethics*, 3rd ed. p. 100). —ED.]

[† That is, in Scottish literature. Hobbes had however been read by many in Scotland, as had Spinoza. See *Halyburton's Natural Religion Insufficient*, Edinburgh, 1714, p. 31.—ED.]

able, none but weak minds would abstain from exercising it.[15] Every one was to judge according to his own light, and nothing could be gained by inducing men to profess sentiments contrary to their convictions.[16] So far, however, was this from being understood, that we found all the little sects quarrelling among themselves, and abusing each other, merely because their views were different. It was strange to hear how the professors of one creed would stigmatize the professors of other creeds as idolatrous, and would demand that penalties should be inflicted on them. In point of fact, all had much that was good; and their only real evil was this love of persecution.[17] But the vulgar deemed every one a heretic who did not believe what they believed; and this way of thinking had been too much countenanced by the clergy, many of whom felt their vanity offended at the idea of laymen pretending to be wiser than their spiritual teachers, and venturing to disagree with what they said.[18]

Such large views of liberty were far in advance of the country in which they were propounded, and could exercise no influence, except over a few thinking men. These and similar doctrines were, however, repeated by Hutcheson in his lectures every year.[19] And strange indeed they must have seemed. To those who received them, they were utterly subversive of the prevailing theological spirit, which regarded toleration as impious, and which, seeking to confine the human mind within the limits of foregone conclusions, deemed it a duty to chastise those who overstepped them. In opposition to this, Hutcheson let in the elements of inquiry, of discussion, and of doubt. There is also another point in which his philosophy is memorable, as the beginning of the great rebellion

[15] "A like natural right every intelligent being has about his own opinions, speculative or practical, to judge according to the evidence that appears to him. This right appears from the very constitution of the rational mind, which can assent or dissent solely according to the evidence presented, and naturally desires knowledge. The same considerations show this right to be unalienable: it cannot be subjected to the will of another: though where there is a previous judgment formed concerning the superior wisdom of another, or his infallibility, the opinion of this other, to a weak mind, may become sufficient evidence. As to opinions about the Deity, religion, and virtue, this right is further confirmed by all the noblest desires of the soul; as there can be no virtue, but rather impiety, in not adhering to the opinions we think just, and in professing the contrary." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. pp. 295, 296. See also vol. ii. p. 311 "Every rational creature has a right to judge for itself in these matters: and as men must assent according to the evidence that appears to them, and cannot command their own assent in opposition to it, this right is plainly unalienable."

[16] "Thus no man can really change his sentiments, judgments, and inward affections, at the pleasure of another, nor can it tend to any good to make him profess what is contrary to his heart." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. pp. 261, 262.

[17] "Arians and Socinians are idolaters and denyers of God, say the orthodox. They retort upon the orthodox, that they are Tritheists; and so do other sects; and thus they spirit up magistrates to persecute. While yet it is plain that in all these sects there are all the same motives to all social virtues from a belief of a moral providence, the same acknowledgments that the goodness of God is the source of all the good we enjoy or hope for, and the same gratitude and resignation to him recommended. Nor do any of their schemes excite men to vices, except that horrid tenet, too common to most of them, the right of persecuting." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 316. See also vol. i. p. 160; and *Hutcheson's Inquiry into our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, London, 1738, p. 283.

[18] "We all know the notions entertained by the vulgar concerning all hereticks; we know the pride of schoolmen and many ecclesiasticks; how it galls their insolent vanity that any man should assume to himself to be wiser than they in tenets of religion by differing from them." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 167.

[19] "As he had occasion every year in the course of his lectures to explain the origin of government, and compare the different forms of it, he took peculiar care, while on that subject, to inculcate the importance of civil and religious liberty to the happiness of mankind." *Leechman's Life of Hutcheson*, p. xxxv., prefixed to *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*

of the Scotch intellect. We saw in the last chapter how successfully the teachers of the people had inculcated doctrines of the darkest asceticism, and how naturally those doctrines had arisen out of the enormous authority possessed by the Church. Against such notions Hutcheson set his face strenuously. He rightly supposed that an admiration of every kind of beauty, so far from being sinful, is essential to a complete and well-balanced mind; and the most original part of his philosophy consists of the inquiries which he made into the working and origin of our ideas on that subject. Hitherto, the Scotch had been taught that the emotions which beauty excites were owing to the corruption of our nature, and ought to be repressed. Hutcheson on the other hand insisted that they were good in themselves; that they were part of the general scheme of human affairs, and that they deserved a special and scientific study.[20] And with such skill did he investigate them that, in the opinion of one of the highest living authorities, he is the originator of all subsequent inquiries into these matters; his being the first attempt to deal with the subject of beauty in a broad and comprehensive spirit.[21]

Not only in speculative views, but also in practical recommendations, Hutcheson displayed the same tendency; everywhere endeavouring to break down that gloomy fabric which superstition had built up.[22] His predecessors, and indeed nearly all his contemporaries who exercised much influence, represented pleasure as immoral, and opposed themselves to the fine arts, which they considered dangerous, as ministering to our pleasures, and thereby distracting our minds from serious concerns. Hutcheson, however, declared that the fine arts were to be cherished; for, he said, they are not only agreeable, but also reputable, and to employ our time with them is honourable.[23] That such is the case is obvious enough to us, but it was long indeed since similar language had been heard in Scotland from a great public teacher,* and it was completely opposed to the prevailing notions. But Hutcheson went even further. Not content

[20] "The ideas of beauty and harmony, like other sensible ideas, are necessarily pleasant to us, as well as immediately so." *Hutcheson's Inquiry into our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, p. 11. "Our sense of beauty seems designed to give us positive pleasure." p. 71. "Beauty gives a favourable presumption of good moral dispositions." p. 257. "But it is plain we have not in our power the modelling of our senses or desires, to form them for a private interest; they are fixed for us by the Author of our nature, subservient to the interest of the system; so that each individual is made, previously to his own choice, a member of a great body, and affected with the fortunes of the whole; or at least of many parts of it; nor can he break himself off at pleasure." *Hutcheson's Essay on the Passions*, pp. 105, 106.

[21] "Fille de la scholastique, la philosophie moderne est demeurée longtemps étrangère aux grâces, et les *Recherches* d'Hutcheson présentent, je crois, le premier traité spécial sur le beau, écrit par un moderne. Elles ont paru en 1725. Cette date est presque celle de l'avénement de l'esthétique dans la philosophie européenne. L'ouvrage du père André, en France, est de 1741, celui de Baumgarten, en Allemagne, est de 1750. Ce n'est pas un petit honneur à Hutcheson d'avoir le premier soumis l'idée du beau à une analyse méthodique et régulière." *Cousin, Histoire de la Philosophie*, première série, vol. iv. p. 84.

[22] In his *Inquiry into Beauty and Virtue*, p. 107, he so completely opposed the prevailing notions as to assert that "our perception of pleasure is necessary, and nothing is advantageous or naturally good to us but what is apt to raise pleasure mediately, or immediately." Compare what he says at p. 91 respecting "superstitious prejudices against actions apprehended as offensive to the Deity."

[23] "Hence a taste for the ingenious arts of musick, sculpture, painting, and even for the manly diversions, is reputable." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 83. At p. 129 he says, that in them "our time is agreeably and honourably employed." See also vol. ii. p. 115.

[* It had never been heard at all—save in so far as Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* or the writings of the French critics were there read.—Ed.]

with raising his voice in favour of wealth,[24] which the Scotch clergy stigmatized as one of the most pernicious and carnal of all things, he fearlessly asserted that all our natural appetites are lawful, and that the gratification of them is consistent with the highest virtue.[25] In his eyes they were lawful because they were natural; while according to the theological theory their being natural made them unlawful. And here lies the fundamental difference between the practical views of Hutcheson and those previously received. He, like every great thinker since the seventeenth century, loved human nature, and respected it; but he neither loved nor respected those who unduly trammelled it, and thereby weakened its vigour, as well as impaired its beauty. He placed more confidence in mankind than in the rulers of mankind. The Scotch divines who preceded him were the libellers of their species; they calumniated the whole human race. According to them, there was nothing in us but sin and corruption; and therefore all our desires were to be checked. It is the peculiar glory of Hutcheson that he was the first man in Scotland who publicly combated these degrading notions. With a noble and lofty aim did he undertake his task. Venerating the human mind, he was bent on vindicating its dignity against those who disputed its titles. Unhappily he could not succeed; the prejudices of his time were too strong. Still, he did all that was in his power. He opposed the tide which he was unable to stem; he attacked what it was impossible to destroy; and he cast from his philosophy, with vehement scorn, those base prejudices which, by aspersing all that is great and magnanimous, had long blinded the eyes of their contemporaries, and by bringing into fresh prominence the old and mischievous dogma of moral degeneracy, had represented our nature as a compound of vices, and had been unable to see how many virtues we really possess, how much of the spirit of self-sacrifice and of free disinterested benevolence has always existed; how much of good even the worst of us retain; and how, among the ordinary and average characters of whom the world is composed, the desire of benefiting others is more frequent than the desire of hurting them, kindness is more common than cruelty, and the number of good deeds does, on the whole, far outweigh the number of bad ones.[26]

[24] "Wealth and power are truly useful, not only for the natural conveniences or pleasures of life, but as a fund for good offices." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 104. Compare *Hutcheson on Beauty and Virtue*, pp. 93–95; and his *Essay on the Passions and Affections*, pp. 8, 9, 99. "How weak also are the reasonings of some recluse moralists, who condemn in general all pursuits of wealth or power, as below a perfectly virtuous character; since wealth and power are the most effectual means, and the most powerful instruments, even of the greatest virtues and most generous actions."

[25] "The chief happiness of any being must consist in the full enjoyment of all the gratifications its nature desires and is capable of." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 100. "The highest sensual enjoyments may be experienced by those who employ both mind and body vigorously in social virtuous offices, and allow all the natural appetites to recur in their due seasons." p. 121. "Nay, as in fact it is for the good of the system that every desire and sense natural to us, even those of the lowest kinds, should be gratified as far as their gratification is consistent with the nobler enjoyments, and in a just subordination to them; there seems a natural notion of *right* to attend them all." pp. 254, 255.

[26] "'Tis pleasant to observe how those authors who paint out our nature as a compound of sensuality, selfishness, and cunning, forget themselves on this subject in their descriptions of youth, when the natural temper is less disguised than in the subsequent parts of life. 'Tis made up of many keen, inconstant passions, many of them generous; 'tis fond of present pleasure, but 'tis also profusely kind and liberal to favourites; careless about distant interests of its own; full of confidence in others; studious of praise for kindness and generosity; prone to friendships, and void of suspicion." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 11. "Men are often subject to anger, and upon sudden provocations do injuries to each other, and that only from self love without malice; but the greatest part of their lives is employed in offices of natural affection, friendship, innocent self love, or love of a country." *Hutcheson's Essay on the Passions*, pp. 97, 98.

Thus much as to the tendency of Hutcheson's philosophy.[27] We have now to ascertain his method, that is to say, the plan which he adopted in order to obtain his results. This is a very important part of our present inquiry; and we shall find that in the study of moral philosophy, as in the study of all subjects not yet raised to sciences, there are not only two methods, but that each method leads to different consequences. If we proceed by induction we arrive at one conclusion; if we proceed by deduction we arrive at another. This difference in the results is always a proof that the subject in which the difference exists is not yet capable of scientific treatment, and that some preliminary difficulties have to be removed before it can pass from the empirical stage into the scientific one. As soon as those difficulties are got rid of, the results obtained by induction will correspond with those obtained by deduction; supposing, of course, that both lines of argument are fairly managed. In such case, it will be of no importance whether we reason from particulars to generals or from generals to particulars. Either plan will yield the same consequences, and this agreement between the consequences proves that our investigation is, properly speaking, scientific. Thus for instance in chemistry, if by reasoning deductively from general principles we could always predict what would happen when we united two or more elements, even supposing those elements were new to us; and if, by reasoning inductively from each element, we could arrive at the same conclusion, one process would corroborate the other, and by their mutual verification the science would be complete. In chemistry we cannot do this; therefore chemistry is not yet a science, although, since the introduction into it by Dalton of the ideas of weight and number, there is every prospect of its becoming one. On the other hand, astronomy is a science, because, by employing the deductive weapon of mathematics we can compute the motions and perturbations of bodies; and on our employing the inductive weapon of observation, the telescope reveals to us the accuracy of our previous and as it were foregone inferences. The fact agrees with the idea; the particular event confirms the general principle; the principle explains the event; and their unanimity authorizes us to believe that we must be right, since, proceed as we may, the conclusion is the same; and the inductive plan, of striking averages, harmonizes with the deductive plan, of reasoning from ideas.

And at p. 165: "There are no doubt many furious starts of passion, in which malice may seem to have place in our constitution; but how seldom and how short, in comparison of years spent in fixed kind pursuits of the good of a family, a party, a country?" . . . "Here men are apt to let their imaginations run out upon all the robberies, piracies murders, perjuries, frauds, massacres, assassinations, they have ever either heard of, or read in history; thence concluding all mankind to be very wicked; as if a court of justice were the proper place for making an estimate of the morals of mankind, or an hospital of the heathfulness of a climate. Ought they not to consider that the number of honest citizens and farmers far surpasses that of all sorts of criminals in any state; and that the innocent or kind actions of even criminals themselves surpass their crimes in numbers? That it is the rarity of crimes, in comparison of innocent or good actions, which engages our attention to them, and makes them be recorded in history; while incomparably more honest, generous, domestic actions are overlooked, only because they are so common; as one great danger, or one month's sickness, shall become a frequently repeated story during a long life of health and safety."

[27] In 1731 Wodrow, who was the last really great specimen of the old Presbyterian divines, and who was not a little shocked at the changes he saw going on around him, writes: "When Dr. Calamy heard of Mr. Hutcheson's being called to Glasgow, he smiled, and said, I think to Thomas Randy, that he was not for Scotland, as he thought from his book; and that he would be reckoned there as unorthodox as Mr. Simson. The Doctor has a strange way of fishing out privat storyes and things that pass in Scotland." *Wodrow's Analecta*, vol. iv. p. 227. It is interesting to compare with this the remarks which that worldly-minded clergyman, the Rev. Alexander Carlyle, has made upon Hutcheson. See *Carlyle's Autobiography*, Edinburgh, 1860, 2nd edit. pp. 82–85. [If Wodrow was thus "shocked," it can hardly be said that such teaching as Hutcheson's "could not succeed."—Ed.]

But in the study of morals there is no such harmony. Partly from the force of prejudice, and partly from the complexity of the subject, all attempts at a scientific investigation of morals have failed. It is not therefore surprising that in this field the inductive inquirer arrives at one conclusion, and the deductive inquirer at another. The inductive inquirer endeavours to attain his object by observing the actions of men, and subjecting them to analysis, in order to learn the principles which regulate them. The deductive inquirer, beginning at the other end, assumes certain principles as original, and reasons from them to the facts which actually appear in the world. The former proceeds from the concrete to the abstract; the latter from the abstract to the concrete. The inductive moralist looks at the history of past society, or at the condition of the present, and takes for granted that the first step is to assemble the facts, and then to generalize them. The deductive inquirer, using the facts rather to illustrate his principles than to suggest them, appeals in the first place not to external facts but to internal ideas, and he makes those ideas the major premiss of a syllogistic argument. Both parties agree that we have the power of judging some actions to be right, and others to be wrong. But as to how we get that power, and as to what that power is, they are at utter variance. The inductive philosopher says that its object is happiness, that we get it by association, and that it is due to the action and reaction of social causes, which are susceptible of analysis. The deductive philosopher says that this power of distinguishing between right and wrong aims not at happiness, but at truth; that it is inherent, that it cannot be analyzed, that it is a primary conviction, and that we may assume it and reason from it, but can never hope to explain it by reasoning to it.

It requires but a slight acquaintance with the works of Hutcheson to see that he belongs to the latter of these two schools. He assumes that all men have what he terms a moral faculty, which, being an original principle, does not admit of analysis.[28] He further assumes that the business of this faculty is to regulate all our powers.[29] From these two assumptions he reasons downwards to the visible facts of our conduct, and deductively constructs the general scheme of life. His plan being entirely synthetic, he depreciates the analytic method, and complains of it as an artful attempt to diminish the number of our perceptive powers.[30] The truth is that every such diminution would have taken away some of his original principles, and would thereby have prevented him from using them as the major premisses of separate arguments. And if you deprive a deductive reasoner of his major premisses, you leave him nothing on which to stand. Hutcheson, therefore, like all the philosophers of his school, was extremely jealous of the invasions of the inductive spirit, with its constant tendency to attack convictions supposed to be primary, and seek to resolve them into their elements. He repulsed such encroachments upon his major premisses, because the power and beauty of his method were displayed in reasoning from the premisses, and not in reasoning to them. According to him, the moral faculty, and the authority which it exercised, were impervious to analysis; it was impossible to track them higher, or to resolve them into simpler constituents * and it was in vain that many attempted to refer them to circumstances external to themselves, such as education, custom, or the association of ideas.[31]

[28] In his *Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 52, he calls it "an original determination or sense in our nature, not capable of being referred to other powers of perception." [Here following the "inductive" Shaftesbury.—Ed.]

[29] "This moral sense from its very nature appears to be designed for regulating and controlling all our powers." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 61.

[30] See, in his *Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 79, his complaint against those who "would reduce all our perceptive powers to a very small number, by one artful reference or another."

[31] "'Tis in vain here to alledge instruction, education, custom, or association of ideas,

[* There can be no "simpler constituent" than a primary bias or appetite. Hume here reinforces Hutcheson.—Ed.]

Hence, the judgments which men pass upon the conduct of others, or of themselves, are in their origin altogether inexplicable ; each judgment being merely a different form of one great moral faculty. Inasmuch, however, as that faculty escapes observation, and is only known by its results, it is evident that for all purposes of reasoning the judgments must be deemed primary, and arguments are to be constructed from them, as if they were the ultimate and highest conditions of our nature. In this way Hutcheson was led to that love of multiplying original principles which Sir James Mackintosh has justly noticed as a characteristic of his philosophy, and, after him, of the Scotch philosophy in general ; [32] though the distinguished author of this remark has failed to perceive that such characteristic was but a single part of a far larger scheme, and was intimately connected with those habits of deductive thought which a long train of preceding circumstances had indelibly imprinted on the Scotch mind.

In Hutcheson the tendency was so strong as to make him believe that by arguing from a certain number of original principles he could construct the theory and explain the march of human affairs, with little or no aid from the experience of the past, or indeed of the present. His views, for instance, respecting the nature and objects of legislation, criminal as well as civil, might have been written by a recluse who had never quitted his hermitage, and whose purity was still unsoiled by the realities of the world. Starting from the so-called nature of things, his first steps were ideal, and from them he sought to advance to the actual. In his account of the duties of life, as they existed before the power of government was consolidated, he quotes no evidence to show what really happened among barbarous tribes who were in that state ; but he contents himself with deductive inferences from the principles he had previously laid down.[33] Difficult questions relating to the laws of property are treated in the same manner ; that is to say, the conclusions respecting them are arrived at on speculative grounds, and not by comparing how the different enactments have worked in different countries.[34] Experience is either shut out, or made subordinate to theory ; and facts are adduced to illustrate the inference, but not to suggest it. So, too, the proper relation between the people and their rulers, and the amount of liberty which the people should possess, instead of being inductively generalized from an historical inquiry into the circumstances which had produced most happiness, might in the opinion of Hutcheson be ascertained by reasoning from the nature of government, and from the ends for which it was instituted.[35]

The next great attempt to study the actions of men scientifically, and to generalize the principles of their conduct without the intervention of supernatural ideas, was made by Adam Smith, who in 1759 published his *Theory of Moral*

as the original of moral approbation." *Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 57. Compare his work on *Beauty and Virtue*, p. 84. [Here Hutcheson is surely quite right. The point of the sentence lies in " the original." It does not deny that instruction and custom *modify* or *determine* moral judgments.—Ed.]

[32] " To him may also be ascribed that proneness to multiply ultimate and original principles in human nature, which characterized the Scottish School till the second extinction of a passion for metaphysical speculation in Scotland." *Mackintosh's Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy*, edit. Whewell, Edinburgh, 1837, p. 208. [Mackintosh, however, notes that Hutcheson develops Shaftesbury and coincides with Butler.—Ed.]

[33] See his ingenious chapter, entitled " A deduction of the more special laws of nature and duties of life, previous to civil government and other adventitious states." *Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 227 ; and compare vol. ii. pp. 294–309, " How civil power is acquired."

[34] See, for example, his remarks on " the right of possession." *Moral Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 344 ; on " rights by mortgage," p. 350 ; and on inheritance, p. 356.

[35] In his *Moral Philosophy*, vol. ii. pp. 346, 347, he sums up a long argument on " the nature of civil laws," by saying : " Thus the general duties of magistrates and subjects are discoverable from the nature of the trust committed to them, and the end of all civil power."

Sentiments, and in 1776 his *Wealth of Nations*. To understand the philosophy of this, by far the greatest of all the Scotch thinkers,* both works must be taken together, and considered as one; since they are in reality the two divisions of a single subject. In the *Moral Sentiments* he investigates the sympathetic part of human nature; in the *Wealth of Nations* he investigates its selfish part. And as all of us are sympathetic as well as selfish; in other words, as all of us look without as well as within, and as this classification is a primary and exhaustive division of our motives to action, it is evident that if Adam Smith had completely accomplished his vast design he would at once have raised the study of human nature to a science, leaving nothing for subsequent inquirers except to ascertain the minor springs of affairs, all of which would find their place in this general scheme, and be deemed subordinate to it. In his attempt to perform this prodigious task, and to traverse the enormous field which he saw lying before him, he soon perceived that an inductive investigation was impossible, because it would require the labour of many lives even to assemble the materials from which the generalization was to be made. Moved by this reflection, and, probably, moved still more by the intellectual habits which prevailed around him, he resolved on adopting the deductive method instead of the inductive; but in seeking for the premisses from which he was to reason, and on which his structure was to be built, he resorted to a peculiar artifice, which is perfectly valid, and which he had an undoubted right to employ, though, to make it available, it requires such delicate tact, and involves so many refinements, that extremely few writers have used it with effect on social questions, either before or since.

The plan to which I allude is that when any subject becomes unmanageable by the inductive method, whether from the impossibility of experimenting upon it, or from its extreme natural complexity, or from the presence of immense and bewildering details collected around it, we may in all such cases make an imaginary separation of inseparable facts, and reason upon trains of events which have no real and independent existence, and which are nowhere to be found except in the mind of the inquirer. A result obtained in this way cannot be strictly true; but if we have reasoned accurately it will be as near truth as were the premisses from which we started. To make it perfectly true we must confront it with other results, which we have arrived at in a similar way, and from the same subject. These separate inferences may eventually be co-ordinated into a single system; so that, while each inference contains only an imperfect truth, the whole of the inferences, when put together, will contain perfect truth.

Such hypothetical arguments are evidently based upon an intentional suppression of facts; and the artifice is necessary, because without the suppression the facts would be unmanageable. Each argument leads to a conclusion which approximates to truth; hence, whenever the premisses are so comprehensive as almost to exhaust the facts to which they refer, the conclusion will be so near to complete truth as to be of the greatest value, even before it is co-ordinated with other conclusions drawn from the same department of inquiry.

Geometry exhibits the most perfect example of this logical stratagem. The object of the geometrician is to generalize the laws of space; in other words, to ascertain the necessary and universal relations of its various parts. Inasmuch, however, as space would have no parts unless it were divided, the geometrician is forced to assume such a division; and he takes the simplest possible form of it, a division by lines. Now, a line considered as a fact, that is, as it is found in the actual world, must always have two qualities, length and breadth. However slight these qualities may be, every line has them both. But if the geometrician took both into consideration he would find himself in the presence of a problem too complicated for the resources of the human understanding to deal with; or, at all events, too complicated for the present resources of our knowledge. He therefore by a scientific artifice deliberately strikes off one

[* Few if any philosophers to-day will thus set Smith "far," or even at all, above Hume.—ED.]

of these qualities, and asserts that a line is length without breadth. He knows that the assertion is false, but he also knows that it is necessary. For, if you deny it, he can prove nothing. If you insist upon his letting into his premisses the idea of breadth,* he is unable to proceed, and the whole fabric of geometry falls to the ground. Since, however, the breadth of the faintest line is so slight as to be incapable of measurement, except by an instrument used under the microscope, it follows that the assumption that there can be lines without breadth is so nearly true, that our senses, when unassisted by art, cannot detect the error. Formerly, and until the invention of the micrometer in the seventeenth century, it was impossible to detect it at all. Hence the conclusions of the geometrician approximate so closely to truth, that we are justified in accepting them as true. The flaw is too minute to be perceived. But that there is a flaw appears to me certain. It appears certain that whenever something is kept back in the premisses, something must be wanting in the conclusion. In all such cases the field of inquiry has not been entirely covered ; and part of the preliminary facts being suppressed, it must, I think, be admitted that complete truth is unattainable, and that no problem in geometry has yet been exhaustively solved.[36]

Still, the amazing triumphs effected in this branch of mathematics show how powerful a weapon that form of deduction is which proceeds by an artificial separation of facts, in themselves inseparable. So little, however, is the philosophy of the method understood, that when, late in the eighteenth century, political economy assumed a scientific form, many persons who were otherwise well instructed reproached its cultivators with their hard-heartedness ; such objectors being unable to see that the science could not be constructed if it were necessary to take in the whole range of generous and benevolent affections. The political economist aims at discovering the laws of wealth, which are far too complicated to be studied under every aspect. He therefore selects one of those aspects, and generalizes the laws as they are exhibited in the selfish parts of human nature. And he is right in doing so, simply because men in the pursuit of wealth consider their own gratification oftener than the gratification of others. Hence he, like the geometrician, blots out one part of his premisses in order that he may manipulate the remaining part with greater ease. But we must always remember that political economy, though a profound and beautiful science, is only a science of one department of life, and is founded upon a suppression of some of the facts in which all large societies abound. It suppresses, or, what comes to the same thing, it ignores, many high and magnanimous feelings which we could ill afford to lose. We are not therefore to allow its conclusions to override all other conclusions. We may accept them in science, and yet reject them in practice. Thus the political economist, when confining himself to his own department, says with good reason that it is both absurd and mischievous for government to undertake to supply the working-classes with employment. This assertion he, as a political economist, can prove ; and yet, notwithstanding its scientific truth, it may be practically right for a government to do the exact opposite. It may be right for a government to supply the employment, when the people are so ignorant as to demand it, and when, at the same time, they are so powerful as to plunge the country into anarchy if the demand is refused. Here the view of the politician takes in all the premisses of which the political economist had only taken in a portion. In the same way, as a

[36] That is, so far as the facts are concerned. Geometry, considered in the most elevated manner, rests on ideas, and from that point of view is impregnable, unless the axioms can be overthrown. But if geometricians will insist on having definitions as well as axioms, they gain, no doubt, increased clearness, but they lose something in accuracy. I apprehend that, without definitions, geometry could not be a science of space, but would be a science of magnitudes, ideally conceived, and consequently as pure as ratiocination could make it. This does not touch the question as to the empirical origin of the axioms.

[* *i.e.* breadth of lines.—Ed.]

matter of economic science, it is wrong for any one to relieve the poor; since nothing is better established than that to relieve poverty increases it, by encouraging improvidence. But in spite of this, the antagonistic principle of sympathy will come into play, and will in some minds operate with such force as to make it advisable that he who feels it should give alms, because, if he abstains from giving them, the violence which he does to his own nature may inflict more mischief on himself than his bestowal of charity would inflict on the general interests of society.

It will not, I hope, be considered that in these remarks I have digressed from the main argument of the present chapter, since, although in making them I have aimed at clearing up a general question respecting the nature of scientific proof, I have only done so with the more particular object of illustrating the philosophy of Adam Smith, and of explaining the method which that most profound and original thinker pursued. We shall now be able to see how entirely his plan was deductive, and what a peculiar form of deduction it was. In his two great works he first lays down certain ideas, and from them he marches on to the facts of the external world. And in each work he reasons from only part of his premisses; supplying the other part in the other work. None of us is exclusively selfish, and none of us is exclusively sympathetic. But Adam Smith separates in speculation qualities which are inseparable in reality. In his *Moral Sentiments* he ascribes our actions to sympathy; in his *Wealth of Nations* he ascribes them to selfishness. A short view of these two works will prove the existence of this fundamental difference, and will enable us to perceive that each is supplementary to the other; so that, in order to understand either, it is necessary to study both.

In the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* Adam Smith lays down one great principle from which he reasons, and to which all the others are subordinate. This principle is that the rules which we prescribe to ourselves, and which govern our conduct, are solely arrived at by observing the conduct of others.[37] We judge ourselves, because we had previously judged them. Our notions are obtained from without, and not from within. If therefore we lived entirely alone, we could have no idea of merit or demerit, and it would be impossible for us to form an opinion as to whether our sentiments were right or wrong.[38] To acquire this knowledge we must look abroad. Inasmuch, however, as we have no direct experience of what other persons actually feel, we can only gain the information by conceiving what we should feel if we were in their place.[39] Hence all men

[37] "Our continual observations upon the conduct of others insensibly lead us to form to ourselves certain general rules concerning what is fit and proper either to be done or to be avoided." . . . "It is thus that the general rules of morality are formed. They are ultimately founded upon experience of what, in particular instances, our moral faculties, our natural sense of merit and propriety, approve or disapprove of. We do not originally approve or condemn particular actions because upon examination they appear to be agreeable or inconsistent with a certain general rule. The general rule, on the contrary, is formed by finding from experience that all actions of a certain kind, or circumstanced in a certain manner, are approved of or disapproved of." *Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. pp. 219, 220. At p. 153: "We either approve or disapprove of our own conduct, according as we feel that, when we place ourselves in the situation of another man, and view it, as it were, with his eyes and from his station, we either can or cannot entirely enter into and sympathize with the sentiments and motives which influenced it."

[38] "Were it possible that a human creature could grow up to manhood in some solitary place, without any communication with his own species, he could no more think of his own character, of the propriety or demerit of his own sentiments and conduct, of the beauty or deformity of his own mind, than of the beauty or deformity of his own face." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. p. 154. "Our first moral criticisms are exercised upon the characters and conduct of other people." p. 156.

[39] "As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. p. 2.

are in imagination constantly changing situations with others; and though the change is ideal, and lasts but for a moment, it is the foundation of that great and universal impulse which is called Sympathy.[40]

By proceeding from these premisses, a vast number of social phenomena may be explained. We naturally sympathize with joy more than with sorrow.[41] Hence that admiration for prosperous and successful persons which is quite independent of any benefit we expect from them; and hence, too, the existence of different ranks and of social distinctions, all of which emanate from the same source.[42] Hence, also, the feeling of loyalty, which is a product, not of reason, nor of fear, nor of a sense of public convenience, but rather of sympathy with those above us, begetting an extraordinary compassion for even their ordinary sufferings.[43] Custom and fashion play a great part in the world, but they owe their origin entirely to sympathy;[44] and so do the various systems of philosophy which have flourished at different times, the disagreement between which depends on the fact that each philosopher has sympathized with different ideas, some sympathizing with the notion of fitness or congruity, some with that of prudence, some with that of benevolence, and every one developing the conception paramount in his own mind.[45] To sympathy, again, we must ascribe the establishment of rewards and punishments, and the whole of our criminal laws, none of which would have existed but for our disposition to sympathize with those who either do good or suffer harm; for the circumstance of society being protected by penal laws, is a subsequent and subordinate discovery, which confirms our sense of their propriety, but did not suggest it.[46] The same principle causes the difference of character exhibited by different classes, such as the irritability of poets, compared with the coolness of mathematicians;[47] it likewise causes that social difference between the sexes which makes men more remarkable for generosity, and women for humanity.[48] All these results illustrate the workings

[40] "That imaginary change of situation upon which their sympathy is founded is but momentary." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. p. 21. Compare vol. ii. p. 206.

[41] "I will venture to affirm that, when there is no envy in the case, our propensity to sympathize with joy is much stronger than our propensity to sympathize with sorrow." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. p. 58. "It is because mankind are disposed to sympathize more entirely with our joy than with our sorrow, that we make parade of our riches, and conceal our poverty." p. 65.

[42] "Upon this disposition of mankind to go along with all the passions of the rich and the powerful, is founded the distinction of ranks, and the order of society. Our obsequiousness to our superiors more frequently arises from our admiration for the advantages of their situation, than from any private expectations of benefit from their good will." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. p. 69. See also vol. ii. p. 72.

[43] See the striking remarks in *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. pp. 70–72.

[44] *Moral Sentiments*, vol. ii. pp. 23, seq.

[45] *Moral Sentiments*, vol. ii. pp. 131–244. This sketch of the different systems of philosophy is perhaps the ablest part of the book, notwithstanding two or three errors which it contains.

[46] *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. pp. 89, 92, 115, 116. The utmost which he will concede to the notion of social convenience is that "we frequently have occasion to confirm our natural sense of the propriety and fitness of punishment, by reflecting how necessary it is for preserving the order of society." p. 122.

[47] *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. pp. 172–174.

[48] "Humanity is the virtue of a woman, generosity of a man. The fair sex, who have commonly much more tenderness than ours, have seldom so much generosity." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. ii. p. 19. Sufficient facts have not yet been collected to enable us to test the truth of this remark, and the loose experience of individual observers is worth very little on so wide a subject. Still, I venture to doubt the truth of Adam Smith's distinction. I suspect that women are on the whole more generous than men, as well as more tender. But to establish a proposition of this sort would require the most extensive research, made by a careful and analytic mind; and at present there is not even any tolerably good work on the mental characteristics which distinguish the sexes, and there never will be one until physiology is united with biography.

of sympathy, and are the remote, but still the direct, operations of that principle. Indeed, we can trace to it some of the minutest divisions of character; pride and vanity, for instance, being dependent on it, although those two passions are often confused together, and are sometimes strangely blended in the same mind.[49]

Sympathy, then, is the mainspring of human conduct. It arises not so much from witnessing the passions of other persons as from witnessing the situation which excites those passions.[50] To this single process we are indebted not only for the highest principles, but also for the deepest emotions. For the greatest affection of which we are capable is merely sympathy fixed into habit; and the love which exists between the nearest relations is not inherent, but is derived from this mighty and controlling principle, which governs the whole course of affairs.[51]

By this bold hypothesis Adam Smith, at one stroke, so narrowed the field of inquiry as to exclude from it all considerations of selfishness as a primary principle, and only to admit its great antagonist, sympathy. The existence of the antagonism he distinctly recognizes. For he will not allow that sympathy is in any way to be deemed a selfish principle.[52] Although he knew that it is pleasurable, and that all pleasure contains an element of selfishness, it did not suit the method of his philosophy to subject the principle of sympathy to such an inductive analysis as would reveal its elements. His business was to reason from it, and not to it. Concentrating his energy upon the deductive process, and displaying that dialectic skill which is natural to his countrymen, and of which he himself was one of the most consummate masters the world has ever seen, he constructed a system of philosophy, imperfect indeed, because the premisses were imperfect, but approaching truth as closely as it was possible for any one to do who abstained from giving due consideration to the selfish part of human nature. Into the workings of its sympathetic part he looked with a minuteness, and he reasoned from it with a subtlety, which make his work the most important that has ever been written on this interesting subject. But, inasmuch as his plan involved a deliberate suppression of preliminary and essential facts, the results which he obtained do not strictly correspond to those which are actually observed in the world.[53] This, however, as I have shown, is not a valid objection; since such discrepancy between the ideal and the actual, or between the abstract and the concrete, is the necessary consequence of that still early condition of our knowledge which forces us to study complicated questions piecemeal, and to raise them to sciences by separate and fragmentary investigations.

[49] *Moral Sentiments*, vol. ii. pp. 115–122.

[50] "Sympathy, therefore, does not arise so much from the view of the passion as from that of the situation which excites it." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. p. 6.

[51] "What is called affection is in reality nothing but habitual sympathy." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. ii. p. 63. "In some tragedies and romances we meet with many beautiful and interesting scenes, founded upon what is called the force of blood, or upon the wonderful affection which near relations are supposed to conceive for one another, even before they know that they have any such connexion. This force of blood, however, I am afraid, exists nowhere but in tragedies and romances." p. 66.

[52] "Sympathy, however, cannot in any sense be regarded as a selfish principle." *Moral Sentiments*, vol. ii. p. 206. In vol. i. p. 9, he complains of "those who are fond of deducing all our sentiments from certain refinements of self-love."

[53] This is noticed by Sir James Mackintosh, whose sketch of Adam Smith is hasty and somewhat superficial, but who, nevertheless, truly observes that Smith "has exposed himself to objections founded on experience, to which it is impossible to attempt any answer." *Mackintosh's Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy*, pp. 239, 240. See also a letter from Hume to Adam Smith, in *Burton's Life and Correspondence of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 60. [It is probable that Smith did not "deliberately" suppress the facts mentioned by Hume, but had overlooked them. Nor was it essential to his theory that he should ignore them.—Ed.]

That Adam Smith saw this necessity, and that his seeing it was the cause of the method he pursued, is evident from the fact that in his next great work he followed the same plan, and though he argued from new premisses, he carefully avoided arguing from any of the old ones. Convinced that, in his theory of morals, he had reasoned as accurately as possible from the principles supplied by sympathy, his capacious and insatiable mind, deeming that nothing had been done while aught remained to do, urged him to pass on to the opposite passion of selfishness, and treat it in the same manner, so that the whole domain of thought might be covered. This he did in his *Wealth of Nations*, which, though even a greater work than his *Moral Sentiments*, is equally one-sided, in reference to the principles which it assumes. It assumes that selfishness is the main regulator of human affairs, just as his previous work had assumed sympathy to be so. Between the two works there elapsed an interval of seventeen years; the *Wealth of Nations* not being published till 1776. But what shows that to their author both were part of a single scheme, is the notable circumstance that so early as 1753 he had laid down the principles which his later work contains.[54] This was while his former work was still in meditation, and before it had seen the light. It is therefore clear that the study which he made, first of one passion, and then of its opposite, was not a capricious or accidental arrangement, but was the consequence of that vast idea which presided over all his labours, and which, when they are rightly understood, gives to them a magnificent unity. And a glorious object of ambition it was. His aspiring and comprehensive genius, sweeping the distant horizon, and taking in the intermediate space at a glance, sought to traverse the whole ground in two separate and independent directions, indulging the hope that by supplying in one line of argument the premisses which were wanting in the other, their opposite conclusions would be compensatory rather than hostile, and would serve as a broad and permanent basis on which one great science of human nature might be safely built.

The *Wealth of Nations* is, as I have elsewhere observed,[55] probably the most important book which has ever been written, whether we consider the amount of original thought which it contains, or its practical influence. Its practical recommendations were extremely favourable to those doctrines of freedom which the eighteenth century ushered in; and this secured to them an attention which otherwise they would not have received. While, therefore, the *Wealth of Nations* was the proximate cause of a great change in legislation,[56] a deeper analysis will show that the success of the book, and consequently the alteration of the laws, depended upon the operation of more remote and general causes.* It must also be confessed that those same causes predisposed the mind of Adam Smith to the doctrines of liberty, and gave him a sort of prejudice in favour of conclusions which limited the interference of the legislator. Thus much he borrowed from his age; but one thing he did not borrow. His wide and organizing mind was all his own. This would have made him great under any circumstances; to make him powerful required a peculiar conjunction of events,

[54] "Mr. Smith's political lectures, comprehending the fundamental principles of his 'Inquiry,' were delivered at Glasgow as early as the year 1752 or 1753." *Dugald Stewart's Life of Adam Smith*, p. lxxviii., prefixed to *Smith's Posthumous Essays*, London, 4to, 1795.

[55] Above, p. 122.

[56] "Perhaps the only book which produced an immediate, general, and irrevocable change in some of the most important parts of the legislation of all civilized states." *Mackintosh's Ethical Philosophy*, p. 232. But this is too strongly expressed, as the economical history of France and Germany decisively proves. [Mackintosh was probably thinking of the general abandonment of the bullion delusion. On the continent, however, that was largely due to Montesquieu and the Physiocrats.—ED.]

[* On that view, deduction must clearly be made from the "importance" above ascribed to the book. If general causes were so influential. the work might have been done without Smith.—ED.]

That conjunction he enjoyed, and he turned it to good account. The influence of his contemporaries was enough to make him liberal; his own capacity was enough to make him comprehensive. He had, in a most remarkable degree, that exuberance of thought which is one of the highest forms of genius, but which leads those who possess it into distant excursions, which, though they have one common aim, are often stigmatized as digressions, simply because they who criticize are unable to discern the great principle which pervades the whole, and unites the various parts into a single scheme. This has been especially the case with Adam Smith, whose immortal work has often been exposed to such shallow objections. And certainly the *Wealth of Nations* displays a breadth of treatment which those who cannot sympathize with it are very likely to ridicule. The phenomena not only of wealth, but also of society in general, classified and arranged under their various forms; the origin of the division of labour, and the consequences which that division has produced; the circumstances which gave rise to the invention of money, and to the subsequent changes in its value; the history of those changes traced in different ages, and the history of the relations which the precious metals bear to each other; an examination of the connexion between wages and profits, and of the laws which govern the rise and fall of both; another examination of the way in which these are concerned on the one hand with the rent of land, and on the other hand with the price of commodities; an inquiry into the reason why profits vary in different trades, and at different times; a succinct but comprehensive view of the progress of towns in Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire; the fluctuations, during several centuries, in the prices of the food of the people, and a statement of how it is that in different stages of society the relative cost of land and of meat varies; the history of corporation laws and of municipal enactments, and their bearing on the four great classes of apprentices, manufacturers, merchants, and landlords; an account of the immense power and riches formerly enjoyed by the clergy, and of the manner in which, as society advances, they gradually lose their exclusive privileges; the nature of religious dissent, and the reason why the clergy of the Established Church can never contend with it on terms of equality, and therefore call on the State to help them, and wish to persecute when they cannot persuade; why some sects profess more ascetic principles, and others more luxurious ones; how it was that, during the feudal times, the nobles acquired their power, and how that power has ever since been gradually diminishing; how the rights of territorial jurisdiction originated, and how they died away; how the sovereigns of Europe obtained their revenue, what the sources of it are, and what classes are most heavily taxed in order to supply it; the cause of certain virtues, such as hospitality, flourishing in barbarous ages, and decaying in civilized ones; the influence of inventions and discoveries in altering the distribution of power among the various classes of society; a bold and masterly sketch of the peculiar sort of advantages which Europe derived from the discovery of America and of the passage round the Cape; the origin of universities, their degeneracy from their original plan, the corruption which has gradually crept over them, and the reason why they are so unwilling to adopt improvements, and to keep pace with the wants of the age; a comparison between public and private education, and an estimate of their relative advantages;—these, and a vast number of other subjects, respecting the structure and development of society, such as the feudal system, slavery, emancipation of serfs, origin of standing armies and of mercenary troops, effects produced by tithes, laws of primogeniture, sumptuary laws, international treaties concerning trade, rise of European banks, national debts, influence of dramatic representations over opinions, influence of foreign travels over opinions, colonies, poor-laws,—all topics of a miscellaneous character, and many of them diverging from each other,—all are fused into one great system, and irradiated by the splendour of one great genius. Into that dense and disorderly mass did Adam Smith introduce symmetry, method, and law. At his touch anarchy disappeared, and darkness was succeeded by light. Much, of course, he took from his predecessors, though nothing like so much as is commonly supposed. On this sort of borrowing the best and strongest of us are dependent. But after making every possible allowance

for what he gathered from others, we must honestly say that no single man ever took so great a step upon so important a subject, and that no single work which is now preserved contains so many views which were novel at the time, but which subsequent experience has ratified. What, however, for our present purpose is most important to observe, is that he obtained these results by arguing from principles which the selfish part of human nature exclusively supplied, and that he omitted those sympathetic feelings of which every human being possesses at least some share, but which he could not take into consideration without producing a problem, the number of whose complications it would have been hopeless to unravel.

To avoid, therefore, being baffled, he simplified the problem by erasing from his view of human nature those premisses which he had already handled in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. At the beginning of the *Wealth of Nations* he lays down two propositions : 1st, that all wealth is derived not from land but from labour ; and 2nd, that the amount of the wealth depends partly on the skill with which the labour is conducted, and partly on the proportion between the number of those who labour and the number of those who do not labour. The rest of the work is an application of these principles, to explain the growth and mechanism of society. In applying them, he everywhere assumes that the great moving power of all men, all interests, and all classes, in all ages, and in all countries, is selfishness. The opposite power of sympathy he entirely shuts out ; and I hardly remember an instance in which even the word occurs in the whole course of his work. Its fundamental assumption is that each man exclusively follows his own interest, or what he deems to be his own interest. And one of the peculiar features of his book is to show that, considering society as a whole, it nearly always happens that men, in promoting their own interest, will unintentionally promote the interest of others. Hence the great practical lesson is not to restrain selfishness, but to enlighten it ; because there is a provision in the nature of things by which the selfishness of the individual accelerates the progress of the community. According to this view, the prosperity of a country depends on the amount of its capital ; the amount of its capital depends on the habit of saving, that is, on parsimony, as opposed to generosity ; while the habit of saving is in its turn governed by the desire we all feel of bettering our condition,—a desire so inherent in our nature, that it comes with us from the womb, and only leaves us in the grave.[57]

This constant effort of every man to better his own condition is so salutary, as well as so powerful, that it is often capable of securing the progress of society, in spite of the folly and extravagance of the rulers of mankind.[58] If it were not

[57] " Parsimony, and not industry, is the immediate cause of the increase of capital. Industry, indeed, provides the subject which parsimony accumulates ; but whatever industry might acquire, if parsimony did not save and store up, the capital would never be the greater." . . . " But the principle which prompts to save, is the desire of bettering our condition ; a desire which, though generally calm and dispassionate, comes with us from the womb, and never leaves us till we go into the grave." *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, book ii. chap. iii. pp. 138, 140, edit. Edinburgh, 1839. [Capital in this sense is merely money or money-credit—an imperfect definition.—Ed.]

[58] " The uniform, constant, and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his condition, the principle from which public and national as well as private opulence is originally derived, is frequently powerful enough to maintain the natural progress of things towards improvement, in spite both of the extravagance of government and of the greatest errors of administration. Like the unknown principle of animal life, it frequently restores health and vigour to the constitution, in spite not only of the disease, but of the absurd prescriptions of the doctor." *Wealth of Nations*, book ii. chap. iii. p. 141. " The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition, when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security, is so powerful a principle, that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often encumbers its operations." Book iv. chap. v. p. 221.

for this propensity, improvement would be impossible. For human institutions are constantly stopping our advance, by thwarting our natural inclinations.[59] And no wonder that this should be the case, seeing that the men who are at the head of affairs, and by whom the institutions are contrived, have perhaps a certain rough and practical sagacity, but being from the narrowness of their understandings incapable of large views, their councils are determined by those mere casual fluctuations which alone they are able to perceive.[60] They do not see that we have prospered, not on account of their enactments, but in the teeth of them; and that the real cause of our prosperity is the fact that we enjoy undisturbed the fruit of our own labour.[61] Whenever this right is tolerably secure, every man will be bent on procuring for himself either present enjoyment or future profit; and if he does not aim at one of these objects, he is void of common understanding.[62] If he possess capital, he will probably aim at both, but in doing so he will never consider the interest of others; his sole motive will be his own private profit.[63] And it is well that such should be the case. For by thus pursuing his personal interest he aids society more than if his views were generous and exalted. Some people affect to carry on trade for the good of others; but this is mere affectation, though, to say the truth, it is an affectation not very common among merchants, and many words are not needed to dissuade them from so foolish a practice.[64]

In this way Adam Smith completely changes the premisses which he had assumed in his earlier work. Here he makes men naturally selfish; formerly he had made them naturally sympathetic.[65] Here he represents them as pursuing wealth for sordid objects, and for the narrowest personal pleasures; formerly he represented them as pursuing it out of regard to the sentiments of others, and for the sake of obtaining their sympathy.[66] In the *Wealth of Nations* we hear no more of this conciliatory and sympathetic spirit; such amiable maxims are altogether forgotten, and the affairs of the world are regulated by different principles. It now appears that benevolence and affection have no influence over our actions. Indeed, Adam Smith will hardly admit common

[59] See an admirable passage, p. 156, too long to quote, beginning, "If human institutions had never thwarted those natural inclinations," etc.

[60] "That insidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman or politician, whose councils are directed by the momentary fluctuations of affairs." *Wealth of Nations*, book iv. chap. ii. p. 190.

[61] "That security which the laws in Great Britain give to every man, that he shall enjoy the fruits of his own labour, is alone sufficient to make any country flourish, notwithstanding these and twenty other absurd regulations of commerce." *Wealth of Nations*, book iv. chap. v. p. 221.

[62] "In all countries where there is a tolerable security, every man of common understanding will endeavour to employ whatever stock he can command, in procuring either present enjoyment or future profit." *Wealth of Nations*, book ii. chap. i. p. 115.

[63] "The consideration of his own private profit is the sole motive which determines the owner of any capital to employ it either in agriculture, in manufactures, or in some particular branch of the wholesale or retail trade." *Wealth of Nations*, book ii. chap. v. p. 154.

[64] "By pursuing his own interest, he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good. It is an affectation, indeed, not very common among merchants, and very few words need be employed in dissuading them from it." *Wealth of Nations*, book iv. chap. ii. p. 184.

[65] In this *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. p. 21, he says that mankind are "naturally sympathetic."

[66] "Nay, it is chiefly for this regard to the sentiments of mankind that we pursue riches and avoid poverty." *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, vol. i. p. 66. "To become the natural object of the joyous congratulations and sympathetic attentions of mankind is, in this manner, the circumstance which gives to prosperity all its dazzling splendour." p. 78.

humanity into his theory of motives. If a people emancipate their slaves, it is a proof not that the people are acted on by high moral considerations, nor that their sympathy is excited by the cruelty inflicted on these unhappy creatures. Nothing of the sort. Such inducements to conduct are imaginary, and exercise no real sway. All that the emancipation proves is that the slaves were few in number, and therefore small in value. Otherwise, they would not have been emancipated.[67]

So, too, while in his former work he had ascribed the different systems of morals to the power of sympathy he in this work ascribes them entirely to the power of selfishness. He observes that among the lower ranks of society dissipation is more fatal to individuals than it is among the higher ranks. The extravagance which dissipation produces may injure the fortune of a wealthy man, but the injury is usually capable of being repaired, or at all events he can indulge his vices for years without completely destroying his fortune, and without bringing himself to utter ruin. To the labourer, a similar indulgence would be fatal in a single week; it would not merely reduce him to beggary, and perhaps send him to jail, but it would destroy his future prospects by taking away that character for sobriety and regularity on which his employment depends. Hence the better class of common people, guided by their interest, look with aversion on excesses which they know to be fatal; while the upper ranks, finding that a moderate amount of vice hurts neither their purse nor their reputation, consider such licence to be one of the advantages which their fortune confers, and they value, as one of the privileges belonging to their station, the liberty of indulging themselves without being censured. Therefore it is that they who dissent from the Established Church have a purer system of morals, or at all events an austerer one, than they who agree with it. For new religious sects usually begin among the common people, the thinking part of whom are by their interest driven to strict views of the duties of life. Consequently the advocates of the new opinion profess a similar strictness, seeing that it is the surest means of increasing their proselytes. Thus it is that sectaries and heretics, governed by interest rather than by principle, adopt a code of morals which is suited to their own purpose, and the rigidity of which is strongly contrasted with the laxer code of more orthodox believers.[68] Owing to the

[67] "The late resolution of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, to set at liberty all their negro slaves, may satisfy us that their number cannot be very great. Had they made any considerable part of their property, such a resolution could never have been agreed to." *Wealth of Nations*, book iii. chap. ii. p. 159.

[68] "In every civilized society, in every society where the distinction of ranks has once been completely established, there have been always two different schemes or systems of morality current at the same time; of which the one may be called the strict or austere; the other the liberal, or, if you will, the loose system. The former is generally revered and admired by the common people; the latter is commonly more esteemed and adopted by what are called the people of fashion. The degree of disapprobation with which we ought to mark the vices of levity, the vices which are apt to arise from great prosperity, and from the excess of gaiety and good humour, seems to constitute the principal distinction between those two opposite schemes or systems. In the liberal or loose system, luxury, wanton and even disorderly mirth, the pursuit of pleasure to some degree of intemperance, the breach of chastity, at least in one of the two sexes, provided they are not accompanied with gross indecency, and do not lead to falsehood and injustice, are generally treated with a good deal of indulgence, and are easily either excused or pardoned altogether. In the austere system, on the contrary, these excesses are regarded with the utmost abhorrence and detestation. The vices of levity are always ruinous to the common people, and a single week's thoughtlessness and dissipation is often sufficient to undo a poor workman for ever, and to drive him, through despair, upon committing the most enormous crimes. The wiser and better sort of the common people, therefore, have always the utmost abhorrence and detestation of such excesses, which their experience tells them are so immediately fatal to people of their condition. The disorder and extravagance of several years, on the contrary, will not always ruin

operation of the same principle, we also find that among the orthodox themselves the clergy embrace a stricter system of morals in countries where church benefices are nearly equal than they do in countries where the benefices are very unequal. This is because, when all the benefices are nearly equal, none can be very rich, and consequently even the most conspicuous among the clergy will have but small incomes. But a man who has little to spend can have no influence unless his morals are exemplary. Having no wealth to give him weight, the vices of levity would make him ridiculous. To avoid contempt, and also to avoid the expense which a looseness of conduct occasions, and which his narrow circumstances cannot afford, he has but one remedy, and that remedy he adopts. He retains his influence, and saves his pocket, by protesting against pleasures which he cannot conveniently enjoy; in this as in all other cases pursuing that plan of life which his own interest urges him to follow.[69]

In these striking generalizations, which, though they contain a large amount of truth, are far from containing the whole truth, no room is left for the magnanimous parts of our nature to act; but the system of morals prevailing at any one time or in any one class is solely ascribed to the dictates of unalloyed selfishness. Adam Smith, by reasoning from this principle, with that exquisite subtlety which characterized his mind, explains many other circumstances which society presents, and which at first sight appear incongruous. According to the old notions, which indeed are not yet quite extinct, those who received wages were under a personal obligation to those who paid them; that is to say, they were under a moral obligation, over and above the obligation of performing certain services. It was believed that a master could not only select what servants he chose, but could pay them what he chose; or, at all events, that it was the will of the masters, considered as a body, which fixed the usual and average rate of wages.[70] The lower classes were therefore much indebted to

a man of fashion; and people of that rank are very apt to consider the power of indulging in some degree of excess as one of the advantages of their fortune; and the liberty of doing so without censure or reproach, as one of the privileges which belong to their station. In people of their own station, therefore, they regard such excesses with but a small degree of disapprobation, and censure them either very slightly or not at all.

"Almost all religious sects have begun among the common people, from whom they have generally drawn their earliest as well as their most numerous proselytes. The austere system of morality has accordingly been adopted by those sects almost constantly, or with very few exceptions; for there have been some. It was the system by which they could best recommend themselves to that order of people to whom they first proposed their plan of reformation upon what had been before established. Many of them, perhaps the greater part of them, had even endeavoured to gain credit by refining upon this austere system, and by carrying it to some degree of folly and extravagance; and this excessive rigour has frequently recommended them, more than anything else, to the respect and veneration of the common people." . . . "In little religious sects, accordingly, the morals of the common people have been almost always remarkably regular and orderly; generally much more so than in the established church. The morals of those little sects, indeed, have frequently been rather disagreeably rigorous and unsocial." *Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. i. pp. 332, 333.

[69] "Where the church benefices are all nearly equal, none of them can be very great; and this mediocrity of benefice, though it may no doubt be carried too far, has however some very agreeable effects. Nothing but exemplary morals can give dignity to a man of small fortune. The vices of levity and vanity necessarily render him ridiculous, and are, besides, almost as ruinous to him as they are to the common people. In his own conduct, therefore, he is obliged to follow that system of morals which the common people respect the most. He gains their esteem and affection by that plan of life which his own interest and situation would lead him to follow." *Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. i. p. 340.

[70] Besides the evidence supplied by economical treatises, the laws in our statute-book respecting wages show the general conviction that their rate could be fixed by the upper classes.

the higher ones for giving them so much as they did ; and it was incumbent upon all persons who received wages to take them with humble thankfulness, and with a feeling of gratitude, on account of the favour bestowed upon them by the generosity of their superiors.

This doctrine, so convenient to the upper classes of society, and so natural to the universal ignorance which formerly prevailed on these matters, began to be shaken by the speculative thinkers of the seventeenth century ; but it was reserved for the eighteenth century to overthrow it, by letting in the great idea of necessity, and proving that the rate of wages established in a country was the inevitable consequence of the circumstances in which that country was placed, and had no connexion with the wishes of any individual, or indeed with the wishes of any class.* To all instructed persons this is now a familiar truth. Its discovery has excluded the notion of gratitude from the pecuniary relation between employers and employed, and has made known that servants or workmen who receive wages have no more reason to be grateful than those who pay them. For no choice having been exercised in fixing the wages, no favour can be conferred in their payment. The whole process is compulsory, and is the result of what had previously happened. Scarcely had the eighteenth century passed away when this most important discovery was completed. It was decisively proved that the reward of labour depends solely on two things : namely, the magnitude of that national fund out of which all labour is paid, and the number of the labourers among whom the fund is to be divided.†

This vast step in our knowledge is due mainly, though not entirely, to Malthus, whose work on Population, besides marking an epoch in the history of speculative thought, has already produced considerable practical results, and will probably give rise to others more considerable still. It was published in 1798 ; so that Adam Smith, who died in 1790, missed what to him would have been the intense pleasure of seeing how in it his own views were expanded rather than corrected. Indeed it is certain that without Smith there would have been no Malthus ; that is, unless Smith had laid the foundation Malthus could not have raised the superstructure. It was Adam Smith who, far more than any other man, introduced the conception of uniform and necessary sequence into the apparently capricious phenomena of wealth, and who studied those phenomena by the aid of principles of which selfishness alone supplied the data. According to his view, the employers of labour have, as employers, no benevolence, no sympathy, no virtue of any kind. Their sole aim is their own selfish interest. They are constantly engaged in a tacit, if not in an open, combination to prevent the lower ranks from being benefited by a rise of wages ; and they sometimes combine for the purpose even of depressing those wages below their actual rate.[71] Having no bowels, they think only of themselves. The idea of their wishing to mitigate the inequalities of fortune is to be exploded as one of the chimeras of that

[71] "We rarely hear, it has been said, of the combinations of masters, though frequently of those of workmen. But whoever imagines, upon this account, that masters rarely combine, is as ignorant of the world as of the subject. Masters are always and everywhere in a sort of tacit, but constant and uniform, combination, not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate. To violate this combination is everywhere a most unpopular action, and a sort of reproach to a master among his neighbours and equals. We seldom, indeed, hear of this combination, because it is the usual, and, one may say, the natural state of things which nobody ever hears of. Masters, too, sometimes enter into particular combinations to sink the wages of labour even below this rate." *Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. viii. p. 28.

[* On the contrary, Ricardo admitted that the standard of comfort of the workers does affect wages, and that wages vary with that standard (*Principles of Polit. Econ.* 2nd ed. pp. 90, 91). The expression "no connexion with the wishes" is an extravagance.—Ed.]

[† As before noted, this formula is now abandoned by economists, there being no fixed or fixable "fund" applicable to wage-paying.—Ed.]

protective spirit which imagined that society could not go on unless the richer classes relieved the poorer ones and sympathized with their troubles. This antiquated notion is further rebutted by the fact that wages are always higher in summer than in winter, although the expenses which a labourer incurs in winter being heavier than in summer, he ought, on principles of common humanity, to receive more money during the more expensive season.[72] In the same way, in years of scarcity, the dearness of food causes many persons to go to service, in order to support their families. The masters, instead of charitably paying such servants more on account of the unfortunate position in which they are placed, avail themselves of that position to pay them less. They make better terms for themselves ; they lower wages just at the moment when sympathy for misfortune would have raised them ; and as they find that their servants, besides being worse remunerated, are by poverty made more submissive, they consider that scarcity is a blessing, and that dear years are to be commended as more favourable to industry than cheap ones.[73]

Adam Smith, therefore, though he failed in grasping the remote cause of the rate of wages, clearly saw that the proximate cause was not the generosity of human nature, but its selfishness, and that the question was one of supply and demand ; each side striving to extract as much as possible from the other.[74] By the aid of the same principle he explained another curious fact, namely, the extravagant rewards bestowed on some of the most despicable classes of society, such, for instance, as opera-dancers, who always receive enormous pay for insignificant services.* He observes that one of the reasons why we pay them so highly is because we despise them. If to be a public dancer were a creditable occupation, more persons would be brought up to it, and the supply of public dancers becoming greater, competition would lower their wages. As it is, we look on them disdainfully. By way of compensating the disdain, we have to bribe them largely to induce them to follow their pursuit.[75] Here we see that the reward which one class bestows on another, instead of being

[72] " First, in almost every part of Great Britain, there is a distinction, even in the lowest species of labour, between summer and winter wages. Summer wages are always highest. But, on account of the extraordinary expense of fuel, the maintenance of a family is most expensive in winter. Wages, therefore, being highest when this expense is lowest, it seems evident that they are not regulated by what is necessary for this expense, but by the quantity and supposed value of the work." *Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. viii. p. 31.

[73] " In years of scarcity, the difficulty and uncertainty of subsistence make all such people eager to return to service. But the high price of provisions, by diminishing the funds destined for the maintenance of servants, disposes masters rather to diminish than to increase the number of those they have." . . . " Masters of all sorts, therefore, frequently make better bargains with their servants in dear than in cheap years, and find them more humble and dependent in the former than in the latter. They naturally, therefore, commend the former as more favourable to industry." *Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. viii. p. 35.

[74] " The workmen desire to get as much, the masters to give as little, as possible. The former are disposed to combine in order to raise, the latter in order to lower, the wages of labour." *Wealth of Nations*, b. i. c. viii. p. 27.

[75] " It seems absurd at first sight, that we should despise their persons, and yet reward their talents with the most profuse liberality. While we do the one, however, we must of necessity do the other. Should the public opinion, or prejudice, ever alter with regard to such occupations, their pecuniary recompense would quickly diminish. More people would apply to them, and the competition would quickly reduce the price of their labour. Such talents, though far from being common, are by no means so rare as imagined. Many people possess them in great perfection, who disdain to make this use of them ; and many more are capable of acquiring them, if anything could be made honourably by

[* The term " despicable," as Buckle would probably have admitted, is unwarrantable ; and opera dancers certainly do not " always receive enormous pay."—Ed.]

increased by sympathy, is increased by scorn; so that the more we contemn the tastes and the way of life of our fellow creatures, the more liberal we are in recompensing them.*

Passing to another and somewhat different class, Adam Smith threw new light on the cause of that hospitality for which the clergy were famous during the Middle Ages, and for the magnificence of which they have received great praise. He shows that, although they undoubtedly relieved a large amount of distress, this is not to be ascribed to them as a merit, since it resulted from the peculiarity of their position, and since, moreover, they did it for their own advantage. In the Middle Ages the clergy possessed enormous wealth, and their revenues were mostly paid, not in money, but in kind, such as corn, wine, and cattle. Trade and manufactures being hardly known, the clergy could find no use for these commodities except to feed other people. By employing them in that way, they benefited themselves in the most effectual manner. They gained a reputation for extensive charity; they increased their influence; they multiplied the number of their adherents; and they not only advanced themselves to temporal power, but they secured to their spiritual threats a respect which, without this contrivance, it would have been impossible for them to obtain.[76]

The reader will now be able to understand the nature of that method of investigation which is adopted in the *Wealth of Nations*, and of which I have given more instances than I should otherwise have done, partly because the question of philosophic method lies at the very root of our knowledge, and partly because no attempt has hitherto been made to analyze the intellect of Adam Smith by considering his two great works as the opposite, but yet the compensatory, parts of a single scheme. And as he is by far the greatest thinker Scotland has produced, I need hardly apologize, in a history of the Scotch mind, for devoting so much attention to his system, and endeavouring to examine it at its base. But, having done so, it would be a needless prolixity to treat with equal fulness the productions of those other eminent Scotchmen who lived at the same time, and nearly all of whom pursued a method essentially, though not entirely, the same; that is to say, they preferred the deductive process of reasoning from principles, to the inductive process of reasoning to them. In that peculiar form of deduction which consists in a deliberate suppression of part of the principles, Adam Smith stands alone. For though others attempted to follow that plan, they did so irregularly and at intervals,

them." *Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. x. p. 44. [Buckle does not ask whether Smith is here deductive or inductive. If deductive, his statistical statement is worthless. But his phrases "far from common" and "many people" show he had no clear basis for an induction. His theory is in fact unsound, as the painful case of prostitutes sufficiently shows. Fine dancing *is* a rare accomplishment.—Ed.]

[76] "Over and above the rents of those estates, the clergy possessed in the tithes a very large portion of the rents of all the other estates in every kingdom of Europe. The revenues arising from both those species of rents were, the greater part of them, paid in kind, in corn, wine, cattle, poultry, etc. The quantity exceeded greatly what the clergy could themselves consume; and there were neither arts nor manufactures for the produce of which they could exchange the surplus. The clergy could derive advantage from this immense surplus in no other way than by employing it, as the great barons employed the like surplus of their revenues, in the most profuse hospitality, and in the most extensive charity. Both the hospitality and the charity of the ancient clergy, accordingly, are said to have been very great." . . . "The hospitality and charity of the clergy, too, not only gave them the command of a great temporal force, but increased very much the weight of their spiritual weapons. Those virtues procured them the highest respect and veneration among all the inferior ranks of people, of whom many were constantly, and almost all occasionally, fed by them." *Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. i. p. 336.

[* This is an obvious over-statement even of Smith's position. On this view, ragpickers would be highly rewarded.—Ed.]

and did not, like him, see the importance of keeping close to their method, and of invariably abstaining from letting into the premisses of their arguments considerations which would complicate the problem that they wished to solve.

Among the contemporaries of Adam Smith, one of the first, in eminence as well as in reputation, is David Hume. His views respecting political economy were published in 1752,[77] that is, the very year in which Adam Smith taught the principles subsequently unfolded in the *Wealth of Nations*. But Hume, though a most accomplished reasoner, as well as a profound and fearless thinker, had not the comprehensiveness of Adam Smith, nor had he that invaluable quality of imagination without which no one can so transport himself into past ages as to realize the long and progressive movements of society, always fluctuating, yet on the whole steadily advancing. How unimaginative he was, appears not only from the sentiments he expressed, but likewise from many traits in his private life.[78] It appears also in the very colour and mechanism of his language; that beautiful and chiselled style in which he habitually wrote, polished as marble, but cold as marble too, and wanting that fiery enthusiasm and those bursts of tempestuous eloquence which ever and anon great objects naturally inspire, and which rouse men to their inmost depths. This it was which in his *History of England*,—that exquisite production of art, which, in spite of its errors, will be admired as long as taste remains among us,*— prevented him from sympathizing with those bold and generous natures who, in the seventeenth century, risked their all to preserve the liberty of their country. His imagination was not strong enough to picture the whole of that great century, with its vast discoveries, its longings after the unknown, its splendid literature, and, what was better than all these, its stern determination to vindicate freedom, and to put down tyranny. His clear and powerful understanding saw these things separately, and in their various parts, but could not fuse them into a single form, because he lacked that peculiar faculty which assimilates the past to the present, and enables the mind to discern both with almost equal ease. That Great Rebellion which he ascribed to the spirit of faction, and the leaders of which he turned into ridicule, was but the continuation of a movement which can be clearly traced to the twelfth century, and of which such events as the invention of printing, and the establishment of the Reformation, were merely successive symptoms. For all this Hume cared nothing. In regard to philosophy, and in regard to the purely speculative parts of religious doctrines, his penetrating genius enabled him to perceive that nothing could be done, except by a spirit of fearless and unrestrained liberty. But this was the liberty of his own class; the liberty of thinkers, and not of actors.† His absence of imagination prevented him from extending the range of his sympathy beyond the intellectual classes—that is, beyond the classes of whose feelings he was directly cognizant. It would therefore appear that his political errors were due, not as is commonly said, to his want of research, but rather to the coldness of his temperament.[79] It was this which made him stop where he did,

[77] *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. i. p. 354.

[78] See Mr. Burton's valuable *Life of Hume*, Edinburgh, 1846, vol. i. pp. 58, 267, vol. ii. pp. 14, 134.

[79] What confirms me in this view is the fact that the older Hume grew, and the more he read on history, the more he became imbued with these errors; which would not have been the case if the errors had, as many of his critics say, been the result of an insufficient acquaintance with the evidence. Mr. Burton, by comparing the different editions of his *History of England*, has shown that he gradually became less favourable to popular liberty; softening or erasing, in later editions, those expressions which seemed favourable to freedom. *Burton's Life of Hume*, vol. ii. pp. 74–77. See also pp. 144, 434. In his *Own Life*, p. xi. (in vol. i. of *Hume's Works*, Edinb. 1826), he says: "In above a hundred

[* It is to be feared that present-day taste does not ratify Buckle's verdict, in which he coincides with—of all men—Alison.—Ed.]

[† It is but fair to note that Hume, like Hobbes, was hostile to the Puritan spirit precisely because it restricted liberty of speech and action.—Ed.]

and which gave to his works the singular appearance of a profound and original thinker, in the middle of the eighteenth century, advocating practical doctrines so illiberal that if enforced they would lead to despotism, and yet at the same time advocating speculative doctrines so fearless and enlightened that they were not only far in advance of his own age, but have in some degree outstripped even the age in which we live.

Among his speculative views, the most important are his theory of causation as discarding the idea of power, and his theory of the laws of association. Neither of these theories are in their primary conception quite original, but his treatment made them as valuable as if they had been entirely his own. His theory of miracles, in connexion, on the one hand, with the principles of evidence, and on the other hand with the laws of causation, is worked out with consummate skill, and, after having received the modifications subsequently imposed by Brown, has now become the foundation on which the best inquirers into these matters take their stand.[80] His work on the principles of morals, by generalizing the laws of expediency, prepared the way for Bentham, who afterwards incorporated with them an estimate of the more remote consequences of human actions; Hume having chiefly confined himself to their more immediate consequences. The doctrine of utility was common to both; but while Hume applied it mainly to the individual, Bentham applied it to the surrounding society. Though Bentham was more conprehensive, yet Hume, having come first, was more original. The praise of originality must also be accorded to his economical theories, in which he advocated those principles of free trade which politicians began to adopt many years after his death.[81] In opposition

alterations, which farther study, reading, or reflection, engaged me to make in the reigns of the two first Stuarts, I have made all of them invariably to the Tory side." In one of his essays, he observes (*Philosophical Works*, vol. iv. p. 172) that "there is no enthusiasm among philosophers;" a remark perfectly true, so far as he was concerned, but very unjust towards the class of men to whom it refers.

[80] Brown, in his great work,—one of the greatest which this century has produced,—candidly confesses that his own book is "chiefly reflective of the lights, which he" (Hume) "has given." *Brown's Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect*, London, 1835, p. 253. See also p. vii. [Here again Buckle's eulogy is not endorsed by later students.—Ed.]

[81] While the politicians of his own time despised his views, the politicians of our time seem inclined to overrate them. Lord Brougham, for instance, in his *Life of Hume*, says, of his political economy, "Mr. Hume is, beyond all doubt, the author of the modern doctrines which now rule the world of science." *Brougham's Works*, Glasgow, 1856, vol. ii. p. 176. But so far from this being the case, the science of political economy has since the time of Hume received such additions that if that illustrious philosopher were to rise from the dead, he would hardly be able to recognize it. To him, many of its largest and most fundamental principles were entirely unknown. Hume knew nothing of the causes which govern the accumulation of wealth, and compel that accumulation to proceed with different speed in different states of society; a fruitful and important study almost entirely neglected until entered upon by Rae. Neither did Hume know anything of the law of the ratio between population and wages; nor of the ratio between wages and profits. He even supposes (*Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. p. 299, Edinburgh, 1826) that it is possible for the labouring classes by combination "to heighten their wages;" and again (p. 319) that the richer a nation is, and the more trade it has, the easier it will be for a poor country to undersell its manufactures, because the poor nation enjoys the advantage of a "low price of labour." Elsewhere, he asserts that coin can be depreciated without raising prices, and that a country, by taxing a foreign commodity, could increase its own population. "Were all our money, for instance, re-coined, and a penny's worth of silver taken from every shilling, the new shilling would probably purchase everything that could have been bought by the old; the prices of everything would thereby be insensibly diminished; foreign trade enlivened; and domestic industry, by the circulation of a great number of pounds and shillings, would receive some increase and encouragement." *Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. p. 324. "A tax on German linen

to the notions then prevailing, he distinctly asserted that all commodities, though apparently bought by money, are in reality bought by labour.[82] Money, therefore, is not the subject of commerce, and is of no use except to facilitate it.[83] Hence, it is absurd for a nation to trouble itself about the balance of trade, or to make regulations to discourage the exportation of the precious metals.[84] Neither does the average rate of interest depend on their scarcity or abundance, but upon the operation of more general causes.[85] As a necessary consequence of these positions, Hume inferred that the established policy was wrong which made trading states look upon each other as rivals, while in point of fact the question, if considered from a certain height, was one not of rivalry but of co-operation; every country being benefited by the increasing wealth of its neighbours.[86] Those who know the character of commercial legislation, and the opinions of even the most enlightened statesmen a century ago, will consider these views as extremely remarkable to have been propounded in the year 1752. But what is more remarkable still is that their author subsequently

encourages home manufactures, and thereby mulitiplies our people and industry." p. 365. These are cardinal errors, which go to the very root of political economy; and when we fairly estimate what has been done by Malthus and Ricardo, it will be evident that Hume's doctrines do not "rule the world of science." This is no disparagement of Hume, who, on the contrary, effected wonderful things, considering the then state of knowledge. The mistake is, in imagining that such a rapidly advancing science as political economy can be governed by doctrines propounded more than a century ago. [Apart from the last two citations, the statements quoted from Hume are not errors at all. The workers *can* raise their wages in certain cases by combination. Poor countries *can* manufacture more cheaply than rich, and so undersell them. And our silver coin *has* been depreciated below face value without raising prices, though the further theory about bettering trade is a fallacy. Smith's economics, it should be added, have been improved upon, as well as Hume's.—ED.]

[82] "Everything in the world is purchased by labour, and our passions are the only causes of labour." *Essay I. On Commerce*, in *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. p. 294. Hence he saw the fallacy of the assertion of the French economists, "that all taxes fall ultimately upon land." p. 388.

[83] "Money is not, properly speaking, one of the subjects of commerce, but only the instrument which men have agreed upon to facilitate the exchange of one commodity for another." *Essay on Money*, in *Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. p. 317. "It is indeed evident that money is nothing but the representation of labour and commodities, and serves only as a method of rating or estimating them." p. 321.

[84] See *Essay V. on the Balance of Trade*, in *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. pp. 348–367.

[85] *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. pp. 333–335. Even now, a knowledge of this truth is so little diffused that lately, when Australia and California began to yield immense quantities of gold, a notion was widely circulated that the interest of money would consequently fall; although nothing can be more certain than that if gold were to become as plentiful as iron, the interest of money would be unaffected. The whole effect would fall upon price. The remarks on this subject in *Ritchie's Life of Hume*, London, 1807, pp. 332, 333, are interesting, as illustrating the slow progress of opinion, and the difficulty which minds not specially trained experience when they attempt to investigate these subjects.

[86] "Nothing is more usual, among states which have made some advance in commerce, than to look on the progress of their neighbours with a suspicious eye, to consider all trading states as their rivals, and to suppose that it is impossible for any of them to flourish, but at their expense. In opposition to this narrow and malignant opinion, I will venture to assert that the increase of riches and commerce in any one nation, instead of hurting, commonly promotes the riches and commerce of all its neighbours." . . . "I go farther, and observe that where an open communication is preserved among nations, it is impossible but the domestic industry of every one must receive an increase from the improvements of the others." *Essay on the Jealousy of Trade*, in *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. pp. 368, 369.

detected the fundamental error which Adam Smith committed, and which vitiates many of his conclusions. The error consists in his having resolved price into three components, namely, wages, profit, and rent; whereas it is now known that price is a compound of wages and profit, and that rent is not an element of it, but a result of it.* This discovery is the corner-stone of political economy; but it is established by an argument so long and so refined that most minds are unable to pursue it without stumbling, and the majority of those who acquiesce in it are influenced by the great writers to whom they pay deference, and whose judgment they follow. It is therefore a striking proof of the sagacity of Hume, that in an age when the science was but dawning, and when he could receive little help from his predecessors, he should have discovered a mistake of this sort, which lies so far beneath the surface. Directly the *Wealth of Nations* appeared, he wrote to Adam Smith, disputing his position that rent is a part of price;[87] and this letter, written in the year 1776, is the first indication of that celebrated theory of rent which, a little later, Anderson,† Malthus, and West, saw and imperfectly developed, but which it was reserved for the genius of Ricardo to build up on a broad and solid foundation.

It is very observable that Hume and Adam Smith, who made such immense additions to our knowledge of the principles of trade, had no practical acquaintance with it.[88] Hume had at an early period of his life been in a mercantile house; but he threw up that employment in disgust, and buried himself in a provincial town, to think, rather than to observe.[89] Indeed, one of the capital defects of his mind was a disregard of facts. This did not proceed, as is too often the case, from that worst form of moral obliquity, an indifference to truth;

[87] This letter, which I have referred to above, p. 143, was published for, I believe the first time, in 1846, in *Burton's Life and Correspondence of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 486. It is however very difficult to determine what Adam Smith's opinion really was upon this subject, and how far he was aware that rent did not enter into price. In one passage in the *Wealth of Nations* (book i. chap. vi. p. 21) he says of wages, profit, and rent, "In every society, the price of every commodity finally resolves itself into some one or other, or all of those three parts; and *in every improved society all the three enter, more or less, as component parts, into the price of the far greater part of commodities.*" But in book i. chap. x. p. 61, he says, "High or low wages and profit are the causes of high or low price; high or low rent is the effect of it." This latter opinion we now know to be the true one: it is, however, incompatible with that expressed in the first passage. For if rent is the effect of price, it cannot be a component of it.

[88] Hence when the *Wealth of Nations* appeared, one of our wise men gravely said that "Dr. Smith, who had never been in trade, could not be expected to write well on that subject, any more than a lawyer upon physic." See *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, edit. Croker, 1848, p. 478, where this remark is ascribed to Sir John Pringle.

[89] "He was sent to a mercantile house at Bristol in 1734; but he found the drudgery of this employment intolerable, and he retired to Rheims." *Brougham's Life of Hume*, Glasgow, 1856, p. 169. See also *Ritchie's Life of Hume*, p. 6. In *Roberts' Memoirs of Hannah More*, 2nd ed. 1834, vol. i. p. 16, it is said that "two years of his life were spent in a merchant's counting-house in Bristol, whence he was dismissed on account of the promptitude of his pen in the correction of the letters intrusted to him to copy." The latter part of this story is improbable; the former part is certainly incorrect; since Humehimself says, "In 1734 I went to Bristol, with some recommendations to eminent merchants, but *in a few months* found that scene totally unsuitable to me. I went over to France, with a view of prosecuting my studies in a country retreat." *Own Life*, p. v.

[* As goods are at times sold below cost price, the formula in the text is not truly comprehensive; and as regards manufactured goods, rent may as truly be said to "enter into" normal price as profits, seeing that practically no goods are produced save in plaes that pay monopoly rent, and factory rents do not rise with prices or profits. Strictly, however, price is an equation between supply and demand.—Ed.]

[† Anderson's exposition of the law of rent—which Buckle here mentions, though he ovrlooked it in a previous reference to the subject—is not fairly to be called imperfect; and Ricardo did not essentially improve upon it.—Ed.]

since he on the contrary was an ardent lover of it, and was moreover a man of the purest and most exemplary character, utterly incapable of falsehood, or of prevarication of any kind.[90] In him, a contempt for facts was merely the exaggerated result of a devotion to ideas. He not only believed, with perfect justice, that ideas are more important than facts, but he supposed that they should hold the first place in the order of study, and that they should be developed before the facts are investigated. The Baconian philosophy, which, though it allows a preliminary and tentative hypothesis, strongly insists upon the necessity of first collecting the facts and then proceeding to the ideas, excited his aversion; and this, I have no doubt, is the reason why he, who was usually so lenient in his judgments, and who was so keen an admirer of intellectual greatness, is nevertheless grossly unfair towards Bacon, with whose method it was impossible for him to sympathize, though he could not deny its utility in physical science.[91] If Hume had followed the Baconian scheme, of always rising from

[90] What Sir James Mackintosh says of him is only a faint echo of the general voice of his contemporaries. "His temper was calm, not to say cold; but though none of his feelings were ardent, all were engaged on the side of virtue. He was free from the slightest tincture of malignity or meanness; his conduct was uniformly excellent." *Mackintosh's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 162. A greater than Mackintosh, and a man who knew Hume intimately, expresses himself in much warmer terms. "Upon the whole," writes Adam Smith, "Upon the whole, I have always considered him, both in his lifetime and since his death, as approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit." *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. i. p. xxv. Some notices of Hume will be found in an interesting work just published, *Autobiography of Alexander Carlyle*, Edinburgh, 1860, pp. 272–278. But Carlyle, though a man of considerable practical skill, was incapable of large views, and was therefore unable, I will not say to measure, but even to conceive, the size of such an understanding as that possessed by David Hume. Of his want of speculative power a decisive instance appears in his remarks on Adam Smith. He gravely says (*Autobiography*, p. 281), "Smith's fine writing is chiefly displayed in his book on *Moral Sentiment*, which is the pleasantest and most eloquent book on the subject. His *Wealth of Nations*, from which he was judged to be an inventive genius of the first order, is tedious and full of repetition. His separate essays in the second volume have the air of being occasional pamphlets, without much force or determination. On political subjects his opinions were not very sound." It is rather too much when a village-preacher writes in this strain of the greatest man his country has ever produced.

[91] He speaks of him in the following extraordinary terms. "If we consider the variety of talents displayed by this man; as a public speaker, a man of business, a wit, a courtier, a companion, an author, a philosopher, he is justly the object of great admiration. If we consider him merely as an author and philosopher, the light in which we view him at present, though very estimable, *he was yet inferior to his contemporary Galileo, perhaps even to Kepler*." . . . "The national spirit which prevails among the English, and which forms their great happiness, is the cause why they bestow on all their eminent writers, and on Bacon among the rest, such praises and acclamations as may often appear partial and excessive." *Hume's History of England*, vol. vi. pp. 194, 195, London, 1789. [It is now very generally agreed that Bacon's *method* was of little or no service to physical science, though he certainly stimulated scientific thought. Compare Ellis's General Preface to his and Spedding's edition of *Bacon's Works*, i. 38; Brewster, *Life of Newton*, 1855, ii. 400–4; Lange, *History of Materialism*, Eng. tr. i. 236–7; Jevons, *Principles of Science*, 1-vol. ed. p. 576; Mill, *System of Logic*, b. vi. ch. v. § 5; Tyndall, *Scientific Use of the Imagination*, etc. 3rd ed. pp. 4, 8–9, 42–43; Bagehot, *Postulates of English Political Economy*, Student's ed. pp. 17–19. See also Buckle's own admissions in his essay on *Mill on Liberty* (*Misc. and Posth. Works*, abridged ed. i. 9–101,) and below, above *note* 149. These admissions go far to justify Hume's language. Certainly Bacon did less for science than did Galileo and Kepler; and he rejected the Copernican theory, as Hume notes. It is true, however, that Hume met the anti-Scotch animus common in England in his day by a certain anti-English animus, seen in his remarks on Shakspere. (*Buckle's Misc. Works*, as cited, ii. 235).—Ed.]

particulars to generals, and from each generalization to that immediately above it, he would hardly have written one of his works. Certainly his economical views would never have appeared, since political economy is as essentially a deductive science as geometry itself.[92] Reversing the inductive process, he was in favour of beginning with what he termed general arguments, by which he hoped to demonstrate the inaccuracy of opinions which facts were supposed to have proved.[93] He did not stop to investigate the facts from which the inference had been drawn, but he inverted the order by which the inference was to be obtained. The same dislike to make the facts of trade the basis of the science of trade was displayed by Adam Smith, who expresses his want of confidence in statistics, or, as it was then termed, political arithmetic.[94] It is however evident that statistical facts are as good as any other facts, and, owing to their mathematical form, are very precise.[95] But when they concern human actions, they are the result of all the motives which govern those actions ; in other words, they are the result not merely of selfishness, but also of sympathy. And as Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations* dealt with only one of these passions, namely selfishness, he would have found it impossible to conduct his generalization from statistics, which are necessarily collected from the products of both passions. Such statistical facts were in their origin too complex to be generalized ; especially as they could not be experimented upon, but could only be observed and arranged. Adam Smith, perceiving them to be unmanageable, very properly rejected them as the basis of his science, and merely used them by way of illustration, when he could select what he liked. The same remark applies to other facts which he drew from the history of trade, and indeed from the general history of society. All of these are essentially subsequent to the argument. They make the argument more clear, but not more certain. For it is no exaggeration to say that if all the commercial and historical facts in the *Wealth of Nations* were false, the book would still remain,

[92] See the note above, p. 143. See ed. note above, p. 143, and Cairnes, as there cited. A fresh difficulty now arises over the proper definition of "political economy." Cairnes, with Mill, held that it is an essentially deductive science. But Mr. J. N. Keynes (*Scope and Method of Political Economy*, 1891, p. 18), here agreeing with Professor Sidgwick (*Principles of Political Economy*, 1883, pp. 34 seq.), points out that "Mill and other economists of his school have always employed an inductive and analytical method, the deductive element in their reasonings being in this part of their subject essentially subordinate. Mill is even more distinctly an inductive economist in his elaborate discussion of peasant proprietorship in its economic aspects. . . . Cairnes, again, in his work on the *Slave Power*, . . . establishes some important economic doctrines by a careful inductive study of facts, little use being made of deductive reasoning." It might be argued that the reasonings in question are extraneous to "political economy" as commonly defined ; but such discrepancies at least suggest the need for caution in formal generalization on the subject.—Ed.]

[93] Thus, for instance, in his remarkable *Essay on the Balance of Trade*, he says (*Philosophical Works*, vol. iii. p. 349), "Every man who has ever reasoned on this subject has always *proved his theory, whatever it was, by facts and calculations*, and by an enumeration of all the commodities sent to all foreign kingdoms ;" therefore (p. 350), "it may here be proper to form a general argument to prove the impossibility of this event, so long as we preserve our people and our industry."

[94] "I have no great faith in political arithmetic." *Wealth of Nations*, book iv. chap. v. p. 218.

[95] Indeed, the only possible objection to them is that the language of their collectors is sometimes ambiguous ; so that by the same return one statistician may mean one thing, and another statistician may mean something quite different. This is well exemplified in medical statistics ; whence several writers, unacquainted with the philosophy of scientific proof, have supposed that medicine is incapable of mathematical treatment. In point of fact, however, the only real impediment is the shameful state of clinical and pathological terminology, which is in such confusion as to throw doubt upon all extensive numerical statements respecting disease.

and its conclusions would hold equally good, though they would be less attractive. In it everything depends upon general principles, and they, as we have seen, were arrived at in 1752, that is, twenty-four years before the work was published in which those principles were applied. They must therefore have been acquired independently of the facts which Adam Smith subsequently incorporated with them, and which he learnt during that long period of twenty-four years. And the ten years which he employed in composing his great work were not spent in one of those busy haunts of men where he might have observed all the phenomena of industry, and studied the way in which the operations of trade affect human character and are affected by it. He did not resort to one of those vast marts and emporiums of commerce where the events were happening which he was seeking to explain. That was not his method. On the contrary, the ten years during which he was occupied in raising to a science the most active department of life, were passed in complete seclusion in Kirkcaldy, his quiet little birthplace.[96] He had always been remarkable for absence of mind, and was so little given to observation as to be frequently oblivious of what was passing around him.[97] In that obliviousness he, amid the tranquil scenes of his childhood, could now indulge without danger. There, cheered indeed by the society of his mother, but with no opportunity of observing human nature upon a large scale, and far removed from the hum of great cities, did this mighty thinker, by the force of his own mind, unravel the numerous and complicated phenomena of wealth, detect the motives which regulate the conduct of the most energetic and industrious portion of mankind, and lay bare the schemes and the secrets of that active life from which he was shut out, while he, immured in comparative solitude, was unable to witness the very facts which he succeeded in explaining.

The same determination to make the study of principles precede that of facts is exhibited by Hume in one of his most original works, the *Natural History of Religion*. In reference to the title of this treatise, we must observe that, according to the Scotch philosophers, the natural course of any movement is by no means the same as its actual course. This discrepancy between the ideal and the real was the unavoidable result of their method.[98] For as they argued

[96] "Upon his return to England in the autumn of 1766, he went to reside with his mother at his native town of Kirkcaldy, and remained there for ten years. All the attempts of his friends in Edinburgh to draw him thither were vain; and from a kind and lively letter of Mr. Hume upon the subject, complaining that, though within sight of him on the opposite side of the Frith of Forth, he could not have speech of him, it appears that no one was aware of the occupations in which those years were passed." *Brougham's Life of Adam Smith*, p. 189. Occasionally, however, he saw his literary friends. See *Dugald Stewart's Biographical Memoirs*, p. 73, Edinb. 1811, 4to.

[97] "He was certainly not fitted for the general commerce of the world, or for the business of active life. The comprehensive speculations with which he had been occupied from his youth, and the variety of materials which his own invention constantly supplied to his thoughts, rendered him habitually inattentive to familiar objects and to common occurrences; and he frequently exhibited instances of absence, which have scarcely been surpassed by the fancy of La Bruyère." *Stewart's Biographical Memoirs*, p. 113. See also *Ramsay's Reminiscences*, 5th edit., Edinb. 1859, p. 236. Carlyle, who knew him well, says, "He was the most absent man in company that I ever saw, moving his lips, and talking to himself, and smiling, in the midst of large companies." *Autobiography of the Rev. Alexander Carlyle*, 2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1860, p. 279.

[98] A Scotch philosopher of great repute, but, as it appears to me, of ability not quite equal to his repute, has stated very clearly and accurately this favourite method of his countrymen. "In examining the history of mankind, as well as in examining the phenomena of the material world, when we cannot trace the process by which an event *has been* produced, it is often of importance to be able to show how it *may have been* produced by natural causes." . . . "To this species of philosophical investigation, which has no appropriated name in our language, I shall take the liberty of giving the title of *Theoretical* or *Conjectural History*; an expression which coincides pretty nearly

deductively from fixed premisses, they could not take into account the perturbations to which their conclusions were liable, from the play and friction of the surrounding society. To do that required a separate inquiry. It would have been needful to investigate the circumstances which caused the friction, and thus prevented the conclusions from being, in the world of fact, the same as they were in the world of speculation. What we call accidents are constantly happening, and they prevent the real march of affairs from being identical with the natural march. And as long as we are unable to predict those accidents there will always be a want of complete harmony between the inferences of a deductive science and the realities of life ; in other words, our inferences will tend towards truth, but never completely attain it.[99]

With peculiar propriety, therefore, did Hume term his work a *Natural History of Religion*. It is an admirable specimen of the deductive method. Its only fault is that he speaks too confidently of the accuracy of the results to which, on such a subject, that method could attain. He believed that by observing the principles of human nature, as he found them in his own mind, it was possible to explain the whole course of affairs, both moral and physical.[100] These principles were to be arrived at by experiments made on himself ; and having thus arrived at them, he was to reason from them deductively, and so construct the entire scheme. This he contrasts with the inductive plan, which he calls a tedious and lingering process ; and while others might follow that slow and patient method of gradually working their way towards first principles, his project was to seize them at once, or, as he expresses himself, not to stop at the frontier, but to march directly on the capital, being possessed of which, he could gain an easy victory over other difficulties, and could extend his conquests over the sciences.[101] According to Hume, we are not to reason, in order to obtain ideas, but we are to have clear ideas before we reason.[102] By this means

in its meaning with that of *Natural History* as employed by Mr. Hume, and with what some French writers have called Histoire Raisonnée." *Dugald Stewart's Biographica Memoirs*, pp. 48, 49. Hence (p. 53), " in most cases it is of more importance to ascertain the progress that is most simple, than the progress that is most agreeable to fact; for, paradoxical as the proposition may appear, it is certainly true, that *the real progress is not always the most natural*. It may have been determined by particular accidents, which are not likely again to occur, and which cannot be considered as forming any part of that general provision which nature has made for the improvement of the race."

[99] Part of this view is well expressed in *Hume's Treatise of Human Nature*, book iii. part ii. " This, however, hinders not but that philosophers may, if they please, extend their reasoning to the supposed *state of nature* ; provided they allow it to be a mere philosophical fiction, which never had and never could have any reality." . . . " The same liberty may be permitted to moral, which is allowed to natural philosophers ; and 'tis very usual with the latter to consider any motion as compounded and consisting of two parts separate from each other, though, at the same time, they acknowledge it to be in itself uncompounded and inseparable." *Philosophical Works*, vol. ii. p. 263.

[100] And, conversely, that whatever was " demonstratively false " could " never be distinctly conceived by the mind." *Philosophical Works*, vol. iv. p. 33. Here, and sometimes in other passages, Hume, though by no means a Cartesian, reminds us of Descartes.

[101] " Here, then, is the only expedient from which we can hope for success in our philosophical researches, *to leave the tedious, lingering method*, which we have hitherto followed, and instead of taking now and then a castle or village on the frontier, to march up directly to the capital, or centre of these sciences, to human nature itself ; which being once masters of, we may everywhere else hope for an easy victory. From this station we may extend our conquests over all those sciences which more immediately concern human life, and may afterwards proceed, at leisure, to discover more fully those which are the objects of pure curiosity." *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. i. p. 8. See also, in vol. ii. pp. 73, 74, his remarks on the way " to consider the matter *à priori*."

[102] " No kind of reasoning can give rise to a new idea, such as this of power is ; but

we arrive at philosophy ; and her conclusions are not to be impugned, even if they do happen to clash with science. On the contrary, her authority is supreme, and her decisions, being essentially true, must always be preferred to any generalization of the facts which the external world presents.[103]

Hume therefore believed that all the secrets of the external world are wrapped up in the human mind. The mind was not only the key by which the treasure could be unlocked ; it was also the treasure itself. Learning and science might illustrate and beautify our mental acquisitions, but they could not communicate real knowledge ; they could neither give the prime original materials, nor could they teach the design according to which those materials must be worked.

In conformity with these views the *Natural History of Religion* was composed. The object of Hume in writing it was to ascertain the origin and progress of religious ideas ; and he arrives at the conclusion that the worship of many gods must everywhere have preceded the worship of one God. This he regards as a law of the human mind, a thing not only that always has happened, but that always must happen. His proof is entirely speculative. He argues that the earliest state of man is necessarily a savage state ; that savages can feel no interest in the ordinary operations of nature, and no desire to study the principles which govern those operations ; that such men must be devoid of curiosity on all subjects which do not personally trouble them ; and that, therefore, while they neglect the usual events of nature, they will turn their minds to the unusual ones.[104] A violent tempest, a monstrous birth, excessive cold, excessive rain, sudden and fatal diseases, are the sort of things to which the attention of the savage is confined, and of which alone he desires to know the causes. Directly he finds that such causes are beyond his control, he reckons

wherever we reason, we must antecedently be possessed of clear ideas, which may be the objects of our reasoning." *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. i. p. 217. Compare vol. ii. p. 276, on our arriving at a knowledge of causes " by a kind of taste or fancy." Hence, the larger view preceding the smaller, and being essentially independent of it, will constantly contradict it ; and he complains, for instance, that " difficulties, which seem unsurmountable in theory, are easily got over in practice." vol. ii. p. 357 ; and again, in vol. iii. p. 326, on the effort needed to " reconcile reason to experience." But, after all, it is rather by a careful study of his works, than by quoting particular passages, that his method can be understood. In the two sentences, however, just cited, the reader will see that theory and reason represent the larger view ; while practice and experience represent the smaller.

[103] " 'Tis certainly a kind of indignity to philosophy, whose sovereign authority ought everywhere to be acknowledged, to oblige her on every occasion to make apologies for her conclusions, and justify herself to every particular art and science which may be offended at her. This puts one in mind of a king arraigned for high treason against his subjects." *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. i. pp. 318, 319.

[104] " A barbarous, necessitous animal (such as a man is on the first origin of society), pressed by such numerous wants and passions, has no leisure to admire the regular face of nature, or make inquiries concerning the cause of those objects to which, from his infancy, he has been gradually accustomed. On the contrary, the more regular and uniform, that is the more perfect, nature appears, the more is he familiarized to it, and the less inclined to scrutinize and examine it. A monstrous birth excites his curiosity, and is deemed a prodigy. It alarms him from its novelty, and immediately sets him a trembling, and sacrificing, and praying. But an animal complete in all its limbs and organs, is to him an ordinary spectacle, and produces no religious opinion or affection. Ask him whence that animal arose ? He will tell you, from the copulation of its parents. And these, whence ? From the copulation of theirs. A few removes satisfy his curiosity, and sets the objects at such a distance that he entirely loses sight of them. Imagine not that he will so much as start the question whence the first animal, much less whence the whole system or united fabric of the universe arose. Or, if you start such a question to him, expect not that he will employ his mind with any anxiety about a subject so remote, so uninteresting, and which so much exceeds the bounds of his capacity." *Natural History of Religion*, in *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iv. p. 439. See also pp. 463–465.

them superior to himself, and, being incapable of abstracting them, he personifies them ; he turns them into deities ; polytheism is established ; and the earliest creed of mankind assumes a form which can never be altered as long as men remain in this condition of pristine ignorance.[105]

These propositions, which are not only plausible but are probably true, ought, according to the inductive philosophy, to have been generalized from a survey of facts ; that is, from a collection of evidence respecting the state of religion, and of the speculative faculties among savage tribes. But this Hume abstains from doing. He refers to none of the numerous travellers who have visited such people ; he does not, in the whole course of his work, mention even a single book where facts respecting savage life are preserved. It was enough for him that the progress from a belief in many gods to a belief in one God was the natural progress ; which is saying in other words that it appeared to his mind to be the natural progress.[106] With that he was satisfied. In other parts of his essay, where he treats of the religious opinions of the ancient Greeks and Romans, he displays a tolerable though by no means remarkable learning ; but the passages which he cites do not refer to that entirely barbarous society in which, as he supposes, polytheism first arose. The premisses, therefore, of the argument are evolved out of his own mind. He reasons deductively from the ideas which his powerful intellect supplied, instead of reasoning inductively from the facts which were peculiar to the subject he was investigating.

Even in the rest of his work, which is full of refined and curious speculation, he uses facts, not to demonstrate his conclusions, but to illustrate them. He therefore selected those facts which suited his purpose, leaving the others untouched. And this, which many critics would call unfair, was not unfair in him ; because he believed that he had already established his principles without the aid of those facts. The facts might benefit the reader by making the argument clearer, but they could not strengthen the argument. They were more intended to persuade than to prove ; they were rather rhetorical than logical. Hence a critic would waste his time if he were to sift them with a minuteness which would be necessary, supposing that Hume had built an inductive argument upon them. Otherwise, without going far, it might be

[105] " By degrees the active imagination of men, uneasy in this abstract conception of objects, about which it is incessantly employed, begins to render them more particular, and to clothe them in shapes more suitable to its natural comprehension. It represents them to be sensible, intelligent beings like mankind ; actuated by love and hatred, and flexible by gifts and entreaties, by prayers and sacrifices. Hence the origin of religion. And hence the origin of idolatry, or polytheism." *Hume's Philosophical Works*, vol. iv. p. 472. " The primary religion of mankind arises chiefly from an anxious fear of future events." p. 498.

[106] " *It seems certain that, according to the natural progress of human thought*, the ignorant multitude must first entertain some grovelling and familiar notion of superior powers, before they stretch their conception to that perfect Being who bestowed order on the whole frame of nature. *We may as reasonably imagine that men inhabited palaces before huts and cottages*, or studied geometry before agriculture, as assert that the Deity appeared to them a pure spirit, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, before he was apprehended to be a powerful though limited being, with human passions and appetites, limbs and organs. The mind rises gradually from inferior to superior. By abstracting from what is imperfect, it forms an idea of perfection ; and slowly distinguishing the nobler parts of its own frame from the grosser, it learns to transform only the former, much elevated and refined, to its divinity. Nothing could disturb this *natural progress of thought* but some obvious and invincible argument, which might immediately lead the mind into the pure principles of theism, and make it overleap, at one bound, the vast interval which is interposed between the human and the Divine nature. But though I allow that the order and frame of the universe, when accurately examined, affords such an argument, yet *I can never think* that this consideration could have an influence on mankind, when they formed their first rude notions of religion." *Natural History of Religion*, in *Philosophical Works*, vol. iv. p. 438.

curious to contrast them with the entirely different facts which Cudworth, eighty years before, had collected from the same source and on the same subject. Cudworth, who was much superior to Hume in learning, and much inferior to him in genius,[107] displayed in his great work on the *Intellectual System of the Universe* a prodigious erudition, to prove that in the ancient world the belief in one God was a prevailing doctrine. Hume, who never refers to Cudworth, arrives at a precisely opposite conclusion. Both quoted ancient writers; but while Cudworth drew his inferences from what he found in those writers, Hume drew his from what he found in his own mind.* Cudworth, being more learned, relied on his reading; Hume, having more genius, relied on his intellect. Cudworth, trained in the school of Bacon, first collected the evidence and then passed the judgment. Hume, formed in a school entirely different, believed that the acuteness of the judge was more important than the quantity of the evidence; that witnesses were likely to prevaricate; and that he possessed in his own mind the surest materials for arriving at an accurate conclusion. It is not therefore strange that Cudworth and Hume, pursuing opposite methods, should have obtained opposite results, since such a discrepancy is, as I have already pointed out, unavoidable when men investigate according to different plans a subject which, in the existing state of knowledge, is not amenable to scientific treatment.

The length to which this chapter has already extended, and the number of topics which I have still to handle, will prevent me from examining in detail the philosophy of Reid, who was the most eminent among the purely speculative thinkers of Scotland, after Hume and Adam Smith, though in point of merit he must be placed far below them. For he had neither the comprehensiveness of Smith nor the fearlessness of Hume. The range of his knowledge was not wide enough to allow him to be comprehensive; while a timidity, almost amounting to moral cowardice, made him recoil from the views advocated by Hume, not so much on account of their being false, as on account of their being dangerous. It is however certain that no man can take high rank as a philosopher who allows himself to be trammelled by considerations of that kind. A philosopher should aim solely at truth, and should refuse to estimate the practical tendency of his speculations. If they are true, let them stand; if they are false, let them fall. But whether they are agreeable or disagreeable, whether they are consolatory or disheartening, whether they are safe or mischievous, is a question not for philosophers but for practical men. Every new truth which has ever been propounded has for a time caused mischief; it has produced discomfort, and often unhappiness, sometimes by disturbing social or religious arrangements, and sometimes merely by the disruption of old and cherished associations of thought. It is only after a certain interval, and when the framework of affairs has adjusted itself to the new truth, that its good effects preponderate; and the preponderance continues to increase, until at length the truth causes nothing but good. But at the outset there is always harm. And if the truth is very great as well as very new, the harm is serious. Men are made uneasy; they flinch; they cannot bear the sudden light; a general restlessness supervenes; the face of society is disturbed, or perhaps convulsed; old interests and old beliefs are destroyed before new ones have been created. These symptoms are the precursors of revolution;

[107] Not that he was by any means devoid of genius, though he holds a rank far below so great and original a thinker as Hume. He had however collected more materials than he was able to wield; and his work on the *Intellectual System of the Universe*, which is a treasure of ancient philosophy, is badly arranged, and in many parts feebly argued. There is more real power in his posthumous treatise on *Eternal and Immutable Morality*.

[* This is very doubtful. Cudworth set out with a *parti pris*, the ordinary orthodox belief (founded on the Bible) in a primeval tradition; and sought in the ancient authors for the evidence he wanted. Hume, though he made little investigation at that point, professed to start from an accepted historical truth, and then argued deductively that the facts "necessarily must have been" so.—Ed.]

they have preceded all the great changes through which the world has passed; and while, if they are not excessive, they forebode progress, so, if they are excessive, they threaten anarchy. It is the business of practical men to moderate such symptoms, and to take care that the truths which philosophers discover are not applied so rashly as to dislocate the fabric, instead of strengthening it. But the philosopher has only to discover the truth and promulgate it; and that is hard work enough for any man, let his ability be as great as it may. This division of labour between thinkers and actors secures an economy of force, and prevents either class from wasting its power. It establishes a difference between science, which ascertains principles, and art, which applies them. It also recognizes that, the philosopher and the practical man having each a separate part to play, each is in his own field supreme. But it is a sad confusion for either to interfere with the other. In their different spheres, both are independent, and both are worthy of admiration. Inasmuch, however, as practical men should never allow the speculative conclusions of philosophers, whatever be their truth, to be put in actual operation, unless society is in some degree ripe for their reception; so, on the other hand, philosophers are not to hesitate and tremble and stop short in their career because their intellect is leading them to conclusions subversive of existing interests. The duty of a philosopher is clear. His path lies straight before him. He must take every pains to ascertain the truth; and having arrived at a conclusion, he, instead of shrinking from it because it is unpalatable, or because it seems dangerous, should on that very account cling the closer to it, should uphold it in bad repute more zealously than he would have done in good repute; should noise it abroad far and wide, utterly regardless what opinions he shocks, or what interests he imperils; should on its behalf court hostility and despise contempt, being well assured that if it is not true it will die, but that if it is true it must produce ultimate benefit, albeit unsuited for practical adoption by the age or country in which it is first propounded.

But Reid, notwithstanding the clearness of his mind and his great powers of argument, had so little of the real philosophic spirit that he loved truth not for its own sake, but for the sake of its immediate and practical results. He himself tells us that he began to study philosophy merely because he was shocked at the consequences at which philosophers had arrived.* As long as the speculations of Locke and of Berkeley were not pushed to their logical conclusions, Reid acquiesced in them, and they were good in his eyes.[108] While they were safe and tolerably orthodox, he was not over-nice in inquiring into their validity. In the hands of Hume, however, philosophy became bolder and more inquisitive; she disturbed opinions which were ancient, and which it was pleasant to hold; she searched into the foundation of things, and by forcing men to doubt and to inquire she rendered inestimable service to the cause of truth. But this was precisely the tendency at which Reid was displeased. He saw that such

[108] "I once believed this doctrine of ideas so firmly as to embrace the whole of Berkeley's system in consequence of it; till, finding other consequences to follow from it, which gave me more uneasiness than the want of a material world, it came into my mind more than forty years ago to put the question, What evidence have I for this doctrine that all the objects of my knowledge are ideas in my own mind? From that time to the present, I have been candidly and impartially, as I think, seeking for the evidence of this principle, but can find none, excepting the authority of philosophers." *Reid's Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind*, edit. Edinburgh, 1808, vol. i. p. 172. And, in a letter which he wrote to Hume in 1763, he, with a simple candour which must have highly amused that eminent philosopher, confesses that "your system appears to me not only coherent in all its parts, but likewise justly deduced from principles commonly received among philosophers; principles which I never thought of calling in question, until the conclusions you draw from them in the 'Treatise of Human Nature' made me suspect them." *Burton's Life and Correspondence of Hume*, vol. ii. p. 155.

[* This was after all no bad motive. Kant avowed that Hume roused him from his "dogmatic slumber," which is only another way of saying what Reid said.—Ed.]

disturbance was uncomfortable ; he saw that it was hazardous ; therefore he endeavoured to prove that it was groundless. Confusing the question of practical consequences with the totally different question of scientific truth, he took for granted that, because to his age the adoption of those consequences would be mischievous, they must be false. To the profound views of Hume respecting causation, he gravely objects that if they were carried into effect the operation of criminal law would be imperilled.[109] To the speculations of the same philosopher concerning the metaphysical basis of the theory of contracts, he replies that such speculations perplex men, and weaken their sense of duty ; they are therefore to be disapproved of on account of their tendency.[110] With Reid the main question always is not whether an inference is true, but what will happen if it is true. He says that a doctrine is to be judged by its fruits ; [111] forgetting that the same doctrine will bear different fruits in different ages, and that the consequences which a theory produces in one state of society are often diametrically opposed to those which it produces in another. He thus made his own age the standard of all future ones. He also trammelled philosophy with practical considerations ; diverting thinkers from the pursuit of truth, which is their proper department, into the pursuit of expediency, which is not their department at all. Reid was constantly stopping to inquire, not whether theories were accurate, but whether it was advisable to adopt them ; whether they were favourable to patriotism, or to generosity, or to friendship ; [112] in a word, whether they were comfortable, and such as we should at present like to believe.[113] Or else he would take other ground, still lower, and still more

[109] " Suppose a man to be found dead on the highway, his skull fractured, his body pierced with deadly wounds, his watch and money carried off. The coroner's jury sits upon the body, and the question is put, ' What was the cause of this man's death ? Was it accident, or *felo de se*, or murder by persons unknown ? ' Let us suppose an adept in Mr. Hume's philosophy to make one of the jury, and that he insists upon the previous question, whether there was any cause of the event, or whether it happened without a cause." *Reid's Essays on the Powers of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 286. Compare vol. iii. p. 33 : " This would put an end to all speculation, as well as to all the business of life."

[110] " The obligation of contracts and promises is a matter so sacred, and of such consequence to human society, that speculations which have a *tendency to weaken that obligation*, and to perplex men's notions on a subject so plain and so important, ought to *meet with the disapprobation of all honest men*. Some such speculations, I think, we have in the third volume of Mr. Hume's ' Treatise of Human Nature,' and in his ' Enquiry into the Principles of Morals ; ' and my design in this chapter is to offer some observations on the nature of a contract or promise, and on two passages of that author on this subject. I am far from saying or thinking that Mr. Hume meant to weaken men's obligations to honesty and fair dealing, or that he had not a sense of these obligations himself. It is not the man I impeach, but his writings. Let us think of the first as charitably as we can, while we freely examine the import and *tendency* of the last." *Reid's Essays on the Powers of the Mind*, vol. iii. p. 444. In this, as in most passages, the italics are my own.

[111] " Without repeating what I have before said of causes in the first of these Essays, and in the second and third chapters of this, I shall here mention some of the consequences that may be justly deduced from this definition of a cause, that we may judge of it by its fruits." *Reid's Essays*, vol. iii. p. 339.

[112] " Bishop Berkeley surely did not duly consider that it is by means of the material world that we have any correspondence with thinking beings, or any knowledge of their existence, and that by depriving us of the material world, he deprived us at the same time of family, friends, country, and every human creature ; of every object of affection, esteem or concern, except ourselves. The good Bishop surely never intended this. He was too warm a friend, too zealous a patriot, and too good a Christian, to be capable of such a thought. *He was not aware of the consequences of his system* " (poor, ignorant Berkeley), " and therefore they ought not to be imputed to him ; but we must impute them to the system itself. It stifles every generous and social principle." *Reid's Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 251, 252.

[113] In his *Essays*, vol. i. p. 179, he says of Berkeley, one of the deepest and most un-

unworthy of a philosopher. In opposing, for instance, the doctrine that our faculties sometimes deceive us,—a doctrine which, as he well knew, had been held by men whose honesty was equal to his own, and whose ability was superior to his own,—he does not scruple to enlist on his side the prejudices of a vulgar superstition ; seeking to blacken the tenet which he was unable to refute. He actually asserts that they who advocate it insult the Deity, by imputing to the Almighty that He has lied. Such being the consequence of the opinion, it of course follows that the opinion must be rejected without further scrutiny, since to accept it would produce fatal results on our conduct, and would, indeed, be subversive of all religion, of all morals, and of all knowledge.[114]

In 1764 Reid published his *Inquiry into the Human Mind* ; and in that, and in his subsequent work entitled *Essays on the Powers of the Mind*, he sought to destroy the philosophy of Locke, Berkeley and Hume. And as Hume was the boldest of the three, it was chiefly his philosophy which Reid attacked. Of the character of this attack some specimens have just been given ; but they rather concern his object and motives, while what we have now to ascertain is his method, that is, the tactics of his warfare. He clearly saw that Hume had assumed certain principles, and had reasoned deductively from them to the facts, instead of reasoning inductively from the facts to them. To this method he strongly and perhaps fairly objects. He admits that Hume had reasoned so accurately that if his principles were conceded, his conclusions must likewise be conceded.[115] But, he says, Hume had no right to proceed in such a manner. He had no right to assume principles and then to argue from them. The laws of nature were to be arrived at not by conjecturing in this way, but by a patient induction of facts.[116] Discoveries depended solely on observation and experiment ; and any other plan could only produce theories, ingenious perhaps and plausible, but quite worthless.[117] For theory should yield to fact, and not fact to theory.[118] Speculators, indeed, might talk about first principles, and raise a system by reasoning from them. But the fact was that there was no agreement as to how a first principle was to be recognized ; since a principle which one man would deem self-

answerable of all speculators, " But there is one *uncomfortable consequence* of his system which he seems not to have attended to, and from which it will be found difficult, if at all possible, to guard it."

[114] " This doctrine is dishonourable to our Maker, and lays a foundation for universal scepticism. It supposes the Author of our being to have given us one faculty on purpose to deceive us, and another by which we may detect the fallacy, and find that he imposed upon us." . . . " The genuine dictate of our natural faculties is the voice of God, no less than what he reveals from heaven ; and to say that it is fallacious, is to impute a lie to the God of truth." . . . " Shall we impute to the Almighty what we cannot impute to a man without a heinous affront ? Passing this opinion, therefore, as shocking to an ingenious mind, and, in its consequences, subversive of all religion, all morals, and all knowledge," etc. *Reid's Essays*, vol. iii. p. 310. See also vol. i. p. 313.

[115] " His reasoning appeared to me to be just ; there was, therefore a necessity to call in question the principles upon which it was founded, or to admit the conclusion." *Reid's Inquiry into the Human Mind*, p. v. " The received doctrine of ideas is the principle from which it is deduced, and of which, indeed, it seems to be a just and natural consequence." p. 53. See also *Reid's Essays*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200, vol. ii. p. 211.

[116] " The laws of nature are the most general facts we can discover in the operations of nature. Like other facts, they are not to be hit upon by a happy conjecture, but justly deduced from observation. Like other general facts, they are not to be drawn from a few particulars, but from a copious, patient, and cautious induction." *Reid's Inquiry into the Human Mind*, pp. 262, 263.

[117] " Such discoveries have always been made by patient observation, by accurate experiments, or by conclusions drawn by strict reasoning from observations and experiments ; and such discoveries have always tended to refute, but not to confirm, the theories and hypotheses which ingenious men had invented." *Reid's Essays*, vol. i. p. 46.

[118] " This is Mr. Hume's notion of a cause." . . . " But theory ought to stoop to fact, and not fact to theory." *Reid's Essays*, vol. iii. p. 276.

evident, another would think it necessary to prove, and a third would altogether deny.[119]

The difficulties of deductive reasoning are here admirably portrayed. It might have been expected that Reid would have built up his own philosophy according to the inductive plan, and would have despised that assumption of first principles with which he taunts his opponents. But it is one of the most curious things in the history of metaphysics that Reid, after impeaching the method of Hume, follows the very same method himself. When he is attacking the philosophy of Hume, he holds deduction to be wrong. When he is raising his own philosophy, he holds it to be right. He deemed certain conclusions dangerous, and he objects to their advocates that they argued from principles instead of from facts; and that they assumed themselves to be in possession of the first principles of truth, although people were not agreed as to what constituted a first principle. This is well put and hard to answer. Strange however to say, Reid arrives at his own conclusions by assuming first principles to an extent far greater than had been done by any writer on the opposite side. From them he argues; his whole scheme is deductive; and his works scarcely contain a single instance of that inductive logic which, when attacking his opponents, he found it convenient to recommend. It is difficult to conceive a better illustration of the peculiar character of the Scotch intellect in the eighteenth century, and of the firm hold which what may be called the anti-Baconian method had upon that intellect. Reid was a man of considerable ability, of immaculate honesty, and was deeply convinced that it was for the good of society that the prevailing philosophy should be overthrown. To the performance of that task he dedicated his long and laborious life; he saw that the vulnerable point of the adverse system was its method; he indicated the deficiencies of that method, and declared, perhaps wrongly, but at all events sincerely, that it could never lead to truth. Yet, and notwithstanding all this, such was the pressure of the age in which he lived, and so completely did the force of circumstances shape his understanding, that in his own works he was unable to avoid that very method of investigation which he rebuked in others. Indeed, so far from avoiding it, he was a slave to it. The evidence of this I will now give, because, besides its importance for the history of the Scotch mind, it is valuable as one of many lessons which teach us how we are moulded by the society which surrounds us; how even our most vigorous actions are influenced by general causes of which we are often ignorant, and which few of us care to study; and, finally, how lame and impotent we are when as individuals we try to stem the onward current, resisting the great progress instead of aiding it, and vainly opposing our little wishes to that majestic course of events which admits of no interruption, but sweeps on, grand and terrible, while generation after generation passes away, successively absorbed in one mighty vortex.

Directly Reid, ceasing to refute the philosophy of Hume, began to construct his own philosophy, he succumbed to the prevailing method. He now assures us that all reasoning must be from first principles, and that, so far from reasoning to those principles, we must at once admit them, and make them the basis of all subsequent arguments.[120] Having admitted them, they become a thread to

[119] "But yet there seems to be great difference of opinions among philosophers about first principles. What one takes to be self-evident, another labours to prove by arguments, and a third denies altogether." *Reid's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 218. "Mr. Locke seems to think first principles of very small use." p. 219.

[120] "All reasoning must be from first principles; and for first principles no other reason can be given but this, that by the constitution of our nature we are under a necessity of assenting to them." *Reid's Inquiry*, p. 140. "All reasoning is from principles." . . . "Most justly, therefore, do such principles disdain to be tried by reason, and laugh at all the artillery of the logician when it is directed against them." p. 372. "All knowledge got by reasoning must be built upon first principles." *Reid's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 220. "In every branch of real knowledge there must be first principles, whose truth is known intuitively, without reasoning, either probable or demonstrative. They are not grounded on reasoning, but all reasoning is grounded on them," p. 360.

guide the inquirer through the labyrinth of thought.[121] His opponents had no right to assume them, but he might do so, because to him they were intuitive.[122] Whoever denied them was not fit to be reasoned with.[123] Indeed, to investigate them, or to seek to analyze them, was wrong as well as foolish, because they were part of the constitution of things; and of the constitution of things no account could be given, except that such was the will of God.[124]

As Reid obtained his first principles with such ease, and as he carefully protected them by forbidding any attempt to resolve them into simpler elements, he was under a strong temptation to multiply them almost indefinitely, in order that, by reasoning from them, he might raise a complete and harmonious system of the human mind. To that temptation he yielded with a readiness which is truly surprising when we remember how he reproached his opponents with doing the same thing. Among the numerous first principles which he assumes, not only as unexplained, but as inexplicable, are the belief in Personal Identity;[125] the belief in the External World;[126] the belief in the Uniformity of Nature;[127] the belief in the Existence of Life in Others;[128] the belief in Testimony,[129] also in the power of distinguishing truth from error,[130] and even in the correspondence of the face and voice to the thoughts.[131] Of belief generally, he asserts that there are many principles,[132] and he regrets that any one should have rashly attempted to explain them.[133] Such things are mysterious, and not to be pried into. We have also other faculties, which being original and indecomposable, resist all inductive treatment, and can neither be resolved into simpler elements nor referred to more general laws. To this class Reid assigns Memory,[134] Perception,[135] Desire of Self-Approbation,[136] and not only Instinct, but even Habit.[137] Many of our ideas,

[121] "For, when any system is grounded upon first principles, and deduced regularly from them, we have a thread to lead us through the labyrinth." *Reid's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 225.

[122] "I call these 'first principles,' because they *appear to me* to have in themselves an intuitive evidence which *I cannot resist.*" *Reid's Essays*, vol. iii. p. 375.

[123] "If any man should think fit to deny that these things are qualities, or that they require any subject, *I leave him to enjoy his opinion, as a man who denies first principles, and is not fit to be reasoned with.*" *Reid's Essays*, vol. i. p. 38.

[124] "No other account can be given of the constitution of things, but the will of Him that made them." *Reid's Essays*, vol. i. p. 115.

[125] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 36, 37, 340, 343; vol. ii. p. 245.

[126] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 115, 116, 288–299; vol. ii. p. 251.

[127] Or, as he expresses it, "our belief of the continuance of the laws of nature." *Reid's Inquiry*, pp. 426–435; also his *Essays*, vol. i. p. 305; vol. ii. p. 268.

[128] *Reid's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 259.

[129] *Reid's Inquiry*, p. 422; and his *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 266.

[130] "Another first principle is, 'That the natural faculties by which we distinguish truth from error are not fallacious.'" *Reid's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 256.

[131] "Another first principle I take to be, 'That certain features of the countenance, sounds of the voice, and gestures of the body, indicate certain thoughts and dispositions of mind.'" *Reid's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 261. Compare his *Inquiry*, p. 416.

[132] "We have taken notice of several original principles of belief in the course of this inquiry; and when other faculties of the mind are examined, we shall find more, which have not occurred in the examination of the five senses." *Reid's Inquiry*, p. 471.

[133] "And if no philosopher had attempted to define and explain belief, some paradoxes in philosophy, more incredible than ever were brought forth by the most abject superstition, or the most frantic enthusiasm, had never seen the light." *Reid's Inquiry*, p. 45.

[134] *Reid's Essays*, vol. i. pp. 329, 334; vol. ii. p. 247.

[135] Ibid., vol. i. pp. 9, 71, 303, 304.

[136] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 60.

[137] "I see no reason to think that we shall ever be able to assign the physical cause, either of instinct or of the power of habit. Both seem to be parts of our original constitution. Their end and use is evident; but we can assign no cause of them but the will of Him who made us." *Reid's Essays*, vol. iii. p. 119.

such as those concerning Space and Time, are equally original ; [138] and other first principles there are, which have not been enunciated, but from which we may reason.[139] They therefore are the major premisses of the argument ; no reason having yet been given for them, they must be simple ; and not having yet been explained, they are of course inexplicable.[140]

All this is arbitrary enough. Still in justice to Reid it must be said that, having made these assumptions, he displayed remarkable ability in arguing from them, and that in attacking the philosophy of his time he subjected it to a criticism which has been extremely serviceable. His lucidity, his dialectic skill, and the racy and masculine style in which he wrote, made him a formidable opponent and secured to his objections a respectful hearing. To me, however, it appears that notwithstanding the attempts first of M. Cousin, and afterwards of Sir William Hamilton, to prop up his declining reputation, his philosophy as an independent system is untenable, and will not live. In this I may be mistaken ; but what is quite certain is that nothing can be more absurd than to suppose, as some have done, that he adopted the inductive, or, as it is popularly called, Baconian method. Bacon indeed would have smiled at such a disciple, assuming all sorts of major premisses, taking general principles for granted with the greatest recklessness, and reserving his skill for the task of reasoning from propositions for which he had no evidence, except that on a cursory, or as he termed it, a common-sense inspection, they appeared to be true.[141] This refusal to analyze preconceived notions comes under the head of what Bacon stigmatized as the *anticipatio naturæ*, and which he deemed the greatest enemy of knowledge, on account of the dangerous confidence it places in the spontaneous and uncorrected conclusions of the human mind. When, therefore, we find Reid holding up the Baconian philosophy as a pattern which it behoved all inquirers to follow ; [142] and when we moreover find Dugald Stewart, who, though a somewhat superficial thinker, was at all events a careful writer, supposing that Reid had followed

[138] "I know of no ideas or notions that have a better claim to be accounted simple and original, than those of space and time." *Reid's Essays*, vol. i. p. 354.

[139] "I do not at all affirm that those I have mentioned are all the first principles from which we may reason concerning contingent truths. Such enumerations, even when made after much reflection, are seldom perfect." *Reid's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 270.

[140] "Why sensation should compel our belief of the present existence of the thing, memory a belief of its past existence, and imagination no belief at all, *I believe no philosopher can give a shadow of reason*, but that such is the nature of these operations. They are all simple and original, and *therefore inexplicable* acts of the mind." *Reid's Inquiry*, p. 40. "We can *give no reason* why the retina is, of all parts of the body, the only one on which pictures made by the rays of light cause vision ; and *therefore we must resolve this solely into a law of our constitution.*" p. 258.

[141] In a recent work of distinguished merit an instance is given of the loose manner in which he took for granted that certain phenomena were ultimate, in order that, instead of analyzing them, he might reason from them. "Dr. Reid has no hesitation in classing the voluntary command of our organs, that is, the sequence of feeling and action implied in all acts of will, among instincts. The power of lifting a morsel of food to the mouth is, according to him, an instinctive or pre-established conjunction of the wish and the deed ; that is to say, the emotional state of hunger, coupled with the sight of a piece of bread, is associated, through a primitive link of the mental constitution, with the several movements of the hand, arm, and mouth, concerned in the act of eating. *This assertion of Dr. Reid's may be simply met by appealing to the facts.* It is not true that human beings possess at birth any voluntary command of their limbs whatsoever. A babe of two months old cannot use its hands in obedience to its desires. The infant can grasp nothing, hold nothing, can scarcely fix its eyes on anything." . . . "If the more perfect command of our voluntary movements implied in every art be an acquisition, so is the less perfect command of these movements that grows upon a child during the first year of life." *Bain on the Senses and the Intellect*, London, 1855, pp. 292, 293.

[142] See *Reid's Inquiry*, pp. 436, 446, as well as other parts of his works : see also an extract from one of his letters to Dr. Gregory in *Stewart's Biographical Memoirs*, p. 432.

it,[143] we meet with fresh proof of how difficult it was for Scotchmen of the last age to imbibe the true spirit of inductive logic, since they believed that a system which flagrantly violated its rules had been framed in strict accordance with them.

Leaving mental philosophy, I now come to physical science, in which, if anywhere, we might expect that the inductive plan would predominate, and would triumph over the opposite or deductive one. How far this was the case, I will endeavour to ascertain, by an examination of the most important discoveries which have been made by Scotchmen concerning the organic and inorganic world. And as my object is merely to indicate the turn and character of the Scotch mind, I shall avoid all details respecting the practical effects of those discoveries, and shall confine myself to such a narration as will exhibit their purely scientific aspect, so as to enable the reader to understand what additions were made to our knowledge of the laws of nature, and in what way the additions were made. The character of each discovery and its process will be stated, but nothing more. Neither here nor in any part of this Introduction do I pretend to investigate questions of practical utility, or to trace the connexion between the discoveries of science and the arts of life. That I shall do in the body of the work itself, where I hope to explain a number of minute social events, many of which are regarded as isolated, if not incongruous. For the present, I solely aim at those broad principles which, by marking out the epochs of thought, underlie the whole fabric of society, and which must be clearly apprehended before history can cease to be a mere empirical assemblage of facts, of which the scientific basis being unsettled, the true order and coherence must be unknown.

Among the sciences which concern the inorganic world, the laws of heat occupy a conspicuous place. On the one hand they are connected with geology, being intimately allied, and indeed necessarily bound up with every speculation respecting the changes and present condition of the crust of the earth. On the other hand they touch the great questions of life, both animal and vegetable; they have to do with the theory of species and of race; they modify soil, food and organization; and to them we must look for valuable help towards solving those great problems in biology which, of late years, have occupied the attention of the boldest and most advanced philosophers.

Our present knowledge of the laws of heat may be briefly stated as branching into five fundamental divisions. These are: latent heat; specific heat; the conduction of heat; the radiation of heat; and finally, the undulatory theory of heat; by which last we are gradually discarding our old material views, and are accustoming ourselves to look upon heat as simply one of the forms of force, all of which, such as light, electricity, magnetism, motion, gravitation, and chemical affinity, are constantly assuming each other's shape, but in their total amount

[143] "The idea of prosecuting the study of the human mind on a plan analogous to that which had been so successfully adopted in physics by the followers of Lord Bacon, if not first conceived by Dr. Reid, was, at least, first carried successfully into execution in his writings." *Stewart's Biographical Memoirs*, p. 419. "The influence of the general views opened in the *Novum Organum*, may be traced in almost every page of his writings; and indeed the circumstance by which they are so strongly and characteristically distinguished is that they exhibit the first systematical attempt to exemplify, in the study of human nature, the same plan of investigation which conducted Newton to the properties of light and to the law of gravitation." p. 421. From this passage one might hazard a supposition that Dugald Stewart did not understand Bacon much better than he did Aristotle or Kant. Of the two last most profound thinkers he certainly knew little or nothing, except what he gathered secondhand. Consequently, he underrates them. [It is hardly warrantable to charge Stewart with not understanding Bacon because he credits Reid with trying to apply the Baconian method to psychology. If Reid did not consistently apply Bacon's propounded method, he therein resembled Bacon himself. "When Bacon can proceed no further as an experimental investigator of nature, he becomes, in spite of his method, a speculative natural philosopher" (Kuno Fischer, *Francis Bacon*, Eng. tr. 1857, p. 118).—Ed.]

are incapable either of increase or of diminution.[144] This grand conception, which is now placing the indestructibility of force on the same ground as the indestructibility of matter, has an importance far above its scientific value, considerable as that undoubtedly is. For by teaching us that nothing perishes, but that on the contrary the slightest movement of the smallest body in the remotest region produces results which are perpetual, which diffuse themselves through all space, and which, though they may be metamorphosed, cannot be destroyed, it impresses us with such an exalted idea of the regular and compulsory march of physical affairs, as must eventually influence other and higher departments of inquiry. Our habits of thought are so connected and interwoven, that notions of law and of the necessary concatenation of things can never be introduced into one field of speculation without affecting other fields which lie contiguous to it. When, therefore, the modern doctrine of conservation of force[145] becomes firmly coupled with the older doctrine of conservation of matter, we may rest assured that the human mind will not stop there, but will extend to the study of Man inferences analogous to those already admitted in the study of Nature. Having once recognized that the condition of the material universe, at any one moment, is simply the result of everything which has happened at

[144] The theory of the indestructibility of force has been applied to the law of gravitation by Professor Faraday in his *Discourse on the Conservation of Force*, 1857; an essay full of thought and power, and which should be carefully studied by every one who wishes to understand the direction which the highest speculations of physical science are now taking. I will quote only one passage from the opening, to give the reader an idea of its general scope, irrespective of the more special question of gravitation. "The progress of the strict science of modern times has tended more and more to produce the conviction that force can neither be created nor destroyed; and to render daily more manifest the value of the knowledge of that truth in experimental research." . . . . . "Agreeing with those who admit the conservation of force to be a principle in physics, as large and sure as that of the indestructibility of matter or the invariability of gravity, I think that no particular idea of force has a right to unlimited or unqualified acceptance, that does not include assent to it."

[145] As an illustration of this doctrine I cannot do better than quote the following passage from one of the most suggestive and clearly reasoned books which has been written in this century by an English physicist: "Wave your hand; the motion which has apparently ceased is taken up by the air, from the air by the walls of the room, etc., and so by direct and re-acting waves, continually comminuted, but never destroyed. It is true that at a certain point we lose all means of detecting the motion, from its minute subdivision, which defies our most delicate means of appreciation, but we can indefinitely extend our power of detecting it accordingly as we confine its direction, or increase the delicacy of our examination. Thus if the hand be moved in unconfined air, the motion of the air would not be sensible to a person at a few feet distance; but if a piston of the same extent of surface as the hand be moved with the same rapidity in a tube, the blast of air may be distinctly felt at several yards' distance. There is no greater absolute amount of motion in the air in the second than in the first case, but its direction is restrained, so as to make its means of detection more facile. By carrying on this restraint, as in the air-gun, we get a power of detecting the motion, and of moving other bodies at far greater distances. The puff of air which would in the air-gun project a bullet a quarter of a mile if allowed to escape without its direction being restrained, as by the bursting of a bladder, would not be perceptible at a yard's distance, though the same absolute amount of motion be impressed on the surrounding air." *Grove's Correlation of Physical Forces*, London, 1855, pp. 24, 25. In a work now issuing from the press, and still unfinished, it is suggested, with considerable plausibility, that Persistence of Force would be a more accurate expression than Conservation of Force. See Mr. Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*, London, 1861, p. 251. The title of this book gives an inadequate notion of the importance of the subjects with which it deals, and of the reach and subtlety of thought which characterize it. Though some of the generalizations appear to me rather premature, no well-instructed and disciplined intellect can consider them without admiration of the remarkable powers displayed by their author.

all preceding moments, and that the most trivial disturbance would so violate the general scheme as to render anarchy inevitable,* and that to sever from the total mass even the minutest fragment, would, by dislocating the structure, bury the whole in one common ruin, we, thus admitting the exquisite adjustment of the different parts, and discerning, too, in the very beauty and completeness of the design the best proof that it has never been tampered with by the Divine Architect who called it into being, in whose Omniscience both the plan and the issue of the plan resided with such clearness and unerring certainty that not a stone in that superb and symmetrical edifice has been touched since the foundation of the edifice was laid,† are, by ascending to this pitch and elevation of thought, most assuredly advancing towards that far higher step which it will remain for our posterity to take, and which will raise their view to so commanding a height as to insure the utter rejection of those old and eminently irreligious dogmas of supernatural interference with the affairs of life, which superstition has invented, and ignorance has bequeathed, and the present acceptance of which betokens the yet early condition of our knowledge, the penury of our intellectual resources, and the inveteracy of the prejudices in which we are still immersed.

It is, therefore, natural that the physical doctrine of indestructibility applied to force as well as to matter, should be essentially a creation of the present century, notwithstanding a few allusions made to it by some earlier thinkers, all of whom, however, groped vaguely, and without general purpose.‡ No preceding age was bold enough to embrace so magnificent a view as a whole, nor had any preceding philosophers sufficient acquaintance with nature to enable them to defend such a conception, even had they desired to entertain it. Thus, in the case now before us, it is evident that while heat was believed to be material it could not be conceived as a force, and therefore no one could grasp the theory of its metamorphosis into other forces; though there are passages in Bacon which prove that he wished to identify it with motion. It was first necessary to abstract heat into a mere property or affection of matter, and there was no chance of doing this until heat was better understood in its immediate antecedents, that is, until by the aid of mathematics its proximate laws had been generalized. But with the single exception of Newton, whose efforts, notwithstanding his gigantic powers, were on this subject very unsatisfactory, and who moreover had a decided leaning towards the material theory, no one attempted to unravel the mathematical laws of heat till the latter half of the eighteenth century, when Lambert and Black began the career which Prevost and Fourier followed up. The mind, having been so slow in mastering the preliminaries and outworks of the inquiry, was not ripe for the far more difficult enterprise of idealizing heat itself, and so abstracting it as to strip it of its material attributes, and leave to it nothing but the speculative notion of an immaterial force.

From these considerations, which were necessary to enable the reader to appreciate the value of what was done in Scotland, it will be seen how essential it was that the laws of the movement of heat should be studied before its nature was investigated, and before the emission theory could be so seriously attacked as to allow of the possibility of that great doctrine of the indestructibility of force which, I make no doubt, is destined to revolutionize our habits of thought, and to give to future speculations a basis infinitely wider than any previously known. In regard to the movements of heat, we owe the laws of conduction and of radiation chiefly to France and Geneva, while the laws of specific heat and those of latent heat were discovered in Scotland. The doctrine of specific heat, though interesting, has not the scientific importance which belongs to the other

[* This trope merely amounts to saying that if two and two made five, anarchy would be inevitable. Anarchy in this sense is unthinkable.—Ed.]

[† Buckle here appears to be assume *creatio ex nihilo*, which is of course conceptually excluded by the law of the conservation of energy. Some would call it an "irreligious dogma," as Buckle does the doctrine of "supernatural interference with the affairs of life."—Ed.]

[‡ This seems to make too little of the thinking of Leibnitz on the subject. Cp. Tyndall, *Heat a Mode of Motion*, 6th ed. p. 175.—Ed.]

departments of this great subject ; but the doctrine of latent heat is extremely curious, not only in itself, but also on account of the analogies it suggests with various branches of physical inquiry.

What is termed latent heat is exhibited in the following manner. If, in consequence of the application of heat, a solid passes into a liquid, as ice, for instance, into water, the conversion occupies a longer time than could be explained by any theory which had been propounded down to the middle of the eighteenth century. Neither was it possible to explain how it is that ice never rises above the temperature of 32° until it is actually melted, no matter what the heat of the adjacent bodies may be. There were no means of accounting for these circumstances. And though practical men, being familiar with them, did not wonder at them, they caused great astonishment among thinkers, who were accustomed to analyze events, and to seek a reason for common and every-day occurrences.

Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, Black, who was then one of the professors in the University of Glasgow, turned his attention to this subject.[146] He struck out a theory which, being eminently original, was violently attacked, but is now generally admitted. With a boldness and reach of thought not often equalled, he arrived at the conclusion that whenever a body loses some of its consistence, as in the case of ice becoming water, or water becoming steam, such body receives an amount of heat which our senses, though aided by the most delicate thermometer, can never detect. For this heat is absorbed ; we lose all sight of it, and it produces no palpable effect on the material world, but becomes as it were a hidden property. Black therefore called it latent heat, because, though we conceive it as an idea, we cannot trace it as a fact. The body is properly speaking hotter ; and yet its temperature does not rise. Directly however the foregoing process is inverted, that is to say, directly the steam is condensed into water, or the water hardened into ice, the heat returns into the world of sense ; it ceases to be latent, and communicates itself to the surrounding objects. No new heat has been created ; it has indeed appeared and disappeared so far as our senses are concerned ; but our senses were deceived, since there has in truth been neither addition nor diminution.[147] That this remarkable theory paved the way for the doctrine of the indestructibility of force, will be obvious to whoever has examined the manner in which, in the history of the human mind, scientific conceptions are generated. The process is always so slow, that no single discovery has ever been made, except by the united labours of several successive generations.

[146] He was appointed professor in 1756 ; and "it was during his residence in Glasgow, between the years 1759 and 1763, that he brought to maturity those speculations concerning the combination of heat with matter, which had frequently occupied a portion of his thoughts." *Thomson's History of Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 319, 320.

[147] *Black's Lectures on Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 116, 117 ; and in various places. Dr. Robinson, the editor of these Lectures, says, p. 513, "Nothing could be more simple than his doctrines of latent heat. The experience of more than a century had made us consider the thermometer as a sure and an accurate indicator of heat, and of all its variations. We had learned to distrust all others. Yet in the liquefaction and vaporization of bodies, we had proofs uncontrovertible of the entrance of heat into the bodies. And we could, by suitable processes, get it out of them again. Dr. Black said that it was concealed in them,—*latent*,—it was as much concealed as carbonic acid is in marble, or water in zeolite, —it was concealed till Dr. Black detected it. He called it Latent Heat. He did not mean by this term that it was a different kind of heat from the heat which expanded bodies, but merely that it was concealed from our sense of heat, and from the thermometer." See also p. xxxvii. : "Philosophers had long been accustomed to consider the thermometer as the surest means for detecting the presence of heat or fire in bodies, and they distrusted all others." [The physicists of to-day state the phenomena in somewhat different terms from those of Black and Buckle. Thus Tyndall : "According to our present theory, the heat expended in melting is consumed in overcoming molecular attractions, and in conferring potential energy upon the separated molecules of their poles. It is virtually the lifting of a weight" (*Heat a Mode of Motion*, 6th ed. p. 191. Cp. p. 318). Tyndall, strangely enough, omits to mention Black in his historic retrospect.—Ed.]

In estimating, therefore, what each man has done, we must judge him not by the errors he commits, but by the truths he propounds. Most of his errors are not really his own. He inherits them from his predecessors ; and if he throws some of them off we should be grateful, instead of being dissatisfied that he has not rejected all. Black, no doubt, fell into the error of regarding heat as a material substance, which obeys the laws of chemical composition.[148] But this was merely an hypothesis which was bequeathed to him, and with which the existing state of thought forced him to encumber his theory. He inherited the hypothesis, and could not get rid of his troublesome possession. The real service which he rendered is that in spite of that hypothesis, which clung to him to the last, he, far more than any of his contemporaries, contributed towards the great conception of idealizing heat, and thus enabled his successors to admit it into the class of immaterial and supersensual forces. Once admitted into that class, the list of forces became complete ; and it was comparatively easy to apply to the whole body of force the same notion of indestructibility which had previously been applied to the whole body of matter. But it was hardly possible to effect this object while heat stood, as it were, midway between force and matter, yielding opposite results to different senses ; amenable to the touch, but invisible to the eye. What was wanting was to remove it altogether out of the jurisdiction of the senses, and to admit that, though we experience its effects, we can only conceive its existence. Towards accomplishing this Black took a prodigious stride. Unconscious, perhaps, of the remote tendency of his own labours, he undermined that doctrine of material heat which he seemed to support. For by his advocacy of latent heat he taught that its movements constantly baffle not only some of our senses, but all of them; and that, while our feelings make us believe that heat is lost, our intellect makes us believe that it is not lost. Here we have apparent destructibility, and real indestructibility. To assert that a body received heat without its temperature rising, was to make the understanding correct the touch, and defy its dictates. It was a bold and beautiful paradox, which required courage as well as insight to broach, and the reception of which marks an epoch in the human mind, because it was an immense step towards idealizing matter into force. Some indeed have spoken of invisible matter ; but that is a contradiction in terms which will never be admitted as long as the forms of speech remain unchanged. Nothing can be invisible except force, mind, and the Supreme Cause of all.* We must therefore ascribe to Black the signal merit that he first, in the study of heat, impeached the authority of the senses, and thereby laid the foundation of everything which was afterwards done. Besides the relation which his discovery bears to the indestructibility of force, it is also connected with one of the most splendid achievements effected by this generation in inorganic physics ; namely, the establishment of the identity of light and heat. To the senses, light and heat, though in some respects similar, are in most respects dissimilar. Light, for instance, affects the eye and not the touch. Heat affects the touch, but, under ordinary circumstances, does not affect the eye. The capital difference, however, between them is, that heat, unlike light, possesses the property of temperature ; and this property is so characteristic, that until our understandings are invigorated by science, we cannot conceive heat separated from temperature, but are compelled to confuse one with the other. Directly, however, men began to adopt the method followed by Black, and were resolved to consider heat as supersensual, they entered the road which led to the discovery of light and heat being

[148] " Fluidity is the consequence of a certain combination of calorific matter with the substance of solid bodies," &c. *Black's Lectures*, vol. i. p. 133. Compare p. 192, and the remarks in *Turner's Chemistry*, 1847, vol. i. p. 31, on Black's views of the " chemical combination " of heat. Among the backward chemists, we still find traces of the idea of heat obeying chemical laws. [Tyndall (*Heat*, p. 38) mentions that in his youth it was still common even for eminent chemists to employ the old conception.—Ed.]

[* It is difficult to see how Buckle can on this view dispose of the hypothetical ether of the physicists.—Ed.]

merely different developments of the same force. Ignoring the effects of heat on themselves, or on any part of the creation which was capable of feeling its temperature, and would therefore be deceived by it, nothing was left for them to do but to study its effects on the inanimate world. Then all was revealed. The career of discovery was fairly opened; and analogies between light and heat, which even the boldest imagination had hardly suspected, were placed beyond a doubt. To the reflection of heat, which had been formerly known, were now added the refraction of heat, its double refraction, its polarization, its depolarization, its circular polarization, the interference of its rays, and their retardation; while, what is more remarkable than all, the march of our knowledge on these points was so swift that before the year 1836 had come to a close the chain of evidence was completed by the empirical investigations of Forbes and Melloni, they themselves little witting that everything which they accomplished was prepared before they were born, that they were but the servants and followers of him who indicated the path in which they trod, and that their experiments, ingenious as they were, and full of resource, were simply the direct practical consequence of one of those magnificent ideas which Scotland has thrown upon the world, and the memory of which is almost enough so to bribe the judgment as to tempt us to forget that, while the leading intellects of the nation were engaged in such lofty pursuits, the nation itself, untouched by them, passed them over with cold and contemptuous indifference, being steeped in that deadening superstition which turns a deaf ear to every sort of reason, and will not hearken to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.

By thus considering the descent and relationship of scientific conceptions, we can alone understand what we really owe to Black's discovery of latent heat. In regard to the method of the discovery little need be said, since every student of the Baconian philosophy must see that the discovery was of a kind for which none of the maxims of that system had provided. As latent heat escapes the senses, it could not obey the rules of a philosophy which grounds all truth on observation and experiment. The subject of the inquiry being supersensual, there was no scope for what Bacon called crucial experiments and separations of nature. The truth was in the idea; experiments therefore might illustrate it, might bring it up to the surface, and so enable men to grasp it, but could not prove it. And this, which appears on the very face of the discovery, is confirmed by the express testimony of Dr. Thomson, who knew Black, and was indeed one of the most eminent of his pupils. We are assured by this unimpeachable witness that Black about the year 1759 began to speculate concerning heat; that the result of those speculations was the theory of latent heat; that he publicly taught that theory in the year 1761; but that the experiments which were necessary to convince the world of it were not made till 1764,[149] though, as I need hardly add, according to the inductive method, it was a breach of all the rules of philosophy to be satisfied with the theory three years before the experiments were made,

[149] "So much was he convinced of this, that he taught the doctrine in his lectures in 1761, before he had made a single experiment on the subject." . . . "The requisite experiments were first attempted by Dr. Black in 1764." *Thomson's History of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 324. See also pp. 319, 320; and on the history of the idea in Black's mind as early as the year 1754, see the interesting extracts from his note-books in Robinson's appendix to *Black's Lectures*, vol. i. pp. 525, 526.

The statement by Dr. Thomson refers to the completion, or last stage, of the discovery, namely, the vaporific combination of heat. But from a letter which Black wrote to Watt in 1780 (*Muirhead's Life of Watt*, London, 1859, p. 303), it appears that Thomson has even understated the question, and that Black, instead of first teaching his theory in 1761, taught it three years earlier, that is *six* years before the decisive experiments were made. "I began," writes Black, "to give the doctrine of latent heat in my lectures at Glasgow in the winter 1757–58, which, I believe, was the first winter of my lecturing there; or if I did not give it that winter, I certainly gave it in the 1758–59; and I have delivered it every year since that time in my winter lectures, which I continued to give at Glasgow until winter 1766–67, when I began to lecture in Edinburgh."

and it was a still greater breach not only to be satisfied with it, but to have openly promulgated it as an original and unquestionable truth, which explained, in a new manner, the economy of the material world.

The intellect of Black belonged to a class which in the eighteenth century was almost universal in Scotland,* but was hardly to be found in England, and which, for want of a better word, we are compelled to call deductive, though fully admitting that even the most deductive minds have in them a large amount of induction, since, indeed, without induction the common business of life could not be carried on. But for the purposes of scientific classification we may say that a man or an age is deductive, when the favourite process is reasoning from principles instead of reasoning to them, and when there is a tendency to underrate the value of specific experience. That this was the case with the illustrious discoverer of latent heat, we have seen, both fom the nature of the discovery, and from the decisive testimony of his friend and pupil. And a further confirmation may be found in the circumstance that, having once propounded his great idea, he, instead of instituting a long series of laborious experiments by which it might be verified in its different branches, preferred reasoning from it according to the general maxims of dialectic ; pushing it to its logical consequences, rather than tracking it into regions where the senses might either confirm or refute it.[150] By following this process of thought, he was led to some beautiful speculations, which are so remote from experience that even now, with all the additional resources of our knowledge, we cannot tell whether they are true or false. Of this kind were his views respecting the causes of the preservation of man, whose existence would, he thought, be endangered, except for the power which heat possesses of lying latent and unobserved. Thus, for example, when a long and severe winter was followed by sudden warmth, it appeared natural that the ice and snow should melt with corresponding suddenness ; and if this were to happen, the result would be such terrible inundations that it would be hardly possible for man to escape from their ravages. Even if he escaped, his works, that is, the material products of his civilization, would perish. From this catastrophe nothing saves him but the latent power of heat. Owing to this power, directly the ice and snow begin to melt at their surface, the heat enters their structure, where a large part of it remains in abeyance, and thus losing much of its power, the process of liquefaction is arrested. This dreadful agent is lulled, and becomes dormant. It is weakened at the outset of its career, and is laid up, as in a storehouse, from which it can afterwards emerge, gradually, and with safety to the human species.[151]

In this way, as summer advances, a vast magazine of heat is accumulated, and is preserved in the midst of water, where it can do man no injury, since, indeed, his senses are unable to feel it. There the heat remains buried, until, in the rotation of the seasons, winter returns, and the waters are congealed into ice. In the process of congelation, that treasury of heat, which had been hidden

[150] And he distinctly states that, even in other matters, when he did make experiments, their object was to confirm theory, and not to suggest it. Thus, to give one of many instances, in his *Lectures*, vol. i. p. 354, he says, respecting salts, "When we examine the solidity of this reasoning by an experiment, *we have the pleasure to find facts agree exactly with the theory*."

[151] See a good summary of this idea in *Black's Lectures on Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 118. Contrasting his theory of heat with that previously received, he says, "But were the ice and snow to melt as suddenly as they must necessarily do, were the former opinion of the action of heat in melting them well founded, the torrents and inundations would be incomparably more irresistible and dreadful. They would tear up and sweep away every thing, and that so suddenly, that mankind should have great difficulty to escape from their ravages."

[* Here again there is a contradiction in the use of terms. Buckle had expressly stated that the deductive method could not appeal to the majority. For "almost universal" read "normal among the class of independent thinkers." The rest of the sentence seriously modifies the previous propositions on the subject.—Ed.]

all the summer, reappears ; it ceases to be latent ; and now, for the first time, striking the senses of man,* it tempers, on his behalf, the severity of winter. The faster the water freezes, the faster the heat is disengaged ; so that, by virtue of this great law of nature, cold actually generates warmth, and the inclemency of every season, though it cannot be hindered, is softened in proportion as the inclemency is more threatening.[152]

Thus, again, inasmuch as heat becomes latent and flies from the senses, not only when ice is passing into water, but also when water is passing into steam, we find in this latter circumstance one of the reasons why man and other animals can live in the tropics, which, but for this, would be deserted. They are constantly suffering from the heat which is collected in their bodies, and which, considered by itself, is enough to destroy them. But this heat causes thirst, and they consequently swallow great quantities of fluid, much of which exudes through the pores of the skin in the form of vapour. And as, according to the theory of latent heat, vapour cannot be produced without a vast amount of heat being buried within it, such vapour absorbs and carries off from the body that which, if left in the system, would prove fatal. To this we must add that in the tropics the evaporation of water is necessarily rapid, and the vapour which is thus produced becomes another storehouse of heat, and a vehicle by which it is removed from the earth, and prevented from unduly interfering with the economy of life.[153]

[152] " Dr. Black quickly perceived the vast importance of this discovery, and took a pleasure in laying before his students a view of the extensive and beneficial effects of this habitude of heat in the economy of nature. He made them remark how by this means there was accumulated, during the summer season, a vast magazine of heat, which, by gradually emerging, during congelation, from the water which covers the face of the earth, serves to temper the deadly cold of winter. Were it not for this quantity of heat, amounting to 145 degrees, which emerges from every particle of water as it freezes, and which diffuses itself through the atmosphere, the sun would no sooner go a few degrees to the south of the equator, than we should feel all the horrors of winter." *Robinson's Preface to Black's Lectures*, vol. i. p. xxxviii.

[153] As I am writing an account of Black's views, and not a criticism of them, I shall give them, without comment, in his own words, and in the words of one of his pupils. " Here we can also trace another magnificent train of changes, which are nicely accommodated to the wants of the inhabitants of this globe. In the equatorial regions, the oppressive heat of the sun is prevented from a destructive accumulation by copious evaporation. The waters, stored with their vaporific heat, are thus carried aloft into the atmosphere, till the rarest of the vapour reaches the very cold regions of the air, which immediately forms a small portion of it into a fleecy cloud. This also further tempers the scorching heat by its opacity, performing the acceptable office of a screen. From thence, the clouds are carried to the inland countries, to form the sources in the mountains, which are to supply the numberless streams that water the fields. And, by the steady operation of causes, which are tolerably uniform, the greater part of the vapours pass on to the circumpolar regions, there to descend in rains and dews ; and in this beneficent conversion into rain, by the cold of those regions, each particle of steam gives up the 700 or 800 degrees of heat which were latent in it. These are immediately diffused, and soften the rigour of those less comfortable climates." . . . " I am persuaded that the heat absorbed in spontaneous evaporation greatly contributes to enable animals to bear the heat of the tropical climates, where the thermometer frequently continues to show the temperature of the human body. Such heats, indeed, are barely supportable, and enervate the animal, making it lazy and indolent, indulging in the most relaxed postures, and avoiding every exertion of body or mind. The inhabitants are induced to drink large draughts of diluting liquors, which transude through their pores most copiously, carrying off with them a vast deal of this troublesome and exhausting heat. There is in the body itself a continual laboratory, or manufacture of heat, and were the surrounding air of such

[* This is not warranted by the argument, which alleges simply modification of the cold. On the other hand, the presence of *water* sensibly modifies winter temperatures. (Tyndall, *Heat*, p. 213).—Ed.]

From these and many other arguments, all of which were so essentially speculative, and dealt with such hidden processes of nature, that even now we are not justified either in confidently admitting them or in positively denying them, Black was led to that great doctrine of the indestructibility of heat,[154] which, as I have pointed out, has in its connexion with the indestructibility of force a moral and social importance even superior to its scientific value. Though the evidence of which he was possessed was far more scanty than what we now have, he, by the reach of his commanding intellect rather than by the number and accuracy of his facts, became so penetrated with a conviction of the stability of physical affairs, that he not only applied that idea to the subtle phenomena of heat, but, what was much harder to do, he applied it to cases in which heat so entirely escapes the senses that man has no cognizance of it, except through the medium of the imagination. According to his view, heat passes through an immense variety of changes, during which it appears to be lost ; changes which no eye can ever see, which no touch can ever experience, and which no instrument can ever measure. Still, and in the midst of all these changes, it remains intact. From it nothing can be taken, and to it nothing can be added. In one of those fine passages of his Lectures, which, badly reported as they are,[155] bear the impress of his elevated genius, Black, after stating what would probably happen if the total amount of heat existing in the world were to be diminished, proceeds to speculate on the consequences of its being increased. Were it possible for any power to add to it ever so little, it would at once overstep its bounds ; the equilibrium would be disturbed ; the framework of affairs would be disjointed. The evil rapidly increasing, and acting with accumulated force, nothing would be able to stop its ravages. It must continue to gain ground till all other principles are absorbed and conquered. Sweeping on, unhindered and irresistible, before it every animal must perish, the whole vegetable world must disappear, the waters must pass into vapour, and the solid parts of the globe be merged and melted, until at length the glorious fabric, loosened and dissolved, would fall away, and return to that original chaos out of which it had been evolved.[156]

These, like many other of the speculations of this great thinker, will find small favour with those purely inductive philosophers, who not only suppose, perhaps rightly, that all our knowledge is in its beginning built upon facts, but who countenance what seems to me the very dangerous opinion that every increase

a temperature as not to carry it off, it would soon accumulate so as to destroy life. The excessive perspiration, supplied by diluting draughts, performs the same office as the cold air without the tropics, in guarding us from this fatal accumulation." *Black's Lectures*, vol. i. pp. xlvi. 214. [Black has here invented his facts to strengthen his theory. The inhabitants of hot climates do *not* drink large quantities of water, and those who go from temperate to hot climates generally learn the wisdom of similar abstention. A state of profuse perspiration is not, as Black seems to have supposed, a comfortable one for a permanency.—Ed.]

[154] See his strong protest against the notion that heat is ever destroyed, in his *Lectures* vol. i. pp. 125, 126, 164, 165.

[155] They were published after his death from such scanty materials that their editor, Dr. Robinson, says (*Preface to Black's Lectures*, vol. i. p. x.) : "When I then entered seriously on the task, I found that the notes were (with the exception of perhaps a score of lectures) in the same imperfect condition that they had been in from the beginning, consisting entirely of single leaves of paper, in octavo, full of erasions, interlinings, and alterations of every kind ; so that, in many places, it was not very certain which of several notes was to be chosen."

[156] "On the other hand, were the heat which at present cherishes and enlivens this globe, allowed to increase beyond the bounds at present prescribed to it ; beside the destruction of all animal and vegetable life, which would be the immediate and inevitable consequence, the water would lose its present form, and assume that of an elastic vapour like air ; the solid parts of the globe would be melted and confounded together, or mixed with the air and water in smoke and vapour ; and nature would return to the original chaos." *Black's Lectures*, vol. i. pp. 246, 247.

of knowledge must be preceded by an increase of facts.* To such men it will appear that Black had far better have occupied himself in making new observations, or devising new experiments, than in thus indulging his imagination in wild and unprofitable dreams. They will think that these flights of fancy are suitable, indeed, to the poet, but unworthy of that severe accuracy, and of that close attention to facts, which ought to characterize a philosopher. In England especially there is among physical inquirers an avowed determination to separate philosophy from poetry, and to look upon them not only as different but as hostile. Among that class of thinkers, whose zeal and ability are beyond all praise, and to whom we owe almost unbounded obligations, there dots undoubtedly exist a very strong opinion that in their own pursuit the imagination is extremely dangerous, as leading to speculations of which the basis is not yet assured, and generating a desire to catch too eagerly at distant glimpses before the intermediate ground has been traversed. That the imagination has this tendency is undeniable. But they who object to it on this account, and who would therefore divorce poetry from philosophy, have, I apprehend, taken a too limited view of the functions of the human mind, and of the manner in which truth is obtained. There is in poetry a divine and prophetic power, and an insight into the turn and aspect of things, which if properly used would make it the ally of science instead of the enemy. By the poet, nature is contemplated on the side of the emotions ; by the man of science, on the side of the understanding. But the emotions are as much a part of us as the understanding ; they are as truthful ; they are as likely to be right. Though their view is different, it is not capricious. They obey fixed laws ; they follow an orderly and uniform course ; they run in sequences ; they have their logic and method of inference. Poetry, therefore, is a part of philosophy, simply because the emotions are a part of the mind. If the man of science despises their teaching, so much the worse for him. He has only half his weapons ; his arsenal is unfilled. Conquests, indeed, he may make, because his native strength may compensate the defects of his equipment. But his success would be more complete and more rapid if he were properly furnished and made ready for the battle. And I cannot but regard as the worst intellectual symptom of this great country what I must venture to call the imperfect education of physical philosophers, as exhibited both in their writings and in their trains of thought. This is the more serious, because they as a body form the most important class in England whether we look at their ability, or at the benefits we have received from them, or at the influence they are exercising, and are likeiy to exercise, over the progress of society. It cannot however be concealed that they display an inordinate respect for experiments, an undue love of minute detail, and a disposition to overrate the inventors of new instruments, and the discoverers of new but often insignificant facts. Their predecessors of the seventeenth century, by using hypotheses more boldly, and by indulging their imagination more frequently, did certainly effect greater things, in comparison with the then state of knowledge, than our contemporaries, with much superior resources, have been able to achieve. The magnificent generalizations of Newton and Harvey could never have been completed in an age absorbed in one unvarying round of experiments and observations. We are in that predicament that our facts have outstripped our knowledge, and are now encumbering its march. The publications of our scientific institutions, and of our scientific authors, overflow with minute and countless details, which perplex the judgment, and which no memory can retain. In vain do we demand that they should be generalized and reduced into order. Instead of that, the heap continues to swell. We want ideas, and we get more facts. We hear constantly of what nature is doing, but we rarely hear of what man is thinking. Owing to the indefatigable industry of this and the preceding century, we are in possession of a huge and incoherent mass of observations, which have been stored up with great care, but which, until they are connected by some presiding idea, will be utterly useless. The most effective way of turning

[* " Fact " is, of course, here understood to mean an observed phenomenon as distinct from an inferred law of causation.—Ed.]

them to account would be to give more scope to the imagination, and incorporate the spirit of poetry with the spirit of science. By this means our philosophers would double their resources, instead of working, as now, maimed, and with only half their nature. They fear the imagination, on account of its tendency to form hasty theories. But surely all our faculties are needed in the pursuit of truth, and we cannot be justified in discrediting any part of the human mind. And I can hardly doubt that one of the reasons why we in England made such wonderful discoveries during the seventeenth century, was because that century was also the great age of English Poetry. The two mightiest intellects our country has produced are Shakspeare and Newton ; and that Shakspeare should have preceded Newton was, I believe, no casual or unmeaning event.* Shakspeare and the poets sowed the seed which Newton and the philosophers reaped. Discarding the old scholastic and theological pursuits, they drew attention to nature, and thus became the real founders of all natural science. They did even more than this. They first impregnated the mind of England with bold and lofty conceptions. They taught the men of their generation to crave after the unseen. They taught them to pine for the ideal, and to rise above the visible world of sense. In this way, by cultivating the emotions, they opened one of the paths which lead to truth. The impetus which they communicated survived their own day, and like all great movements was felt in every department of thought. But now it is gone ; and, unless I am greatly mistaken, physical science is at present suffering from its absence. Since the seventeenth century we have had no poet of the highest order, though Shelley, had he lived, would perhaps have become one. He had something of that burning passion, that sacred fire, which kindles the soul, as though it came fresh from the altar of the gods. But he was cut off in his early prime, when his splendid genius was still in its dawn. If we except his immature, though marvellous, efforts, we may assuredly say that for nearly two hundred years England has produced no poetry which bears those unmistakable marks of inspiration which we find in Spenser, in Shakspeare, and in Milton.† The result is that we, separated by so long an interval from those great feeders of the imagination who nurtured our ancestors, and being unable to enter fully into the feelings of poets, who wrote when nearly all opinions, and therefore nearly all forms of emotion, were very different to what they now are, cannot possibly sympathize with those immortal productions so closely as their contemporaries did. The noble English poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is read more than ever, but it does not colour our thoughts ; it does not shape our understandings as it shaped the understandings of our forefathers. Between us and them is a chasm which we cannot entirely bridge. We are so far removed from the associations amid which those poems were composed, that they do not flash upon us with that reality and distinctness of aim which they would have done had we lived when they were written. Their garb is strange, and belongs to another time. Not merely their dialect and their dress, but their very complexion and their inmost sentiments, tell of bygone days of which we have no firm hold. There is no doubt a certain ornamental culture which the most highly educated persons receive from the literature of the past, and by which they sometimes refine their taste, and sometimes enlarge their ideas. But the real culture of a great people, that which supplies each generation with its principal strength, consists of what it learnt from the generation immediately preceding. Though we are often unconscious of the process, we build nearly all our conceptions on the basis recognized by those who went just before us. Our closest contact is not with our forefathers, but with our fathers. To them we are linked by a genuine affinity, which, being

[* The only meaning attachable to this phrase is that Shakspeare's work had a direct or indirect effect on Newton's thought. For this there is no evidence whatever, though Newton seems to have read Milton.—Ed.]

[† This surprising judgment, which rules out the poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Keats, and all that Tennyson and Browning had produced down to 1860, is discussed in the editor's *Buckle and his Critics*, pp. 531–533.—Ed.]

spontaneous, costs us no effort, and from which indeed we cannot escape. We inherit their notions, and modify them, just as they modified the notions of their predecessors. At each successive modification something is lost and something is gained, until at length the original type almost disappears. Therefore it is, that ideas entertained several generations ago bear about the same relation to us as ideas preserved in a foreign literature. In both cases, the ideas may adorn our knowledge, but they are never so thoroughly incorporated with our minds as to be the knowledge itself. The assimilation is incomplete, because the sympathy is incomplete. We have now no great poets; and our poverty in this respect is not compensated by the fact that we once had them, and that we may and do read their works. The movement has gone by; the charm is broken; the bond of union, though not cancelled, is seriously weakened. Hence our age, great as it is, and in nearly all respects greater than any the world has yet seen, has, notwithstanding its large and generous sentiments, its unexampled toleration, its love of liberty, and its profuse and almost reckless charity, a certain material, unimaginative, and unheroic character, which has made several observers tremble for the future. So far as I can understand our present condition, I do not participate in these fears, because I believe that the good we have already gained is beyond all comparison greater than what we have lost. But that something has been lost is unquestionable. We have lost much of that imagination which, though in practical life it often misleads, is in speculative life one of the highest of all qualities, being suggestive as well as creative. Even practically we should cherish it, because the commerce of the affections mainly depends on it. It is, however, declining; while at the same time the increasing refinement of society accustoms us more and more to suppress our emotions, lest they should be disagreeable to others. And as the play of the emotions is the chief study of the poet, we see in this circumstance another reason which makes it difficult to rival that great body of poetry which our ancestors possessed. Therefore it is doubly incumbent on physical philosophers to cultivate the imagination. It is a duty they owe to their own pursuits, which would be enriched and invigorated by such an enlargement of their resources. It is also a duty which they owe to society in general; since they, whose intellectual influence is already greater than that of any other class, and whose authority is perceptibly on the increase, might have power enough to correct the most serious deficiency of the present age, and to make us some amends for our inability to produce such a splendid imaginative literature as that which our forefathers created, and in which the choicest spirits of the seventeenth century did, if I may so say, dwell and have their being.

If, therefore, Black had done nothing more than set the example of a great physical philosopher giving free scope to the imagination, he would have conferred upon us a boon, the magnitude of which it is not easy to overrate. And it is very remarkable that, before he died, that department of inorganic physics which he cultivated with such success was taken up by another eminent Scotchman, who pursued exactly the same plan, though with somewhat inferior genius. I allude, of course, to Leslie, whose researches on heat are well known to those who are occupied with this subject; while, for our present purpose, they are chiefly interesting as illustrating that peculiar method which in the eighteenth century seemed essential to the Scotch mind.

About thirty years after Black propounded his famous theory of heat, Leslie began to investigate the same topic, and, in 1804, published a special dissertation upon it.[157] In that work, and in some papers in his *Treatises on Philosophy*, are

[157] Mr. Napier, in his *Memoirs of Leslie*, pp. 16, 17 (prefixed to *Leslie's Treatises on Philosophy*, Edinb. 1838), says that he "composed the bulk of his celebrated work on Heat in the years 1801 and 1802;" but that in 1793 he propounded "some of its theoretical opinions, as well as the germs of its discoveries." It appears, however, from his own statement, that he was making experiments on heat, at all events, as early as 1791. See *Leslie's Experimental Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat*. London, 1804, p. 409.

contained his views, several of which are now known to be inaccurate,[158] though some are of sufficient value to mark an epoch in the history of science. Such was his generalization respecting the connexion between the radiation of heat and its reflection: bodies which reflect it most, radiating it least, and those which radiate it most, reflecting it least. Such, too, was another wide conclusion, which the best inquirers have since confirmed, namely, that while heat is radiating from a body, the intensity of each ray is as the sine of the angle which it makes with the surface of that body.

These were important steps, and they were the result of experiments preceded by large and judicious hypotheses. In relation, however, to the economy of nature, considered as a whole, they are of small account, in comparison with what Leslie effected towards consolidating the great idea of light and heat being identical, and thus preparing his contemporaries for that theory of the interchange of forces, which is the capital intellectual achievement of the nineteenth century. But it is interesting to observe that, with all his ardour, he could not go beyond a certain length. He was so hampered by the material tendencies of his time that he could not bring himself to conceive heat as a purely supersensual force, of which temperature was the external manifestation.[159] For this the age was barely ripe. We accordingly find him asserting that heat is an elastic fluid, extremely subtle, but still a fluid.[160] His real merit was that, notwithstanding the difficulties which beset his path, he firmly seized the great truth that there is no fundamental difference between light and heat. As he puts it, each is merely a metamorphosis of the other. Heat is light in complete repose. Light is heat in rapid motion. Directly light is combined with a body, it becomes heat; but when it is thrown off from that body, it again becomes light.[161]

Whether this is true or false, we cannot tell; * and many years, perhaps many generations, will have to elapse before we shall be able to tell. But the service rendered by Leslie is quite independent of the accuracy of his opinion as to the manner in which light and heat are interchanged. That they are interchanged is the essential and paramount idea. And we must remember that he made this idea the basis of his researches at a period when some very important facts, or, I should rather say, some very conspicuous facts, were opposed to it; while the main facts which favoured it were still unknown. When he composed his work, the analogies between light and heat with which we are now acquainted had not been discovered; no one being aware that double refraction, polarization, and other curious properties are common to both. To grasp so wide a truth in the face of such obstacles was a rare stroke of sagacity. But on account of the obstacles, the inductive mind of England refused to receive the truth, as it was not generalized from a survey of all the facts. And Leslie, unfortunately for himself, died too soon to enjoy the exquisite pleasure

[158] For specimens of some of his most indefensible speculations, see *Leslie's Treatises on Philosophy*, pp. 38, 43.

[159] Though he clearly distinguishes between the two. "It is almost superfluous to remark, that the term heat is of ambiguous import, denoting either a certain sensation, or the external cause which excites it." *Leslie on Heat*, p. 137.

[160] "Heat is an elastic fluid extremely subtle and active." *Leslie on Heat*, p. 150. At p. 31, "Calorific and frigorific fluid." See also pp. 143, 144; and the attempt to measure its elasticity, in pp. 177, 178.

[161] "Heat is only light in the state of combination." *Leslie on Heat*, p. 162. "Heat in the state of emission constitutes light." p. 174. "It is, therefore, the same subtle matter, that, according to its different modes of existence, constitutes either heat or light. Projected with rapid celerity, it forms light; in the state of combination with bodies it acts as heat." p. 188. See also p. 403, "Different states of the same identical substance."

[* It has just been asserted, a few lines above, that it is a "great truth." It is clear that Buckle here wrote in an increasingly disturbed state of mind.—Ed.]

of witnessing the empirical corroboration of his doctrine by direct experiment, although he clearly perceived that the march of discovery, in reference to polarization, was leading the scientific world to a point of which his keen eye had discerned the nature, when, to others, it was an almost invisible speck, dim in the distant offing.[162]

In regard to the method adopted by Leslie, he assures us that in assuming the principles from which he reasoned he derived great aid from poetry; for he knew that the poets are, after their own manner, consummate observers, and that their united observations form a treasury of truths which are nowise inferior to the truths of science, and of which science must either avail herself, or else suffer from neglecting them.[163] To apply these truths rightly, and to fit them to the exigencies of physical inquiry, is no doubt a most difficult task, since it involves nothing less than holding the balance between the conflicting claims of the emotions and the understanding. Like all great enterprises, it is full of danger, and if undertaken by an ordinary mind would certainly fail. But there are two circumstances which make it less dangerous in our time than in any earlier period. The first circumstance is that the supremacy of the human understanding, and its right to judge all theories for itself, is now more generally admitted than ever; so that there can be little fear of our leaning to the opposite side, and allowing poetry to encroach on science. The other circumstance is that our knowledge of the laws of nature is much greater than that possessed by any previous age; and there is consequently less risk of the imagination leading us into error, inasmuch as we have a large number of well-ascertained truths, which we can confront with every speculation, no matter how plausible or ingenious it may appear.

On both these grounds, Leslie was, I apprehend, justified in taking the course which he did. At all events, it is certain that by following it he came nearer than would otherwise have been possible to the conceptions of the most advanced scientific thinkers of our day. He distinctly recognized that in the material world there is neither break nor pause; so that what we call the divisions of nature have no existence except in our minds.[164] He was even almost prepared to do away with that imaginary difference between the organic and inorganic world which still troubles many of our physicists, and prevents them from comprehending the unity and uninterrupted march of affairs. They, with their old notions of inanimate matter, are unable to see that all matter is

[162] In 1814, that is ten years after his great work was published, and about twenty years after it was begun, he writes from Paris: "My book on heat is better known" here "than in England. I was even reminded of some passages in it which in England were considered as fanciful, but which the recent discoveries on the polarity of light have confirmed." *Napier's Memoirs of Leslie*, p. 28, prefixed to *Leslie's Philosophical Treatises*, edit. Edinb. 1838. Leslie died in 1832 (p. 40); and the decisive experiments of Forbes and Melloni were made between 1834 and 1836.

[163] "The easiest mode of conceiving the subject, is to consider the heat that permeates all bodies, and unites with them in various proportions, as merely the subtle fluid of light in a state of combination. When forcibly discharged, or suddenly elicited from any substance, it again resumes its radiant splendour." . . . "The same notion was embraced by the poets, and gives sublimity to their finest odes." . . . "Those poetical images which have descended to our own times were hence founded on a close observation of nature. Modern philosophy need not disdain to adopt them, and has only to expand and reduce to precision the original conceptions." *Leslie's Treatises on Philosophy*, pp. 308, 309. Again, at p. 416: "This is not the first occasion in which we have to admire, through the veil of poetical imagery, the sagacity and penetration of those early sages. It would be weakness to expect nice conclusions in the infancy of science; but it is arrogant presumption to regard all the efforts of unaided genius with disdain."

[164] "We should recollect that in all her productions Nature exhibits a chain of perpetual gradation, and that the systematic divisions and limitations are entirely artificial, and designed merely to assist the memory and facilitate our conceptions." *Leslie on Heat*, p. 506.

living, and that what we term death is a mere expression by which we signify a fresh form of life. Towards this conclusion all our knowledge is now converging; and it is certainly no small merit in Leslie that he, sixty years ago, when really comprehensive views, embracing the whole creation, were scarcely known among scientific men, should have strongly insisted that all forces are of the same kind, and that we have no right to distinguish between them, as if some were living and others were dead.[165]

We owe much to him by whom such views were advocated. But they were then, and in a certain though far smaller degree they are now, so out of the domain of physical experience that Leslie never could have obtained them by generalizing in the way which the inductive philosophy enjoins. His great work on heat was executed as well as conceived on the opposite plan;[166] and his prejudices on this point were so strong that we are assured by his biographer that he would allow no merit to Bacon, who organised the inductive method into a system, and to whose authority we in England pay a willing, and I had almost said a servile, homage.[167]

Another curious illustration of the skill with which the Scotch mind, when once possessed of a principle, worked from it deductively, appears in the geological speculations of Hutton, late in the eighteenth century. It is well known that the two great powers which have altered the condition of our planet, and made it what it is, are fire and water. Each has played so considerable a part that we can hardly measure their relative importance. Judging, however, from the present appearance of the crust of the earth, there is reason to believe that the older rocks are chiefly the result of fusion, and that the younger are aqueous deposits. It is therefore not unlikely that, in the order in which the energies of nature have unfolded themselves, fire preceded water, and was its necessary precursor.[168] But all that we are as yet justified in asserting is that these

[165] "All forces are radically of the same kind, and the distinction of them into *living* and *dead* is not grounded on just principles." *Leslie on Heat*, p. 133. Compare p. 299: "We shall perhaps find, that this prejudice, like many others, has some semblance of truth; and that even dead or inorganic substances must, in their recondite arrangements, exert such varying energies, and *so like sensation itself*, as if fully unveiled to our eyes, could not fail to strike us with wonder and surprise."

[166] Mr. Napier, in his *Life of Leslie*, p. 17, says of it, very gravely, "Its hypotheses are not warranted by the sober maxims of inductive logic."

[167] "Notwithstanding the contrary testimony, explicitly recorded by the founders of the English experimental school, he denied all merit and influence to the immortal delineator of the inductive logic." *Napier's Life of Leslie*, p. 42.

[168] The supposition that volcanic agencies were formerly more potent than they are now is by no means inconsistent with the scientific doctrine of uniformity, though it is generally considered to be so. It is one thing to assert the uniformity of natural laws; it is quite another thing to assert the uniformity of natural causes. Heat may once have produced far greater effects than it can do at present, and yet the laws of nature be unchanged, and the order and sequence of events unbroken. What I would venture to suggest to geologists is that they have not taken sufficiently into account the theory of the interchange of forces, which seems to offer a solution of at least part of the problem. For by that theory a large portion of the heat which formerly existed may have been metamorphosed into other forces, such as light, chemical affinity, and gravitation. The increase of these forces consequent on the diminution of heat would have facilitated the consolidation of matter; and until such forces possessed a certain energy, water, which afterwards became so prominent, could not have been formed. If the power of chemical affinity, for instance, were much weaker than it is, water would assuredly resolve itself into its component gases. Without wishing to lay too much stress on this speculation, I submit it to the consideration of competent judges, because I am convinced that any hypothesis not absolutely inconsistent with the known laws of nature is preferable to that dogma of interference which what may be called the miraculous school of geologists wish to foist upon us, in utter ignorance of its incompatibility with the conclusions of the most advanced minds in other departments of thought.

The remarks in Sir Roderick Murchison's great work (*Siluria*, London, 1854, pp. 475,

two causes, the igneous and the aqueous, were in full operation long before man existed, and are still busily working. Perhaps they are preparing another change in our habitation, suitable to new forms of life, as superior to man as man is superior to the beings who occupied the earth before his time. Be this as it may, fire and water are the two most important and most general principles with which geologists are concerned; and though on a superficial view each is extremely destructive, it is certain that they can really destroy nothing, but can only decompose and recompose; shifting the arrangements of nature, but leaving nature herself intact. Whether one of these elements will ever again get the upper hand of its opponent is a speculation of extreme interest. For there is reason to suspect that at one period fire was more active than water, and that at another period water was more active than fire. That they are engaged in incessant warfare is a fact with which geologists are perfectly familiar, though in this as in many other cases the poets were the first to discern the truth. To the eye of the geologist, water is constantly labouring to reduce all the inequalities of the earth to a single level; while fire, with its volcanic action, is equally busy in restoring those inequalities, by throwing up matter to the surface, and in various ways disturbing the crust of the globe.[169] And as the beauty of the material world mainly depends on that irregularity of aspect without which scenery would have presented no variety of form, and but little variety of colour, we shall, I think, not be guilty of too refined a subtlety if we say that fire, by saving us from the monotony to which water would have condemned us, has been the remote cause of that development of the imagination which has given us our poetry, our painting, and our sculpture, and has thereby not only wonderfully increased the pleasures of life, but has imparted to the human mind a completeness of function to which, in the absence of such a stimulus, it could not have attained.

When geologists began to study the laws according to which fire and water had altered the structure of the earth, two different courses were open to them, namely the inductive and the deductive. The deductive plan was to compute the probable consequences of fire and water, by reasoning from the sciences of thermotics and hydro-dynamics; tracking each element by an independent line of argument, and afterwards co-ordinating into a single scheme the results which had been separately obtained. It would then only remain to inquire how far this imaginary scheme harmonized with the actual state of things; and if the discrepancy between the ideal and the actual were not greater than might fairly be expected from the perturbations produced by other causes, the ratiocination would be complete, and geology would in its inorganic department become a

476) on the "grander intensity of former causation," and on the difficulty this opposes to the "uniformitarians," apply merely to those who take for granted that *each* force has always been equally powerful: they do not affect those who suppose that it is only the *aggregate* of force which remains unimpaired. Though the distribution of forces may be altered, their gross amount is not susceptible of change, so far as the highest conceptions of our actual science extend. Consequently, there is no need for us to believe that, in different periods, the intensity of causation varies; though we may believe that some one agent, such as heat, had at one time more energy than it has ever had since.

[169] "The great agents of change in the inorganic world may be divided into two principal classes, the aqueous and the igneous. To the aqueous belong rain, rivers, torrents, springs, currents, and tides; to the igneous, volcanos and earthquakes. Both these classes are instruments of decay as well as of reproduction; but they may also be regarded as antagonistic forces. For the aqueous agents are incessantly labouring to reduce the inequalities of the earth's surface to a level; while the igneous are equally active in restoring the unevenness of the external crust, partly by heaping up new matter in certain localities, and partly by depressing one portion, and forcing out another, of the earth's envelope." *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, 9th edit., London 1853, p. 198. [Lyell seems to have forgotten that aqueous agencies create "unevenness"—*e.g.* in the action of rivers and streams. His statement, "the igneous are equally active," would not now be endorsed by geologists.—Ed.]

deductive science. That our knowledge is ripe for such a process, I am far indeed from supposing ; but this is the path which a deductive mind would take, so far as it was able. On the other hand, an inductive mind, instead of beginning with fire and water, would begin with the effects which fire and water had produced, and would first study these two agents, not in their own separate sciences, but in their united action as exhibited on the crust of the earth. An inquirer of this sort would assume that the best way of arriving at truth would be to proceed from effects to causes, observing what had actually happened, and rising from the complex results up to a knowledge of the simple agents, by whose power the results had been brought about.

If the reader has followed the train of thought which I have endeavoured to establish in this chapter, and in part of the preceding volume, he will be prepared to expect that when, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, geology was first seriously studied, the inductive plan of proceeding from effects to causes became the favourite one in England ; while the deductive plan of proceeding from causes to effects was adopted in Scotland and in Germany. And such was really the case. It is generally admitted that in England scientific geology owes its origin to William Smith, whose mind was singularly averse to system, and who, believing that the best way of understanding former causes was to study present effects, occupied himself between the years 1790 and 1815 in a laborious examination of different strata.[170] In 1815 he, after traversing the whole of England on foot, published the first complete geological map which ever appeared, and thus took the first great step towards accumulating the materials for an inductive generalization.[171] In 1807, and therefore before he had brought his arduous task to an end, there was formed in London the Geological Society, the express object of which, we are assured, was to observe the condition of the earth, but by no means to generalize the causes which had produced that condition.[172] The resolution was perhaps a wise one. At all events, it was highly characteristic of the sober and patient spirit of the English intellect. With what energy and unsparing toil it has been executed, and how the most eminent members of the Geological Society have, in the pursuit of truth, not only explored every part of Europe, but examined the shell of the earth in America and in Northern Asia, is well known to all who are interested in these.

[170] Dr. Whewell, comparing him with his great German contemporary, Werner, says " In the German, considering him as a geologist, the ideal element predominated." . . . " Of a very different temper and character was William Smith. No literary cultivation of his youth awoke in him the *speculative love of symmetry and system* ; but a singular clearness and precision of the classifying power, which he possessed as a native talent, was exercised and developed by exactly those geological facts among which his philosophical task lay." . . . "We see great vividness of thought and activity of mind, *unfolding itself exactly in proportion to the facts with which it had to deal.*" . . . " He dates his attempts to discriminate and connect strata from the year 1790." *Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences*, London, 1847, vol. iii. pp. 562–564.

[171] " The execution of his map was completed in 1815, and remains a lasting monument of original talent and extraordinary perseverance ; for he had explored the whole country on foot without the guidance of previous observers, or the aid of fellow-labourers, and had succeded in throwing into natural divisions the whole complicated series of British rocks." *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, p. 58. Geological maps of parts of England had, however, been published before 1815. See *Conybeare on Geology*, in *Second Report of the British Association*, p. 373.

[172] " A great body of new data were required ; and the Geological Society of London, founded in 1807, conduced greatly to the attainment of this desirable end. To multiply and record observations, and patiently to await the result at some future period, was the object proposed by them ; and it was their favourite maxim that the time was not yet come for a general system of geology, but that all must be content for many years to be exclusively engaged in furnishing materials for future generalizations." *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, p. 59. Compare *Richardson's Geology*, 1851, p. 40.

matters; nor can it be denied that the great works of Lyell and Murchison * prove that the men who are capable of such laborious enterprises are also capable of the still more difficult achievement of generalizing their facts and refining them into ideas. They did not go as mere observers, but they went with the noble object of making their observations subservient to a discovery of the laws of nature. That was their aim; and all honour be to them for it. Still, it is evident that their process is essentially inductive; it is a procedure from the observation of complex phenomena up to the elements to which those phenomena are owing; it is, in other words, a study of natural effects, in order to learn the operation of natural causes.

Very different was the process in Germany and Scotland. In 1787, that is, only three years before William Smith began his labours, Werner, by his work on the classification of mountains, laid the foundation of the German school of geology.[173] His influence was immense; and among his pupils we find the names of Mohs, Raumer, and Von Buch, and even that of Alexander Humboldt.[174] But the geological theory which he propounded depended entirely on a chain of argument from cause to effect. He assumed that all the great changes through which the earth had passed were due to the action of water. Taking this for granted, he reasoned deductively from premisses with which his knowledge of water supplied him. Without entering into details respecting his system, it is enough to say, that, according to it, there was originally one vast and primeval sea, which, in the course of time, deposited the primitive rocks. The base of all was granite; then gneiss; and others followed in their order. In the bosom of the water, which at first was tranquil, agitations gradually arose, which, destroying part of the earliest deposits, gave birth to new rocks, formed out of their ruins. The stratified thus succeeded to the unstratified, and something like variety was established. Then came another period, in which the face of the waters, instead of being merely agitated, was convulsed by tempests, and amid their play and collision life was generated, and plants and animals sprung into existence. The vast solitude was slowly peopled, the sea gradually retired; and a foundation was laid for that epoch during which man entered the scene, bringing with him the rudiments of order and of social improvement.[175]

These were the leading views of a system which, we must remember, exercised great sway in the scientific world, and won over to its side minds of considerable power. Erroneous and far-fetched though it was, it had the merit of calling attention to one of the two chief principles which have determined the present

[173] Cuvier, in his Life of Werner, says (*Biographie Universelle*, vol. L. pp. 376, 377), "La connaissance des positions respectives des minéraux dans la croûte du globe, et ce que l'on peut en conclure relativement aux époques de leur origine, forment une autre branche de la science qu'il appelle Géognosie. Il en présenta les premières bases en 1787, dans un petit écrit intitulé 'Classification et description des montagnes.'"

[174] *Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. iii. p. 567.

[175] "Une mer universelle et tranquille dépose en grandes masses les roches primitives, roches nettement cristallisées, où domine d'abord la silice. Le granit fait la base de tout; au granit succède le gneiss, qui n'est qu'un granit commençant à se feuilleter." . . . "Des agitations intestines du liquide détruisent une partie de ces premiers dépots; de nouvelles roches se forment de leurs débris réunis par des cimens. C'est parmi ces tempêtes que naît la vie." . . . "Les eaux, de nouveau tranquillisées, mais dont le contenu a changé, déposent des couches moins épaisses et plus variées, où les débris des corps vivans s'accumulent successivement dans un ordre non moins fixe que celui des roches qui les contiennent. Enfin, la dernière retraite des eaux répand sur le continent d'immenses alluvions de matières meubles, premiers siéges de la végétation, de la culture et de la sociabilité." *Eloge de Werner*, in *Cuvier, Recueil des Eloges Historiques*, vol. ii. pp. 321–323.

[* Murchison was not an Englishman but a Scotch Highlander. His work should therefore stand, on the racial principle, for "the sober and patient spirit of the *Gaelic* intellect."—Ed.]

condition of our planet. It had the further merit of provoking a controversy which was eminently serviceable to the interests of truth. For the great enemy of knowledge is not error, but inertness. All that we want is discussion, and then we are sure to do well, no matter what our blunders may be. One error conflicts with another ; each destroys its opponent,* and truth is evolved. This is the course of the human mind, and it is from this point of view that the authors of new ideas, the proposers of new contrivances, and the originators of new heresies, are benefactors of their species. Whether they are right or wrong is the least part of the question. They tend to excite the mind ; they open up the faculties ; they stimulate us to fresh inquiry ; they place old subjects under new aspects ; they disturb the public sloth ; and they interrupt, rudely, but with most salutary effect, that love of routine which, by inducing men to go grovelling on in the ways of their ancestors, stands in the path of every improvement as a constant, an outlying, and, too often, a fatal obstacle.

The method adopted by Werner was evidently deductive, since he argued from a supposed cause, and reasoned from it to the effects. In that cause he found his major premiss, and thence he worked downwards to his conclusion, until he reached the world of sense and of reality. He trusted in his one great idea, and he handled that idea with consummate skill. On that very account did he pay less attention to existing facts. Had he chosen, he, like other men, could have collected them, and subjected them to an inductive generalization. But he preferred the opposite path. To reproach him with this is irrational ; for, in his journey after truth, he chose one of the only two roads which are open to the human mind. In England, indeed, we are apt to take for granted that one road is infinitely preferable to the other. It may be so ; but on this, as on many other subjects, assertions are current which have never been proved. At all events, Werner was so satisfied with his method that he would not be at the pains of examining the position of rocks and their strata as they are variously exhibited in different countries ; he did not even explore his own country, but, confining himself to a corner of Germany, he began and completed his celebrated system without investigating the facts on which, according to the inductive method, that system should have been built.[176]

Exactly the same process, on the same subject, and at the same time, was going on in Scotland. Hutton, who was the founder of Scotch geology, and who in 1788 published his *Theory of the Earth*, conducted the inquiry just as Werner did ; though when he began his speculations he had no knowledge of what Werner was doing. [177] The only difference between them was, that while Werner reasoned from the agency of water, Hutton reasoned from the agency of fire. The cause of this may, I think, be explained. Hutton lived in a country

[176] "If it be true that delivery be the first, second, and third requisite in a popular orator, it is no less certain that to travel is of first, second, and third importance to those who desire to originate just and comprehensive views concerning the structure of our globe. Now, Werner had not travelled to distant countries : he had merely explored a small portion of Germany, and conceived, and persuaded others to believe, that the whole surface of our planet, and all the mountain chains in the world, were made after the model of his own province." . . . "It now appears that he had misinterpreted many of the most important appearances even in the immediate neighbourhood of Freyberg. Thus, for example, within a day's journey of his school, the porphyry, called by him primitive, has been found not only to send forth veins, or dykes, through strata of the coal formation, but to overlie them in mass." *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, p. 47.

[177] Though Hutton's *Theory of the Earth* was first published in 1788, the edition of 1795, which is the one I have used, contains a great number of additional illustrations of his views, and was evidently re-written. But the main features are the same ; and we learn from his friend Playfair that "the great outline of his system" was completed "several years" before 1788. *Life of Hutton*, in *Playfair's Works*, vol. iv. p. 50, Edinburgh, 1822.

[* Read rather: "each elicits criticism which destroys it."—Ed.]

where some of the most important laws of heat had for the first time been generalized, and where, consequently, that department of inorganic physics had acquired great reputation. It was natural for a Scotchman to take more than ordinary interest in a subject in which Scotland had been so successful, and had obtained so much fame. We need not therefore wonder that Hutton, who, like all men, felt the intellectual bent of the time in which he lived, should have yielded to an influence of which he was perhaps unconscious. In obedience to the general mental habits of his country, he adopted the deductive method. In further obedience to the more special circumstances connected with his own immediate pursuits, he gathered the principles from which he reasoned from a study of fire, instead of gathering them, as Werner did, from a study of water.

Hence it is that, in the history of geology, the followers of Werner are known as Neptunists, and those of Hutton as Plutonists.[178] And these terms represent the only difference between the two great masters. In the most important points, namely, their method, they were entirely agreed. Both were essentially one-sided ; both paid a too exclusive attention to one of the two principal agents which have altered, and are still altering, the crust of the earth ; both reasoned from those agents, instead of reasoning to them ; and both constructed their system without sufficiently studying the actual and existing facts ; committing, in this respect, an error which the English geologists were the first to rectify.

As I am writing a history not of science but of scientific method, I can only briefly glance at the nature of those services which Hutton rendered to geology, and which are so considerable that his system has been called its present basis.[179] This, however, is too strongly expressed ; for though Hutton was far from denying the influence of water,[180] he did not concede enough to it, and there is a tendency among several geologists to admit that the system of Werner, considered as an aqueous theory, contains a larger amount of truth than the advocates of the igneous theory are willing to allow. Still, what Hutton did was most remarkable, especially in reference to what are now termed metamorphic rocks, the theory of whose formation he was the first to conceive.[181] Into this, and into their connexion on the one hand with the sedimentary rocks, and on the other hand with those rocks whose origin is perhaps purely igneous, I could not enter without treading on debatable ground. But, putting aside what is yet uncertain, I will mention two circumstances respecting Hutton which are undisputed, and which will give some idea of his method, and of the turn of his mind. The first circumstance is that, although he ascribed to subterranean heat, as exhibited in volcanic action, a greater and more constant energy than any previous inquirers had ventured to do,[182] he preferred speculating on the probable consequences of that action, rather than drawing inferences from the facts which the action presented ; he being on this point so indifferent that he arrived at his conclusions without inspecting even a single region of

[178] Kirwan appears to have been the first who called Hutton's theory "the Plutonic System." See *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory* in *Playfair's Works*, vol. i. p. 145. On the distinction between Neptunists and Plutonists, see the same work, pp. 504, 505.

[179] "Has not only supplanted that of Werner, but has formed the foundation of the researches and writings of our most enlightened observers, and is justly regarded as the basis of all sound geology at the present day." *Richardson's Geology*, London, 1851, p. 38.

[180] *Hutton's Theory of the Earth*, Edinb. 1795, vol. i. pp. 34, 41, 192, 290, 291, 593, vol. ii. pp. 236, 369, 378, 555.

[181] "In his writings, and in those of his illustrator, Playfair, we find the germ of the metamorphic theory." *Lyell's Manual of Geology*, London, 1851, p. 92.

[182] The shortest summary of this view is in his *Theory of the Earth*, Edin. 1795, vol. ii. p. 556. "The doctrine, therefore, of our theory is briefly this: That whatever may have been the operation of dissolving water, and the chemical action of it upon the materials accumulated at the bottom of the sea, the general solidity of that mass of earth, and the placing of it in the atmosphere above the surface of the sea, has been the immediate operation of fire or heat melting and expanding bodies."

active volcanos, where he might have watched the workings of nature, and seen what she was really about.[183] The other circumstance is equally characteristic. Hutton, in his speculations concerning the geological effects of heat, naturally availed himself of the laws which Black had unfolded. One of those laws was that certain earths owe their fusibility to the presence of fixed air in them before heat has expelled it ; so that, if it were possible to force them to retain their fixed air, or carbonic acid gas, as we now call it, no amount of heat could deprive them of the capability of being fused. The fertile mind of Hutton saw, in this discovery, a principle from which he could construct a geological argument. It occurred to him that great pressure would prevent the escape of fixed air from heated rocks, and would thus enable them to be fused, notwithstanding their elevated temperature. He then supposed that, at a period anterior to the existence of man, such a process had taken place under the surface of the sea, and that the weight of so great a column of water had prevented the rocks from being decomposed while they were subjected to the action of fire. In this way their volatile parts were held together, and they themselves might be melted, which could not have happened except for this enormous pressure. By following this line of argument, he accounted for the consolidation of strata by heat ; since, according to the premisses from which he started, the oily or bituminous parts would remain, in spite of the efforts of heat to disperse them.[184] This striking speculation led to the inference that the volatile components of a substance and its fixed components may be made to cohere, in the very teeth of that apparently irresistible agent whose business it is to effect their separation. Such an inference was contrary to all experience ; or, to say the least, no man had ever seen an instance of it.[185] Indeed the event was only supposed to happen in consequence of circumstances which were never met with on the surface of the globe, and which, therefore, were out of the range of all human observation.[186] The utmost that could be expected was that, by means of our instruments, we might perhaps on a small scale imitate the process which Hutton had imagined. It was possible

[183] "Although Hutton had never explored any region of active volcanos, he had convinced himself that basalt and many other trap rocks were of igneous origin." *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, London, 1853, p. 51. To this I may add, that he wrote his work without having examined granite. He says (*Theory of the Earth*, vol. i. p. 214), "It is true, I met with it on my return by the east coast, when I just saw it, and no more, at Peterhead and Aberdeen ; but that was all the granite I had ever seen when I wrote my *Theory of the Earth*. I have, since that time, seen it in different places ; because I went on purpose to examine it, as I shall have occasion to describe in the course of this work." Hutton's theory of granite is noticed in *Bakewell's Geology*, Lond. 1838, p. 101 ; but Mr. Bakewell does not seem to be aware that the theory was formed before the observations were made.

[184] *Huttonian Theory*, in *Playfair*, vol. i. pp. 38–40, 509, 510. Compare *Playfair's Life of Hutton*, p. 61.

[185] Hence the objections of Kirwan were invalid ; because his argument against Hutton was "grounded on experiments, where that very separation of the volatile and fixed parts takes place, which it excluded in that hypothesis of subterraneous heat." *Huttonian Theory*, in *Playfair*, vol. i. p. 193, Edinb. 1822.

[186] Hutton says (*Theory of the Earth*, Edinb. 1795, vol. i. p. 94), "The place of mineral operations is not on the surface of the earth ; and we are not to limit nature with our imbecility, or estimate the powers of nature by the measure of our own." See also p. 159, "mineral operations proper to the lower regions of the earth." And p. 527, "The mineral operations of nature lie in a part of the globe which is necessarily inaccessible to man, and where the powers of nature act under very different conditions from those which we find take place in the only situation where we can live." Again, in vol. ii. p. 97, "The present Theory of the Earth holds for principle that the strata are consolidated in the mineral regions far beyond the reach of human observation." Similarly, vol. ii. p. 484, "we judge not of the progress of things from the actual operations of the surface."

that a direct experiment might artificially combine great pressure with great heat, and that the result might be that the senses would realize what the intellect had conceived.[187] But the experiment had never been tried, and Hutton, who delighted in reasoning from ideas rather than from facts, was not likely to undertake it.[188] He cast his speculation on the world, and left it to its fate.[189] Fortunately, however, for the reception of his system, a very ingenious and skilful experimenter of that day, Sir James Hall, determined to test the speculation by an appeal to facts; and as nature did not supply the facts which he wanted, he created them for himself. He applied heat to powdered chalk, while, at the same time, with great delicacy of manipulation, he subjected the chalk to a pressure about equal to the weight of a column of water half a mile high. The result was that under that pressure the volatile parts of the chalk were held together; the carbonic acid gas was unable to escape; the generation of quicklime was stopped; the ordinary operations of nature were baffled,* and the whole composition, being preserved in its integrity, was fused, and on subsequently cooling actually crystallized into solid marble.[190] Never was triumph more complete. Never did a fact more fully confirm an idea.[191] But in the mind of Hutton the idea preceded the fact by a long interval; since, before the fact was known, the theory had been raised, and the system which was built upon it had indeed been published several years. It therefore appears that one of the chief parts of the Huttonian Theory, and certainly its most successful part, was conceived in opposition to all preceding experience; that

[187] Hutton, however, did not believe that this could be done. "In the Theory of the Earth which was published, I was anxious to warn the reader against the notion that subterraneous heat and fusion could be compared with that which we induce by our chemical operations on mineral substances here upon the surface of the earth." *Hutton's Theory of the Earth*, vol. i. p. 251.

[188] See, in the *Life of Hutton*, in *Playfair's Works*, vol. iv. p. 62, *note*, a curious remark on his indifference to experimental verification. Innumerable passages in his work indicate this tendency, and show his desire to reason immediately from general principles. Thus, in vol. i. p. 17. "Let us strictly examine our principles in order to avoid fallacy in our reasoning." . . . "We are now, in reasoning from principles, come to a point decisive of the question." vol. i. p. 177. "Let us now reason from our principles." vol. ii. p. 308. Hence his constantly expressed contempt for experience; as in vol. ii. p. 367, where he says that we must "overcome those prejudices which contracted views of nature, and *magnified opinions of the experience of man* may have begotten."

[189] Playfair (*Life of Hutton*, p. 64) says that it drew "their attention" (*i.e.* the attention of "men of science") "very slowly, so that several years elapsed before any one showed himself publicly concerned about it, either as an enemy or a friend." He adds, as one of the reasons of this, that it contained "too little detail of facts for a system which involved so much that was new, and opposite to the opinions generally received."

[190] The account of these experiments was read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1805, and is printed in their *Transactions*, vol. vi. pp. 71–185, Edinb. 1812, 4to. The general result was (pp. 148, 149), "That a pressure of 52 atmospheres, or 1700 feet of sea, is capable of forming a limestone in a proper heat; That under 86 atmospheres, answering nearly to 3000 feet, or about half a mile, a complete marble may be formed: and lastly, That, with a pressure of 173 atmospheres, or 5700 feet, that is little more than one mile of sea, the carbonate of lime is made to undergo complete fusion, and to act powerfully on other earths." See also p. 160: "The carbonic acid of limestone cannot be constrained in heat by a pressure less than that of 1708 feet of sea." There is a short and not very accurate notice of these instructive experiments in *Bakewell's Geology*, London, 1838, pp. 249, 250.

[191] As Sir James Hall says, "The truth of the most doubtful principle which Dr. Hutton has assumed has thus been established by direct experiment." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. vi. p. 175.

[* In the terms of the case, this operation of nature is as "ordinary" as any other; and the term "baffled" is irrelevant to the subject.—Ed.]

it presupposed a combination of events which no one had ever observed, and the mere possibility of which nothing but artificial experiment could prove; and, finally, that Hutton was so confident of the validity of his own method of inquiry that he disdained to make the experiment himself, but left to another mind that empirical branch of the investigation which he deemed of little moment, but which we in England are taught to believe is the only safe foundation of physical research.[192]

I have now given an account of all the most important discoveries made by Scotland in the eighteenth century respecting the laws of the inorganic world. I have said nothing of Watt, because, although the steam-engine, which we owe to him, is of incalculable importance, it is not a discovery but an invention. An invention it may justly be termed, rather than an improvement.[193] Notwithstanding what had been effected in the seventeenth century by De Caus, Worcester, Papin, and Savery, and notwithstanding the later additions of Newcomen and others, the real originality of Watt is unimpeachable. His engine was essentially a new invention; but under its scientific aspect it was merely a skilful adaptation of laws previously known; and one of its most important points, namely, the economy of heat, was a practical application of ideas promulgated by Black.[194] The only discovery made by Watt was that of the composition of water. Though his claims are disputed by the friends of Cavendish, it would appear that he was the first who ascertained that water, instead of being an element, is a compound of two gases.[195] This discovery was a considerable step in the history of chemical analysis, but it neither involved nor

[192] See the remarks of Sir James Hall, in *Transactions*, vol. vi. pp. 74, 75. He observes that Hutton's "system, however, involves so many suppositions, apparently in contradiction to common experience, which meet us on the very threshold, that most men have hitherto been deterred from an investigation of its principles, and only a few individuals have justly appreciated its merits." . . . "I conceived that the chemical effects ascribed by him to compression ought in the first place to be investigated." . . . "It occurred to me that this principle was susceptible of being established in a direct manner by experiment, and *I urged him to make the attempt; but he always rejected this proposal*, on account of the immensity of the natural agents, whose operation he supposed to lie far beyond the reach of our imitation; and he seemed to imagine that any such attempt must undoubtedly fail, and thus *throw discredit on opinions, already sufficiently established, as he conceived, on other principles*."

[193] It may be traced back, certainly to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and probably still higher. Yet the popular opinion seems to be correct, that Watt was its real inventor; though of course he could not have done what he did without his predecessors. This, however, may be said of all the most eminent and successful men, as well as of the most ordinary men.

[194] On the obligations of Watt to Black, compare *Brougham's Life of Watt* (*Brougham's Works*, vol. i. pp. 25, 36–38, edit. Glasgow, 1855), with *Muirhead's Life of Watt*, second edit. London, 1859, pp. 66, 83. At p. 301 Mr. Muirhead says of Watt, that "his principal inventions connected with the steam-engine, with all their prodigious results, were founded, as we have seen, on the attentive observation of great philosophical truths; and the economy of fuel, increase of productive power, and saving of animal labour, which gradually ensued, all originated in the sagacious and careful thought with which he investigated the nature and properties of heat." But whatever investigations Watt made into heat, he discovered no new law respecting it, or, at all events, no new law which is large enough to be noted in the history of thermotics, considered purely as a science, and apart from practical application. Mr. Muirhead, in his interesting work which I have just quoted, has published (pp. 484–486) some remarks made on the subject by Watt, several years after the death of Black, which, though perfectly fair and candid, show that Watt had a rather confused notion of the real difference between an invention and a discovery.

[195] Mr. Muirhead, in his *Life of Watt*, pp. 301–370, seems to have put the priority of Watt beyond further doubt; though he is somewhat hard upon Cavendish, who, there can be little question, made the discovery for himself.

suggested any new law of nature, and has therefore no claim to mark an epoch in the history of the human mind.[196] There is, however, one circumstance connected with it which is too characteristic to be passed over in silence. The discovery was made in 1783 by Watt, the Scotchman, and by Cavendish, the Englishman, neither of whom seems to have been aware of what the other was doing.[197] But between the two there was this difference. Watt, for several years previously, had been speculating on the subject of water in connexion with air, and having by Black's law of latent heat associated them together, he was prepared to believe that one is convertible into the other.[198] The idea of an intimate analogy between the two bodies having once entered his mind, gradually ripened; and when he at last completed the discovery, it was merely

[196] I would not wish to diminish one jot of the veneration in which the great name of Watt is justly held. But when I find the opinion of Dr. Withering, the botanist, quoted to the effect that his "abilities and acquirements placed him next, if not superior, to Newton" (*Muirhead's Life of Watt*, p. 302), I cannot but protest against such indiscriminate eulogy, which would rank Watt in the same class as one of those godlike intellects of which the whole world has not produced a score, and which are entitled to be termed inspired, if ever human being was so. Another instance of this injudicious panegyric will be found in the same otherwise excellent work (*Muirhead*, pp. 324, 325), where we read that Watt's discovery that water consists of oxygen and hydrogen, was "the commencement of a new era, the dawn of a new day in physical inquiry, the real foundation of the new system of chemistry; nay, even a discovery 'perhaps of greater importance than any single fact which human ingenuity has ascertained either before or since.'" [The terms "godlike" and "inspired" do not assist judgment on such an issue. It is obvious that Newton dealt with much vaster issues than those taken up by Watt; but it is necessary to remember that Newton held certain erroneous theories in physics, and had no real competence in the historical questions he discussed.—Ed.]

[197] That there was no plagiarism on the part of Watt we know from positive evidence; that there was none on the part of Cavendish may be fairly presumed, both from the character of the man and also from the fact that in the then state of chemical knowledge the distovery was imminent, and could not have been long delayed. It was antecedently probable that the composition of water would be ascertained by different persons at the same time, as we have seen in many other discoveries which have been simultaneously made, when the human mind, in that particular department of inquiry, had reached a certain point. We are too apt to suspect philosophers of stealing from each other what their own abilities are sufficient to work out for themselves. It is however certain that Watt thought himself ill-treated by Cavendish. See *Watt's Correspondence on the Composition of Water*, London, 1846, pp. 48, 61.

[198] On 26th November, 1783, he writes: "For many years I have entertained an opinion that air was a modification of water; which was originally founded on the facts, that in most cases where air was actually made, which should be distinguished from those wherein it is only extricated from substances containing it in their pores, or otherwise united to them in the state of air, the substances were such as were known to contain water as one of their constituent parts, yet no water was obtained in the processes, except what was known to be only loosely connected with them, such as the water of the crystallization of salts. *This opinion arose from a discovery that the latent heat contained in steam diminished, in proportion as the sensible heat of the water from which it was produced increased*; or, in other words, that the latent heat of steam was less when it was produced under a greater pressure, or in a more dense state, and greater when it was produced under a less pressure, or in a less dense state; which led me to conclude, that when a very great degree of heat was necessary for the production of the steam, the latent heat would be wholly changed into sensible heat; and that, in such cases, the steam itself might suffer some remarkable change. I now abandon this opinion, in so far as relates to the change of water into air, as I think that may be accounted for on better principles." See this remarkable passage, which is quite decisive as to the real history of Watt's discovery, in *Correspondence of James Watt on the Composition of Water*, London, 1846, pp. 84, 85. Compare p. cxxiv. and p. 248 *note*.

by reasoning from data which others possessed besides himself. Instead of bringing to light new facts, he drew new conclusions from former ideas.[199] Cavendish, on the other hand, obtained his result by the method natural to an Englishman.* He did not venture to draw a fresh inference until he had first ascertained some fresh facts. Indeed, his discovery was so completely an induction from his own experiments, that he omitted to take into consideration the theory of latent heat, from which Watt had reasoned, and where that eminent Scotchman had found the premisses of his argument.[200] Both of these great inquirers arrived at truth, but they accomplished their journeys by different paths. And this antithesis is accurately expressed by one of the most celebrated of living chemists, who, in his remarks on the composition of water, truly says that while Cavendish established the facts, Watt established the idea.[201]

Thus much as to what was effected by the Scotch in the department of inorganic science. If we now turn to organic science, we shall find that there also their labours were very remarkable. To those who are capable of a certain elevation and compass of thought, it will appear in the highest degree probable that between the organic and inorganic world there is no real difference. That they are separated, as is commonly asserted, by a sharp line of demarcation, which indicates where one abruptly ends, and the other abruptly begins, seems to be a supposition altogether untenable. Nature does not pause and break off in this fitful and irregular manner. In her works there is neither gap nor chasm. To a really scientific mind, the material world presents one vast and uninterrupted series, gradually rising from the lowest to the highest forms, but never stopping. In one part of that series we find a particular structure which, so far as our observations have yet extended, we, in another part, cannot find. We also observe particular functions, which correspond to the structure, and, as we believe, result from it. This is all we know. Yet, from these scanty facts, we who at present are still in the infancy of knowledge, and have but

[199] In the paper which he communicated to the Royal Society, announcing his discovery, he, well knowing the empirical character of the English mind, apologizes for this; and says, "I feel much reluctance to lay my thoughts on these subjects before the public in their present indigested state, and *without having been able to bring them to the test of such experiments as would confirm or refute them.*" *Watt's Correspondence on the Discovery of the Composition of Water*, pp. 77, 78. Eleven months earlier, that is in December, 1782, he writes (*Ibid.* p. 4): "Dr. Priestley has made a most surprising discovery, which *seems to confirm my theory* of water's undergoing some very remarkable change at the point where all its latent heat would be changed into sensible heat."

[200] "He" (*i.e.* Cavendish) "here omits entirely the consideration of latent heat; an omission which he even attempts to justify in one of the passages interpolated by Blagden. But it is well known to every one acquainted with the first principles of chemical science, even as it was taught in the days of Black, and it was indisputably familiar to Mr. Watt, that no aeriform fluid can be converted into a liquid, nor any liquid into a solid, without the evolution of heat, previously latent. This essential part of the process, Mr. Cavendish's theory does not embrace; but without it no theory on the subject can be complete; and it will presently be seen that Mr. Watt took it fully into account." *Muirhead's Life of Watt*, p. 315.

[201] "Cavendish and Watt both discovered the composition of water. Cavendish established the facts; Watt the idea." . . . "*The attaching too high a value to the mere facts is often a sign of a want of ideas.*" *Liebig's Letters on Chemistry*, London, 1851, p. 48. The last sentence of this illustrious philosopher, which I have put in italics, should be well pondered in England. If I had my way, it should be engraved in letters of gold over the portals of the Royal Society and of the Royal Institution.

[* As Watt followed the method of Newton, Priestley, Dalton, and Davy; and as Buckle has above admitted that a deductive tendency was clearly exhibited in English science at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the expression in the text is inappropriate.—Ed.]

skimmed the surface of things, are expected to infer that there must be a point in the chain of existence where both structure and function suddenly cease, and after which we may vainly search for signs of life. It would be difficult to conceive a conclusion more repugnant to the whole march and analogy of modern thought. In every department the speculations of the greatest thinkers are constantly tending to co-ordinate all phenomena, and to regard them as different indeed in degree, but by no means as different in kind. Formerly men were content to ground their conviction of this difference in kind on the evidence of the eye, which, on a cursory inspection, saw an organization in some bodies, and not in others. From the organization they inferred the life, and supposed that plants, for instance, had life, but that minerals had none. This sort of argument was long deemed satisfactory; but in the course of time it broke down; more evidence was required, and since the middle of the seventeenth century it has been universally admitted that the eye, by itself, is an untrustworthy witness, and that we must employ the microscope, instead of relying on the unaided testimony of our own puny and precarious senses. But the microscope is steadily improving, and we cannot tell what limits there are to its capacity for improvement. Consequently, we cannot tell what fresh secrets it may disclose. Neither can we say that it may not be altogether superseded by some new artificial resource, which shall furnish us with evidence as superior to any yet supplied, as our present evidence is superior to that of the naked eye. Even already, and notwithstanding the shortness of the time during which the microscope has been a really effective instrument, it has revealed to us organizations the existence of which no one had previously suspected. It has proved that what for thousands of years had been deemed mere specks of inert matter, are in truth animals possessing most of the functions which we possess, reproducing their species in regular and orderly succession, and endowed with a nervous system, which shows that they must be susceptible of pain and enjoyment. It has detected life hidden in the glaciers of Switzerland; it has found it embedded in the polar ice; and if it can flourish there it is hard to say from what quarter it can be shut out. So unwilling, however, are most men to relinquish old notions, that the resources of chemistry have been called in to ascertain the supposed difference between organic and inorganic matter; it being asserted that in the organic world there is a greater complexity of molecular combination than in the inorganic.[202] Chemists further assert that in organic nature there is a predominance of carbon, and in inorganic a predominance of silicon.[203] But chemical analysis, like microscopic observation, is making such rapid strides that each generation, I had almost said each year, is unsettling some of the conclusions previously established; so that now, and for a long time hence, we must regard those conclusions as empirical, and indeed as merely tentative. Surely a permanent and universal inference cannot be drawn from shifting and precarious facts, which are admitted to-day and may be overthrown to-morrow. It would therefore appear that in favour of the opinion that some bodies are living and that others are dead, we have nothing except the circumstance that our researches, so far as they have yet gone, have shown that cellular structure, growth, and reproduction are not the invariable properties of matter, but are excluded from a large part of the visible world, which on that account we call inanimate. This is the whole of the argument

[202] "Organic substances, whether directly derived from the vegetable or animal kingdom, or produced by the subsequent modification of bodies which thus originate, are remarkable as a class for a degree of complexity of constitution far exceeding that observed in any of the compounds yet described." *Fownes' Chemistry*, 3rd edit., London, 1850, p. 353. I quote this, as the first authority at hand, for a doctrine which is universally admitted by chemists, and which is indubitably true, *so far as our experiments have at present extended.*

[203] "As the organic world is characterized by the predominance, in quantity, of carbon, so the mineral or inorganic world is marked by a similar predominance of silicon." *Turner's Chemistry*, edited by Liebig and Gregory, vol. ii. p. 678, London, 1847.

on that side of the question. On the other side, we have the fact that our sight, and the artificial instruments by whose aid we have arrived at this conclusion, are confessedly imperfect ; and we have the further fact that, imperfect as they are, they have proved that the organic kingdom is infinitely more extensive than the boldest dreamer had ever imagined, while they have not been able to enlarge the boundaries of the inorganic kingdom to anything like the same amount. This shows that, so far as our opinions are concerned, the balance is steadily inclining in one given direction ; in other words, as our knowledge advances, a belief in the organic is encroaching upon a belief in the inorganic.[204] When we moreover add that all science is manifestly converging towards one simple and general theory, which shall cover the whole range of material phenomena, and that, at each successive step, some irregularities are explained away, and some inequalities are reduced, it can hardly be doubted that such a movement tends to weaken those old distinctions, the reality of which has been too hastily assumed ; and that in their place we must sooner or later substitute the more comprehensive view that life is a property of all matter, and that the classification of bodies into animate and inanimate, or into organic and inorganic, is merely a provisional arrangement, convenient, perhaps, for our present purposes, but which, like all similar divisions, will eventually be merged in a higher and wider scheme.

Until however that step is taken, we must be content to reason according to the evidence supplied by our imperfect instruments, or by our still more imperfect senses. We therefore recognize the difference between organic and inorganic nature, not as a scientific truth, but as a scientific artifice, by which we separate in idea what is inseparable in fact ; hoping in this way to pursue our course with the greater ease, and ultimately to obtain results which will make the artifice needless. Assuming then this division, we may refer all investigations of organic bodies to one of two objects. The first object is to ascertain the law of those bodies in their usual healthy, or as we somewhat erroneously phrase it, normal course. The other object is to ascertain their law in their unusual, unhealthy, or abnormal course. When we attempt to do the first of these things we are physiologists. When we attempt to do the second we are pathologists.[205]

Physiology and pathology are thus the two fundamental divisions of all organic science.[206] Each is intimately connected with the other ; and eventually, no

[204] I mean, of course, to apply this remark only to the globe we inhabit, and not to extra-terrestrial phenomena. Respecting the organization or non-organization of what exists out of this earth, we have no evidence, and can hardly expect to have any for centuries. Inferences have indeed been drawn from telescopic observations ; and attempts are now being made, abroad, to determine by a still more refined process the physical composition of some of the heavenly bodies. But without venturing, in this note, to enter into such discussions, or even to state their purport, I may say that the difficulty of *verification* will long prove an insuperable barrier to our knowledge of the truth or falsehood of any results which may be obtained.

[205] Mr. Simon, in his thoughtful and suggestive Lectures, says, " We may describe pathology to consist in the Science of Life under other conditions than those of ideal perfection." *Simon's Lectures on Pathology*, London, 1850, p. 14. This is by far the best description I have met with ; though, as it involves a negative, it cannot be accepted as a definition. Indeed, the context shows that Mr. Simon does not suppose it to be one.

[206] In my former volume I adopted the commonly received division of organic statics and organic dynamics ; the statics being anatomy, and the dynamics being physiology. But I now think that our knowledge is not sufficiently advanced to make this so convenient as the division into physiological and pathological, or into normal and abnormal, provided we remember that in reality nothing is abnormal. The practically useful but eminently unscientific doctrine that there can be alteration of function without alteration of structure, has effaced some of the most essential distinctions between anatomy and physiology and especially between morbid anatomy and morbid physiology. Until those distinctions are recognized, the scientific conceptions of professional writers must be confused, however valuable their practical suggestions may be. While men are capable of believing

doubt, both will be fused into a single study by the discovery of laws which will prove that here as elsewhere nothing is really abnormal or irregular. Hitherto, however, the physiologists have immeasurably outstripped the pathologists in the comprehensiveness of their views, and therefore in the value of their results. For the best physiologists distinctly recognize that the basis of their science must include not only the animals below man, but also the entire vegetable kingdom, and that, without this commanding survey of the whole realm of organic nature, we cannot possibly understand even human physiology, still less general physiology. The pathologists, on the other hand, are so much in arrear, that the diseases of the lower animals rarely form part of their plan; while the diseases of plants are almost entirely neglected, although it is certain that until all these have been studied, and some steps taken to generalize them, every pathological conclusion will be eminently empirical, on account of the narrowness of the field from which it is collected.

The science of pathology being still so backward in the conception, as well as in the execution, that even men of real ability believe that it can be raised from a mere study of the human frame, it will hardly be expected that the Scotch, notwithstanding the marvellous boldness of their speculations, should have been able in the eighteenth century to anticipate a method which the nineteenth century has yet to employ. But they produced two pathologists of great ability, and to whom we owe considerable obligations. These were Cullen and John Hunter.[207] Cullen was eminent only as a pathologist; but Hunter, whose fine and discursive genius took a much wider range, was great both in physiology and in pathology. A short account of their generalizations respecting organic science will be a fitting sequel to the notices I have already given of what was done by their countrymen for inorganic science during the same period. It will complete our survey of the Scotch intellect, and will enable the reader to form some idea of the brilliant achievements of that most remarkable people, who, contrary to the course of affairs in all other modern nations, have shown that scientific discoveries do not necessarily weaken superstition,* and that it is possible for two hostile principles to flourish side by side without ever coming into actual collision, or without sensibly impairing each other's vigour.

In 1751 Cullen was appointed professor of medicine in the University of Glasgow;[208] from which, however, in 1756, he was removed to the University of

that it is *possible* for variations of function to proceed from any cause except variations of structure, the philosophic importance of anatomy will be imperfectly appreciated, and its true relation to physiology will remain undefined. Inasmuch however as, with our actual resources, the most careful dissection is often unable to detect (in insanity, for instance) those changes of structure which produce changes of function, superficial thinkers are placed under a strong temptation to deny their invariable connexion; and while the microscope is so imperfect, and chemistry so backward, it is impossible that experiments should always convince them of their mistake. Hence I believe that until our means of empirical research are greatly improved, all such investigations, notwithstanding their immense value in other respects, will tend to lead mere inductive minds into error, by making them rely too much on what they call the facts of the case, to the prejudice of the reason. This is what I mean by saying that our knowledge is not sufficiently advanced to make it advisable to divide the sciences of organic bodies into physiological and anatomical. At present, and probably for some time yet, the humbler division into physiological and pathological may be deemed safer, and more likely to produce solid results.

[207] Hunter, as we shall presently see, did take an extraordinarily comprehensive view of pathology, including the whole of the organic world, and even the aberrations of form in the inorganic.

[208] *Thomson's Life of Cullen*, vol. i. p. 70, Edinburgh, 1832.

[* The phrasing here is loose and misleading. Scientific discoveries *do* weaken superstition in those who know or assimilate them. In Scotland the trouble was that the science was unknown to the superstitious mass.—Ed.]

Edinburgh,[209] where he delivered those celebrated lectures on which his fame now depends. During the early part of his career he paid great attention to inorganic physics, and propounded some remarkable speculations, which are supposed to have suggested the theory of latent heat to Black, who was his pupil.[210] But to follow out those views would have required a number of minute experiments, which it did not suit the habit of his mind to make. Having therefore put forth his ideas, he left them to germinate, and passed on to his arduous attempt to generalize the laws of disease as they are exhibited in the human frame. In the study of disease, the phenomena being more obscure and less amenable to experiment, there was greater latitude for speculation; hence he could more easily indulge in that love of theory which was his ruling passion, and with an extreme devotion to which he has been reproached.[211] That the reproach is not altogether unjust, must, I think, be admitted, since we find him laying down the doctrine that inasmuch as in the treatment of disease, theory could not be separated from practice, it was unimportant which came first.[212] This was tantamount to saying that a medical practitioner might allow his theories to control his observations; for it is certain that in an immense majority of cases men are so tenacious of the opinions they imbibe, that whatever in any pursuit first occupies their understanding is likely to mould all that comes afterwards. In ordinary minds, associations of ideas, if firmly established, become indissoluble; and the power of separating them, and of arranging them in new combinations, is one of the rarest of our endowments. An average intellect, when once possessed by a theory, can hardly ever escape from it. Hence, in practical matters, theory should be feared just as in scientific matters it should be cherished; because practical pursuits are chiefly engrossed by the lower class of minds, where associations and the force of prejudice are extremely strong, while scientific pursuits concern the higher class, where such prepossessions are comparatively weak and where close associations are more easily severed. The most powerful intellects are most accustomed to new arrangements of thought, and are therefore most able to break up old ones. On them belief sits lightly, because they well know how little evidence we have for many of even our oldest beliefs. But the average, or as we must say, without meaning offence, the inferior minds, are not disturbed by these refinements. Theories which they have once heartily embraced they can hardly ever get rid of, and they often dignify them with the name of essential truths, and resent every attack upon them as a personal injury. Having inherited such theories from their fathers, they regard them with a sort of filial piety, and cling to them as if they were some rich acquisition which no one has a right to touch.

To this latter class nearly all men belong who are more engaged in practical pursuits than in speculative ones. Among them are the ordinary practitioners,

[209] *Thomson's Life of Cullen*, vol. i. p. 96. Bower states that Cullen "was appointed to the chair in 1755." *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 216, Edinburgh, 1817.

[210] "It seems impossible to peruse the passages I have quoted from Dr. Cullen's manuscript lectures and papers, and from his Essay on Evaporation, without perceiving that his investigations with regard to the heat and cold occasioned by the combination, liquefaction, and evaporation of bodies, must not only have assisted to direct the attention of his pupil Dr. Black to similar inquiries, but must also have furnished him with several of the data from which his simple and comprehensive theory of Latent Heat was afterwards so philosophically deduced." *Thomson's Life of Cullen*, vol. i. p. 56.

[211] "It is allowed by the admirers of this great man, that he was perhaps too fond of theory." *Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 278.

[212] In 1759 he wrote to Dr. Balfour Russell, one of his favourite pupils: "You will not find it possible to separate practice from theory altogether; and therefore, if you have a mind to begin with the theory, I have no objection." *Thomson's Life of Cullen*, vol. i. p. 130. Compare his *Introductory Lectures to the Practice of Physic*, where, asserting truly "that reasoning in physic is unavoidable" (*Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 417), he boldly infers "that to render it safe, it is *necessary to cultivate theory in its full extent.*"

whether in medicine or in any other department, extremely few of whom are willing to break up trains of thought to which they are inured.[213] Though they profess to despise theory, they are in reality enslaved by it. All that they can do is to conceal their subjection by terming their theory a necessary belief. It must therefore be deemed a remarkable proof of Cullen's love of deductive reasoning, that he, sagacious and clear-sighted as he was, should have supposed that, in so practical an art as medicine, theory could with impunity precede practice. For it is most assuredly true that, taking men in the average, their minds are so constructed that it cannot precede it without controlling it. It is equally true that such control must be hurtful. Even now, and notwithstanding the great steps which have been taken in morbid anatomy, in animal chemistry, and in the microscopic investigation both of the fluids and solids of the human frame, the treatment of disease is a question of art far more than a question of science. What chiefly characterizes the most eminent physicians, and gives them their real superiority, is not so much the extent of their theoretical knowledge,—though that too is often considerable,—but it is that fine and delicate perception which they owe partly to experience, and partly to a natural quickness in detecting analogies and differences which escape ordinary observers. The process which they follow is one of rapid and in some degree unconscious induction. And this is the reason why the greatest physiologists and chemists whom the medical profession possesses are not as a matter of course the best curers of disease. If medicine were a science they would always be the best. But medicine, being still essentially an art, depends mainly upon qualities which each practitioner has to acquire for himself, and which no scientific theory can teach. The time for a general theory has not yet come, and probably many generations will have to elapse before it does come. To suppose, therefore, that a theory of disease should as a matter of education precede the treatment of disease, is not only practically dangerous but logically false. With its practical danger I am not now concerned; but its logical aspect is a curious illustration of that passion for systematic and dialectic reasoning which characterized Scotland. It shows that Cullen, in his eagerness to argue from principles to facts, instead of from facts to principles, could in the most important of all arts recommend a method of procedure for which even our knowledge is not ripe, but which in his time was so singularly rash and immature that nothing can explain its adoption by a man of such vigorous understanding, except the circumstance of his living in a country in which that peculiar method reigned supreme.

It must however be admitted that Cullen wielded the method with great ability, especially in his application of it to the science of pathology, to which it was far better suited than to the art of therapeutics. For we must always remember that the science which investigates the laws of disease is quite a different thing from the art which cures it. The science has a speculative interest which is irrespective of all practical considerations, and which depends simply on the fact that, when it is completed, it will explain the aberrations of the whole organic world. Pathology aims at ascertaining the causes which determine every departure from the natural type, whether of form or of function. Hence it is that no one can take a comprehensive view of the actual state of knowledge without studying the theoretic relations between pathology and other departments of inquiry. To do this is the business not of practical men, but of philosophers, properly so-called. The philosophic pathologist is as different from the physician as a jurist is different from an advocate, or as an agricultural chemist

[213] Even Cullen himself says rather roughly, "The great horde of physicians are always servile imitators, who can neither perceive nor correct the faults of their system, and are always ready to growl at and even to worry the ingenious person that could attempt it. Thus was the system of Galen secured in the possession of the schools of physic, till soon after the irruption of the Goths and Vandals destroyed every vestige of literature in the western parts of Europe, and drove all that remained of it to seek a feeble protection at Constantinople." *Lectures Introductory to the Practice of Physic*, in *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 386, Edinburgh, 1827.

is different from a farmer, or as a political economist is different from a statesman, or as an astronomer, who generalizes the laws of the heavenly bodies, is different from a captain who navigates his ship by a practical application of those laws. The two sets of functions may be united, and occasionally, though very rarely, they are, but there is no necessity for their being so. While, therefore, it would be absurdly presumptuous for an unprofessional person to pass judgment on the therapeutical system of Cullen, it is perfectly legitimate for any one who has studied the theory of these matters to examine his pathological system ; because that, like all scientific systems, must be amenable to general considerations, which are to be taken partly from the adjoining sciences, and partly from the universal logic of philosophic method.

It is from this latter or logical point of view that Cullen's pathology is interesting for the purposes of the present chapter. The character of his investigations may be illustrated by saying that his method in pathology is analogous to that which Adam Smith adopted at the same time, though in a very different field. Both were deductive ; and both, before arguing deductively, suppressed some of the premisses from which they reasoned. That this suppression is the key to Adam Smith's method, and was an intentional part of his plan, I have already shown ; as also that in each of his two works he supplied the premisses in which the other work was deficient. In this respect he was far superior to Cullen. For though Cullen, like Smith, began by mutilating his problem in order to solve it more readily, he, unlike Smith, did not see the necessity of instituting another and parallel inquiry which should complete the scheme, by starting from the premisses that had been previously omitted.

What I have termed the mutilation of the problem was effected by Cullen in the following manner. His object was to generalize the phenomena of disease as they are exhibited in the human frame ; and it was obvious to him, as to every one else, that the human frame consists partly of solids and partly of fluids. The peculiarity of his pathology is that he reasons almost entirely from the laws of the solids, and makes so little account of the fluids that he will only allow them to be the indirect causes of disease, which in a scientific view are to be deemed strictly subordinate to the direct causes, as represented by the solid constituents of our body.[214] This assumption, though false, was perfectly justifiable, since by curtailing the problem he simplified its study ; just as Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, simplified the study of human nature by curtailing it of all its sympathy. But this most comprehensive thinker was careful, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, to restore to human nature the quality of which the *Wealth of Nations* had deprived it *; and by thus establishing two different lines of argument, he embraced the whole subject. In the same way it was incumbent on Cullen, after having constructed a theory of disease by reasoning from the solids, to have constructed another theory by reasoning from the fluids ; so that a coordination of the two theories might have raised a science of pathology as complete as the then state of knowledge allowed.[215] But to this his mind was unequal.

[214] This idea runs through the whole of his writings. In the following passage it is more succinctly stated than in any other: "In pathology, and in the prognosis of particular diseases, it is absolutely necessary to enter into the distinction of these causes. I call the one *direct* causes, those which act upon the nervous system directly ; and the other *indirect* causes, those which produce the same effect, but by destroying those organs which are necessary to the support of the excitement, viz. the whole system of circulation." *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 135. Even this passage, clear as it seems, can only be rightly interpreted by taking the context into consideration.

[215] For, as is truly observed by probably the greatest pathologist of our time, "Humoral pathology is simply a requirement of common practical sense ; and it has always held a place in medical science, although the limits of its domain have, no doubt, been variously circumscribed or interpreted at different times. Of late years, it has met with a new basis and support in morbid anatomy, which, in the inadequacy of its discoveries in the

* [Buckle appears here to forget that the *Moral Sentiments* appeared long before the *Wealth of Nations*.—Ed.]

Able though he was, he lacked the grasp of intellect which characterized Adam Smith, and which made that great man perceive that every deductive argument which is founded on a suppression of premisses must be compensated by a parallel argument which takes those premisses into account.[216] So little was Cullen aware of this, that having built up that system of pathology which is known to medical writers as Solidism, he never took the pains to accompany it by another system which gave the first rank to the fluids. On the contrary, he believed that his plan was complete and exhaustive, and that what is termed Humoral Pathology was a fiction which had too long usurped the place of truth.[217]

Several of the views advocated by Cullen were taken from Hoffmann, and several of the facts from Gaubius; but that his pathology, considered as a whole, is essentially original, is evident from a certain unity of design which is inconsistent with extensive plagiarism, and which proves that he had thoroughly thought out his subject for himself. Without, however, stopping to inquire how much he borrowed from others, I will briefly indicate a few of the salient points of his system, in order to enable the reader to understand its general character.

According to Cullen, all the solids in the human body are either simple or vital. The simple solids retain, after death, the properties which they possessed during life. But the vital solids, which form the fundamental part of the nervous system, are marked by properties which disappear directly death occurs.[218] Hence the simple solids, having fewer functions than the vital, have also fewer diseases; and the maladies to which they are liable admit of easy classification.[219] The real difficulty lies in the vital solids, because on their peculiarities the whole nervous system depends, and nearly all disorders are immediately due to changes in them. Cullen, therefore, made the nervous system the basis of his pathology; and in speculating on its functions, he assigned the chief place to an occult principle, which he termed the Animal Power, or Energy, of the brain.[220] This

solids to account for disease and death, has been compelled to seek for an extension of its boundary through a direct examination of the blood itself." *Rokitansky's Pathological Anatomy*, vol. i. p. 362, London, 1854.

[216] Unless, as in the case in geometry, the premisses, which are suppressed, are so slight as to be scarcely perceptible. [It cannot be said that Smith in either of his works applies one theory to all the phenomena. Thus the *Wealth of Nations* does not make good any deficiency in the earlier treatise *as a theory of morals*. The books are therefore not truly complementary.—Ed.]

[217] He was so indignant at the bare idea of a humoral pathology, that even Hoffmann, who before himself was the most eminent advocate of solidism, fell under his displeasure for allowing some little weight to the humoral doctrines. He says that Hoffmann "has not applied his fundamental doctrine so extensively as he might have done; and he has everywhere intermixed an humoral pathology, as incorrect and hypothetical as any other." *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 410. At p. 470, "I have, therefore, assumed the general principles of Hoffmann. And, if I have rendered them more correct, and more extensive in their application, and, *more particularly, if I have avoided introducing the many hypothetical doctrines of the Humoral Pathology which disfigured both his and all the other systems that have hitherto prevailed*, I hope I shall be excused for attempting a system which, upon the whole, may appear new."

[218] "The solid parts of the body seem to be of two kinds: one whose properties are the same in the dead as in the living, and the same in the animate as in many inanimate bodies; the other, whose properties appear only in living bodies. In the last, a peculiar organization, or addition, is supposed to take place; in opposition to which the first are called the simple solids. Of these only we shall treat here; and of the others, which may be called vital solids, being the fundamental part of the nervous system, we shall treat under that title in the following section." *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 10.

[219] These diseases are laxity, flaccidity, &c. See the enumeration of "the diseases of the simple solids," in *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 14.

[220] *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. pp. 65, 600, vol. ii. p. 364. Dr. Thomson, who had access to papers and lectures of Cullen's, which have never been published, says (*Life of Cullen*, vol. i. p. 265), "His speculations with regard to the different functions of the nervous system, but more particularly with regard to that of the Animal Power or Energy of the

principle acted on the vital solids. When the principle worked well, the body was healthy; when it worked ill, the body was unhealthy. Since, then, the state of the vital solids was the main cause of disorder, and since the Energy of the brain was the main cause of the state of the vital solids, it became important to know what the influences were which acted on the Energy, because in them we should find the beginning of the series. Those influences were divided by Cullen into physical and mental. The physical were heat, cold, and effluvia, the three most potent of the material disturbers of the human frame.[221] The mental influences, which excited the brain to act on the solids, were comprised under six different heads, namely, the will, the emotions, the appetites, the propensities, and, finally, the two great principles of habit and of imitation, on which he, with good reason, laid considerable stress.[222] In arguing from these mental causes, and in generalizing the relations between them and the sensations of the body, he, faithful to his favourite method, proceeded deductively from the metaphysical principles then in vogue, without inquiring inductively into their validity, such an induction being, he thought, no part of his duty.[223] He was too anxious to get on with his dialectic to be interrupted by so trifling a matter as the truth or falsehood of the premisses on which the reasoning rested. What he did in the metaphysical part of his pathology, he also did in its physical part. Although the blood and the nerves are the two leading features of the human economy, he did not search into them by a separate induction; he subjected them neither to chemical experiments in order to learn their composition, nor to microscopic observations in order to learn their structure.[224] This is the more

brain, were incorporated with every opinion which he taught concerning the phenomena of the animal economy, the causes of diseases, and the operation of medicines; and they may be said to constitute a most important part, if not the sole basis, of that system of the Practice of Physic which he made the subject of prelection, as well as of study, for a period of nearly forty years, before he ventured to give it to the public." I should mention that Cullen, under the term "brain," included the contents of the vertebral column as well as of the cranium.

[221] *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. pp. 40, 546, 558, 648, vol. ii. p. 321.

[222] Ibid., pp. 86, 91, 100, 101, 108, 115, 116, 553, 592, vol. ii. pp. 35, 366. Compare the summary of causes in *Thomson's Life of Cullen*, vol. i. p. 289.

[223] He says (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32), "Whoever has the smallest tincture of metaphysics will know the distinction pointed at here between the qualities of bodies as primary and secondary." . . . "*Whether these distinctions be well or ill founded, it is not my business to inquire.*" But though he did not deem it his business to inquire into the accuracy of these and similar distinctions, he thought himself justified in assuming them, and reasoning from them as if they could explain the working of those sensations whose perversion formed the point of contact between metaphysics and pathology. See, for instance, in his *Works*, vol. i. p. 46, the long series of unproved and unprovable assertions respecting the combination and comparison of sensations giving rise to memory, imagination, and the like.

[224] Cullen, with that admirable candour which was one of the most attractive peculiarities of his fine intellect, confesses his want of acquaintance with the microscope: "It leaves me, who am not conversant in such observations, altogether uncertain with respect to the precise nature of this part of the blood." *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 195. A pathologist without a microscope is an unarmed man, indeed. In regard to his animal chemistry, one passage may be quoted as a specimen of the manner in which he arrived at conclusions speculatively, instead of subjecting the phenomena to experimental investigation. "We may remark it to be highly probable, that all animal matter is originally formed of vegetable; because all animals either feed directly and entirely on vegetables, or upon other animals that do so. From hence it is probable that all animal substances may be traced to a vegetable origin; and *therefore*, if we would inquire into the production of animal matter, we *must first inquire* in what manner vegetable matter may be converted into animal." *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. pp. 177, 178. The *therefore* and the *must*, resulting merely from an antecedent probability, are characteristic of that over-boldness into which deduction is apt to degenerate, and which is strongly contrasted with the opposite vice of over-timidity, by which inductive reasoners are tainted.

observable, because though we must admit that animal chemistry was then generally neglected, and that its real meaning was scarcely understood until the wonderful labours of Berzelius revealed its importance, still the microscope was ready to Cullen's hands; it having been invented a hundred and fifty years before he completed his pathology, and having been in common scientific use for about a hundred years. But his love of synthesis overcame him. His system is constructed by reasoning from general principles; and of that process he certainly was a consummate master. Between the premisses and the conclusion he hardly ever lets error creep in. And in reference to the results of his speculations, he had one immense merit which will always secure to him a conspicuous place in the history of pathology. By insisting on the importance of the solids, he, one-sided though he was, corrected the equal one-sidedness of his predecessors; for, with extremely few exceptions, all the best pathologists, from Galen downwards, had erred in ascribing too much to the fluids, and had upheld a purely humoral pathology. Cullen turned the minds of men in the other direction; and though, in teaching them that the nervous system is the sole primary seat of disease, he committed a great mistake, it was a mistake of the most salutary kind. By leaning on that side, he restored the balance. Hence, I have no doubt, he indirectly encouraged those minute researches into the nerves which he would not himself stop to make, but which, in the next generation, gave rise to the capital discoveries of Bell, Shaw, Mayo, and Marshall Hall. At the same time, the old humoral pathology, which had prevailed for many centuries, was practically pernicious, because, assuming that all diseases are in the blood, it produced that constant and indiscriminate venesection which destroyed innumerable lives, besides the irreparable injury it often inflicted both on body and mind; weakening those whom it was unable to slay. Against this merciless onslaught, which made medicine the curse of mankind, the Solid Pathology was the first effective barrier.[225] Practically, therefore, as well as speculatively, we must hail Cullen as a great benefactor of his species; and we must regard his appearance as an epoch in the history of human comfort, as well as in the history of human thought.

It may perhaps facilitate the conceptions of unprofessional readers if I give, in as few words as possible, a specimen of the way in which Cullen employed his method in investigating the theory of some one class of diseases. For this

[225] Dr. Watson (*Principles and Practice of Physic*, 4th edit. London, 1857, vol. i. p. 41) says of the humoral pathology, that "the absurdity of the hypotheses, and *still more the dangerous practice which this doctrine generated*, began to be manifest, and led to its total abandonment." But, with every respect for this eminent authority, I venture to observe that this supposition of Dr. Watson's is contradicted by the whole history of the human mind. There is no well-attested case on record of any theory having been abandoned because it produced dangerous results. As long as a theory is believed, men will ascribe its evil consequences to any cause except the right one. [This is an *ignoratio elenchi*: Watson assumed recognized evil results.—Ed.] And a theory which is once established will always be believed, until there is some change in knowledge which shakes its foundation. Every practical change may, by careful analysis, be shown to depend in the first instance on some change of speculative opinions. Even at the present day many doctrines are generally held in the most civilized countries which are producing dangerous practical consequences, and have produced those consequences for centuries. But the mischief which the doctrine engenders does not weaken the doctrine itself. Nothing can do that but the general progress of knowledge, which, by altering former opinions, modifies future conduct. [This argument resolves itself into a contradiction. First "change of speculative opinions" is posited as the prime factor; then "the general progress of knowledge"—the latter being Buckle's usual doctrine. He has fallen into contradiction through failing to note that "the mischief which the doctrine engenders" is not recognized as such by those who cling to the doctrine. Below, pp. 891, 893, he affirms that the deductive method does not diffuse knowledge, while the inductive does, because "facts seem to come home to every one and are undeniable." There is a radical failure of co-ordination in these concluding reasonings.—Ed.]

purpose I will select his doctrine of fever, which, though now generally abandoned, once exercised more influence than any other part of his pathology. Here as elsewhere he reasons from the solids.[226] Disregarding the state of the blood, he says that the cause of all fever is a diminished energy of the brain.[227] Such diminution may be produced by various sedatives, the most common of which are effluvia, whether marsh or human, intemperance, fear, and cold.[228] Directly the energy of the brain is impaired, the disease begins. Rapidly passing through the nervous system, its first palpable effect is a chill, or cold fit, which is accompanied by a spasm on the extremities of the arteries, particularly where they touch the surface of the body.[229] This spasm on the extreme vessels irritates the heart and arteries, and the irritation continues till the spasm is relaxed.[230] At the same time, the increased action of the heart restores the energy of the

[226] Some writers, who have taken notice of Cullen, have been deceived in this respect by his occasional use of the expression "nervous fluid," as if he were willing to let in the idea of humorism. But in one place he distinctly guards himself against such misconstruction. "Now, to avoid determining anything with regard to these opinions, I have used the term of *nervous power*; but as this is a little ambiguous, I choose to express it by *nervous fluid*; not that I suppose, with Dr. Boerhaave, that the brain is an excretory, and that a fluid is secreted from it: *I mean nothing more than that there is a condition of the nerves which fits them for the communication of motion.* But I defer the consideration of these opinions for the present, and perhaps *ad Græcas calendas*; but nothing shall be rested upon the nervous fluid, it shall be considered merely as *a power* fitted for communicating motions." *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 17. Without this passage, his remarks on "the nervous fluid in the brain" (*Works*, vol. i. p. 129) might easily be misunderstood.

[227] "Together with this, the languor, inactivity, and debility of the animal motions, the imperfect sensations, the feeling of cold, while the body is truly warm, and some other symptoms, all show that the energy of the brain is, on this occasion, greatly weakened; and I presume that, as the weakness of the action of the heart can hardly be imputed to any other cause, this weakness also is a proof of the diminished energy of the brain. So I conclude, that a debility of the nervous power forms the beginning of the cold fit, and lays the foundation of all the other phenomena." *Practice of Physic*, in *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 492.

[228] "To render our doctrine of fever consistent and complete, it is necessary to add here, that those remote causes of fever, human and marsh effluvia, seem to be of a debilitating or sedative quality." . . . "Though we have endeavoured to show that fevers generally arise from marsh or human effluvia, we cannot, with any certainty, exclude some other remote causes, which are commonly supposed to have at least a share in producing those diseases. And I proceed, therefore, to inquire concerning these causes; the first of which that merits attention is the power of cold applied to the human body." . . . "Besides cold, there are other powers that seem to be remote causes of fever; such as fear, intemperance in drinking, excess in venery, and other circumstances, which evidently weaken the system. But whether any of these sedative powers be alone the remote cause of fever, or if they only operate either as concurring with the operation of marsh or human effluvia, or as giving an opportunity to the operation of cold, are questions not to be positively answered." *Practice of Physic*, in *Cullen's Works*, vol. i, pp. 546, 552. One part of this view has been corroborated since the time of Cullen. "The experiments of Chossat and others clearly prove cold to be a direct sedative." *Williams' Principles of Medicine*, second edit. London, 1848, p. 11. Compare *Watson's Principles and Practice of Physic*, 4th edit. London, 1857, vol. i. pp. 87–92, 249. Hence, perhaps, the "irresistible tendency to sleep caused by exposure to severe or long-continued cold." *Erichsen's Surgery*, second edit. London, 1857, p. 336; but as to this Dr. Watson (*Principles of Physic*, vol. i. p. 89) is sceptical, and thinks that, in those cases which are recorded, the drowsiness ascribed to cold is in a great measure the result of fatigue.

[229] *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 493. Compare, respecting his general theory of spasm, p. 84, and vol. ii. p. 400.

[230] "The idea of fever, then, may be, that a spasm of the extreme vessels, however induced, proves an irritation to the heart and arteries; and that this continues till the spasm is relaxed or overcome." *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 494.

brain ; the system rallies ; the extreme vessels are relieved ; while, as a consequence of the whole movement, sweat is excreted, and the fever abates.[231] Shutting out, therefore, all consideration of the fluids of the body, the successive stages of languor, cold fit, and hot fit, might, in Cullen's opinion, be generalized by reasoning merely from the solids, which, furthermore, produced his well-known distinction between fevers the continuance of which is owing to an excess of spasm, and those the continuance of which is owing to an excess of debility.[232]

A similar process of thought gave birth to his *Nosology*, or general classification of diseases, which some have regarded as the most valuable part of his labours ; [233] though, for reasons already mentioned, we must, I think, reject all such attempts as premature, and as likely to work more harm than good, unless they are simply used as a contrivance to aid the memory. At all events, the *Nosology* of Cullen, though it exhibits clear traces of his powerful and organizing mind, is fast falling into disrepute, and we may be sure that for a long time yet a similar fate will await its successors. Our pathological knowledge is still too young for so great an enterprise.[234] We have every reason to expect that, with the aid of chemistry and of the microscope, it will continue to grow more rapidly than it has hitherto done. Without venturing to predict the rate of its increase, we may form some idea of it by considering what has been effected with resources very inferior to those we now possess. In a work of great authority, published in the year 1848, it is stated that since the appearance of Cullen's *Nosology* our mere enumeration of diseases has almost doubled, while our knowledge of the facts relating to disease has more than doubled.[235]

[231] "Such however is at the same time the nature of the animal economy, that this debility proves an indirect stimulus to the sanguiferous system ; whence, by the intervention of the cold stage and spasm connected with it, the action of the heart and larger arteries is increased, and continues so till it has had the effect of restoring the energy of the brain, of extending this energy to the extreme vessels, of restoring, therefore, their action, and thereby especially overcoming the spasm affecting them ; upon the removing of which, the excretion of sweat, and other marks of the relaxation of excretories take place." *Practice of Physic*, in *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. pp. 501, 502. See also p. 636, § cciii. Or, as he elsewhere expresses himself (vol. i. p. 561): "With regard to the event of fevers, this is the fundamental principle : *in fevers, nature cures the disease* ; that is, certain motions tending to death continue the disease, but, in consequence of the laws of the animal economy, other motions are excited by these which have a tendency to remove it."

[232] "If we may trust to our conclusions with respect to the proximate cause, it follows most naturally from the view there given that the continued fever is always owing to an excess of spasm, or to an excess of debility : as the one or other of these prevails, it will give one or other of the two forms, either the Synocha or inflammatory fever, or the Typhus or nervous fever." *Cullen's Works*, vol. i. p. 518.

[233] "Cullen's most esteemed work is his *Nosology*." *Hamilton's History of Medicine*, London, 1831, vol. ii. p. 279. "His *Nosology* will probably survive all his other works ; it is indisputably the best system which has yet appeared." *Lives of British Physicians*, London, 1830, p. 213. "Celle de Cullen, qui parut en 1772, et qui constitue un véritable progrès." *Renouard, Histoire de la Médecine*, Paris, 1846, vol. ii. p. 231. See also *Hooper's Medical Dictionary*, edited by Dr. Grant, London, 1848, p. 937. But in the most celebrated medical works which have appeared in England during the last twelve or fifteen years, I doubt if there is any instance of the adoption of Cullen's nosological arrangement. Abroad, and particularly in Italy, it is more valued.

[234] "I had rather not be cramped and hampered by attempting what abler heads than mine have failed to achieve, and what, in truth, I believe, in the present state of our science, to be impossible, a complete methodical system of nosology." *Watson's Principles and Practice of Physic*, London, 1857, vol. i. p. 9. This is the wisdom of a powerful understanding.

[235] "Now, when the diseases of Cullen's nosology have been almost doubled, and the facts relating to them have been more than doubled." *Williams' Principles of Medicine*, London, 1848, p. 522.

I have now only one more name to add to this splendid catalogue of the great Scotchmen of the eighteenth century.[236] But it is the name of a man who, for comprehensive and original genius, comes immediately after Adam Smith, and must be placed far above any other philosopher whom Scotland has produced.* I mean, of course, John Hunter, whose only fault was an occasional obscurity, not merely of language, but also of thought. In this respect, and perhaps in this alone, Adam Smith had the advantage; for his mind was so flexible, and moved so freely, that even the vastest designs were unable to oppress it. With Hunter, on the contrary, it sometimes seemed as if the understanding was troubled by the grandeur of its own conceptions, and doubted what path it ought to take. He hesitated; the utterance of his intellect was indistinct.[237] Still, his powers were so extraordinary that among the great masters of organic science he belongs, I apprehend, to the same rank as Aristotle, Harvey, and Bichat, and is somewhat superior either to Haller or Cuvier. As to this classification, men will differ according to their different ideas of the nature of science, and, above all, according to the extent to which they appreciate the importance of philosophic method. It is from this latter point of view that I have at present to consider the character of John Hunter; and in tracing the movements of his most remarkable mind we shall find that in it deduction and induction were more intimately united than in any other Scotch intellect, either of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The causes of this unusual combination I will now endeavour to ascertain. When they are understood, they will not only explain many peculiarities in his works, but will afford materials for speculation to those who love to examine the development of ideas, and who are able to discern the way in which different schemes of national thought have given different shapes to national character, and have thereby modified the whole course of human affairs to an extent of which the ordinary compilers of history have not the slightest suspicion.

[236] I had intended giving some account of the once celebrated Brunonian system, which was founded by Dr. John Brown, who was first the pupil of Cullen and afterwards his rival. But a careful perusal of his works has convinced me that the real basis of his doctrine, or the point from which he started, was not pathology, but therapeutics. His hasty division of all diseases into sthenic and asthenic has no claim to be deemed a scientific generalization, but was a mere artificial arrangement, resulting from a desire to substitute a stimulating treatment in the place of the old lowering one. He, no doubt, went to the opposite extreme; but that being a purely practical subject, this Introduction has no concern with it. For the same reason I omit all mention of Currie, who, though an eminent therapeutician, was a commonplace pathologist. That so poor and thinly-peopled a country as Scotland should, in so short a period, have produced so many remarkable men, is extremely curious.

[237] Mr. Ottley (*Life of Hunter*, p. 186) says, "In his writings we occasionally find an obscurity in the expression of his thoughts, a want of logical accuracy in his reasonings, and an incorrectness in his language, resulting from a deficient education." But a deficient education will never make a man obscure. Neither will a good education make him lucid. The only cause of clearness of expression is clearness of thought; and clearness of thought is a natural gift, which the most finished and systematic culture can but slightly improve. Uneducated men, without a thousandth part of John Hunter's intellect, are often clear enough. On the other hand, it as frequently happens that men who have received an excellent education cannot speak or write ten consecutive sentences which do not contain some troublesome ambiguity. In Hunter's works such ambiguities are abundant; and this is probably one of the reasons why no one has yet given a connected view of his philosophy. On his obscurity, compare *Cooper's Life of Sir Astley Cooper*, London, 1843, vol. i. pp. 151, 152; *Paget's Lectures on Surgical Pathology*, London, 1853, vol. i. p. 419; and the remarks of his enemy, Foot, in *Foot's Life of Hunter*, London, 1794, p. 59.

[* No philosophic student will now endorse this judgment, which in setting Hunter above Hume is as arbitrary as that of the patriot who set Watt beside or above Newton. —Ed.]

Hunter remained in Scotland till the age of twenty, when he settled in London ; and though he was abroad for about three years, he abandoned his own country, and became socially and intellectually a native of England.[238] Hence the early associations of his mind were formed in the midst of a deductive nation ; the later associations in the midst of an inductive one.* For twenty years he lived among a people who are perhaps the acutest reasoners in Europe, if you concede to them the principles from which they reason ; but who, on the other hand, owing to their proneness to this method, are so greedy after general principles that they will accept them on almost any evidence,† and are therefore at once very credulous and very logical. In that school, and surrounded by those habits, the intellect of John Hunter was nurtured during the most impressible period of his life. Then the scene suddenly shifted. Coming to England, he passed forty years in the heart of the most empirical nation in Europe ; a nation utterly abhorring all general principles, priding itself on its common sense, boasting, and with good reason too, of its practical sagacity, proclaiming aloud the superiority of facts over ideas, and despising every theory, unless some direct and immediate benefit could be expected to accrue from it. The young and ardent Scotchman found himself transplanted into a country totally different from that which he had just quitted ; and such a difference could not fail to influence his mind. He saw on every side marks of prosperity and of long and uninterrupted success, not only in practical but also in speculative ‡ life ; and he was told that these things were effected by a system which made facts the first consideration. He was ambitious of fame, but he perceived that the road to fame was not the same in England as in Scotland. In Scotland a great logician would be deemed a great man § ; in England little account would be made of the beauty of his logic, unless he was careful that the premisses from which he argued were trustworthy, and verified by experience. A new machine, a new experiment, the discovery of a salt or of a bone, would in England receive a wider homage than the most profound speculation from which no obvious results were apprehended. That this way of contemplating affairs has produced great good is certain. But it is also certain that it is a one-sided way, and satisfies only part of the human mind. Many of the noblest intellects crave for something which it cannot supply. In England, however, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, it was even more supreme than it is now, and was indeed so universal that, from the year 1727 until nearly the close of the century, our country did not possess in any branch of science a speculator who had sufficient force to raise himself above those narrow views which were then deemed the perfection of wisdom.[239] Much was added to our knowledge, but its distant boundaries were not enlarged. Though there was an increase of curious and valuable details, and though several of the small and proximate laws of nature were generalized, it must be admitted that those lofty generalizations which we owe to the seventeenth century

[238] He was born in 1728, and came to London in 1748. *Adams' Life of John Hunter*, second edit. London, 1818, pp. 20, 203. According to Adams (pp. 30–35), he was abroad as surgeon in the English army from 1761 to 1763 ; though, in *Foot's Life of Hunter*, London, 1794, p. 78, he is said to have returned to England in 1762. Mr. Ottley says that he returned in 1763. *Ottley's Life of Hunter*, p. 22, in vol. i. of *Hunter's Works*, edited by Palmer, London, 1835.

[239] Above, pp. 500, 501.

[* See edit. note above, after *note* 199.—Ed.]

[† This is a new proposition, not warranted by anything in the previous inquiry save the details as to superstition, which hold equally good of all nations. The Scots Protestants had rejected the evidence on which Catholics accepted transubstantiation, the Papacy, and many miracles ; and Hume and Smith, Black and Cullen, were certainly not specially credulous.—Ed.]

[‡ Compare the sentence below, beginning "In England."—Ed.]

[§ This hardly consists with the subsequent remarks (pp. 891, 893 : cp. edit. notes) as to the failure of the Scotch deductive thinkers to influence their countrymen.—Ed.]

remained stationary, and that no attempt was made to push beyond them. When John Hunter arrived in London in 1748, Newton had been dead more than twenty years, and the English people, absorbed in practical pursuits, and now beginning for the first time to enter into political life, had become more averse than ever to inquiries which aimed at truth without regard to utility, and had accustomed themselves to value science chiefly for the sake of the direct and tangible benefit which they might hope to derive from it.

That Hunter must have been influenced by these circumstances will be obvious to whoever considers how impossible it is for any single mind to escape from the pressure of contemporary opinion. But inasmuch as all his early associations had inclined him in another direction, we perceive that during his long residence in England he was acted on by two conflicting forces. The country of his birth made him deductive ; the country of his adoption made him inductive. As a Scotchman, he preferred reasoning from general principles to particular facts ; as an inhabitant of England, he became inured to the opposite plan of reasoning from particular facts to general principles. In every country men naturally give the first place to what is most valued. The English respect facts more than principles, and therefore begin with the facts. The Scotch consider principles as most important, and therefore begin with the principles. And I make no doubt that one of the reasons why Hunter, in investigating a subject, is often obscure, is that on such occasions his mind was divided between these two hostile methods, and that, leaning sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, he was unable to determine which he should choose. The conflict darkened his understanding. Adam Smith, on the other hand, in common with all the great Scotchmen who remained in Scotland, was remarkably clear. He, like Hume, Black, and Cullen, never wavered in his method. These eminent men were not acted on by English influence. Of all the most illustrious Scotchmen of the eighteenth century, Hunter alone underwent that influence, and he alone displayed a certain hesitation and perplexity of thought, which seems unnatural to so great a mind, and which, as it appears to me, is best explained by the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed.

One of the ablest of his commentators has justly observed that his natural inclination was to conjecture what the laws of nature were, and then reason from them, instead of reasoning to them by slow and gradual induction.[240] This process of deduction was, as I have shown, the favourite method of all Scotchmen, and therefore was precisely the course which we should have expected him to adopt. But inasmuch as he was surrounded by the followers of Bacon,[241] this natural bias was warped, and a large part of his marvellous activity was employed in observations and experiments such as no Scotch thinker living in

[240] " He followed his natural inclination. He preferred the more delusive, apparently the more direct, road, which has seduced so many philosophers. He sought to arrive at the general laws of nature at once by conjecture; rather than by a close and detailed study of her inferior operations, to ascend step by step through a slow and gradual induction to those laws which govern her general procedure." Babington's Preface to Hunter's *Treatise on the Venereal Disease*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. ii. p. 129. Compare the narrow and carping criticism in *Foot's Life of Hunter*, p. 163.

[241] That I may not be suspected of exaggeration, I will quote what by far the greatest of all the historians of medicine has said upon this subject. " La majorité des médecins qui prétendaient s'être formés d'après Bâcon, n'avaient hérité de lui qu'une répugnance invincible pour les hypothèses et les systèmes, une grande vénération pour l'expérience, et un désir extrême de multiplier le nombre des observations. Ce fut chez les Anglais que la méthode empirique en médecine trouva le plus de partisans, et c'est principalement aussi chez eux qu'elle s'est répandue jusqu'aux temps les plus rapprochés de nous. Sa propagation y fut favorisée, non-seulement par le profond respect que les Anglais continuent toujours de porter à l'immortel chancelier, mais encore par la haute importance que la nation entière attache au sens commun, *common sense*, et elle y demeura l'ennemie irréconciliable de tous les systèmes qui ne reposent pas sur l'observation." *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. v. p. 411, Paris, 1815.

Scotland would ever have engaged in. He himself declared that thinking was his delight ; [242] and there can be no doubt that, had he been differently situated, thinking would have been his principal pursuit. As it was, the industry with which he collected facts is one of the most conspicuous features in his career. His researches covered the whole range of the animal kingdom, and were conducted with such untiring zeal that he dissected upwards of five hundred different species, exclusive of dissections of different individuals, and exclusive, too, of dissections of a large number of plants.[243] The results were carefully arranged and stored up in that noble collection which he formed, and of the magnitude of which we may gain some idea from the statement that at his death it contained upwards of ten thousand preparations illustrative of the phenomena of nature.[244] By this means he became so intimately acquainted with the animal kingdom that he made a vast number of discoveries which, considered singly, are curious, but which when put together constitute an invaluable body of new truths. Of these the most important are, the true nature of the circulation in crustacea and insects ; [245] the organ of hearing in cephalopods ; [246] the power possessed by mollusks of absorbing their shells ; [247] the fact that bees do not collect wax, but secrete it ; [248] the semicircular canals of the cetacea ; [249] the lymphatics of

[242] Clive says, "Much as Mr. Hunter did, he thought still more. He has often told me, his delight was to think." *Abernethy's Hunterian Oration*, London, 1819, p. 26.

[243] Mr. Owen, in his interesting Preface to the fourth volume of *Hunter's Works*, says (p. vii.), "There is proof that Hunter anatomized at least five hundred different species of animals, exclusive of repeated dissections of different individuals of the same species, besides the dissections of plants to a considerable amount."

[244] "Some idea may be formed of Hunter's extraordinary diligence, by the fact that his museum contained at the time of his death upwards of 10,000 preparations, illustrative of human and comparative anatomy, physiology, and pathology, and natural history." *Weld's History of the Royal Society*, London, 1848, vol. ii. p. 92.

[245] "I have tested the conflicting evidence of these observers by dissection of the heart in the lobster ; and you will perceive by this preparation that it is more complicated than even the Danish naturalist supposed, and fully bears out the opinion of Hunter in regard to the mixed nature of the circulation in the crustacea." *Owen's Lectures on the Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of the Invertebrate Animals*, 2nd edit. London, 1855, p. 318. "Cuvier, misled by the anomalous diffused condition of the venous system, supposed that there was no circulation of the blood in insects ; yet the dorsal vessel was too conspicuous a structure to be overlooked. Such, however, was the authority of the great anatomist, that the nature of the heart began to be doubted, and the strangest functions to be attributed to it. Hunter, however, who was prepared to appreciate the true state of the circulating system in insects, by his discovery of the approximately diffused and irregular structure of the veins in the crustacea, has described, in his work on the blood, all the leading characters of the circulation in insects as it is recognized by comparative physiologists of the present day." *Ibid.*, p. 383. Compare *Hunter's Essays and Observations on Natural History*, London, 1861, vol. i. p. 108.

[246] "The class called Sepia has the organ of hearing, though somewhat differently constructed from what it is in fishes." *An Account of the Organ of Hearing in Fishes*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 294. At the bottom of the page Mr. Owen observes, in a note, "This is the first announcement of the existence of an organ of hearing in the Cephalopoda."

[247] "Hunter discovered that the molluscous inhabitant of a shell had the power of absorbing part of its dwelling." *Owen's Lectures on the Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of the Invertebrate Animals*, London, 1855, p. 544. "Every shell-fish has the power of removing a part of its shell, so as to adapt the new and the old together, which is not done by any mechanical power, but by absorption." *Anatomical Remarks on a New Marine Animal*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 469, edit. Palmer. In a note to this passage it is said that "the doctrine of the absorption of shell has been lately" (*i.e.* in 1833) "adduced as a new discovery."

[248] "His keen observation did not fail to detect several errors which preceding naturalists had fallen into, especially with regard to the formation of the wax, which

birds ; [250] and the air-cells in the bones of birds.[251] We are also assured that he anticipated the recent discoveries respecting the embryo of the Kangaroo ; [252] and his published works prove that, in the human subject, he discovered the muscularity of the arteries,[253] the muscularity of the iris,[254] and the digestion of the stomach after death by its own juice.[255] Although in his time animal chemistry was not yet raised to a system, and was consequently little heeded by physiologists, Hunter endeavoured by its aid to search out the qualities of the blood, so as to ascertain the properties of its constituents.[256] He also

he proved to be secreted, not collected, by the animal." *Ottley's Life of Hunter*, p. 122. "The wax is formed by the bees themselves ; it may be called an external secretion of oil, and I have found that it is formed between each scale of the under side of the belly." *Observations on Bees*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 433.

[249] "In the terminating part there are a number of perforations into the cochlea, and one into the semicircular canals, which afford a passage to the different divisions of the auditory nerve." *Observations on the Structure and Œconomy of Whales*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 383, 384. "The semicircular canals of the cetacea, described by Hunter in the paper on Whales, a structure which Cuvier rightly states that Camper overlooked, but incorrectly claims the discovery as his own." Preface to vol. iv. of *Hunter's Works*, p. xxi.

[250] Dr. Adams, in his somewhat hasty *Life of Hunter*, says (pp. 27, 28), "Mr. Hewson always claimed the discovery of lymphatics in birds." But the truth is that Hewson never claimed it. He says, "It may be necessary to mention here, that the dispute between Dr. Monro and me is, who first discovered the lacteals of birds ? for as to the lymphatics in their necks (mentioned in this gentleman's note), these we both allow were discovered by Mr. John Hunter, about ten years ago." And, again, "These lymphatics in the necks of fowls were first discovered by Mr. John Hunter." *Hewson's Works*, edit. Gulliver (Sydenham Soc.), pp. 102, 145.

[251] *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. pp. xxi. 176.

[252] "See Nos. 3731, 3734, 3735, in the Physiological series of the Hunterian Museum, in which there are evidences that Mr. Hunter had anticipated most of the anatomical discoveries which have subsequently been made upon the embryo of the Kangaroo." *Rymer Jones' Organization of the Animal Kingdom*, London, 1855, pp. 829, 380.

[253] "The muscularity of arteries, of which John Hunter made physiological proof, is now a matter of eyesight." *Simon's Pathology*, London, 1850, p. 69. "To prove the muscularity of an artery, it is only necessary to compare its action with that of elastic substances." . . . "When the various uses of arteries are considered, such as their forming different parts of the body out of the blood, their performing the different secretions, their allowing at one time the blood to pass readily into the smaller branches, as in blushing, and at another preventing it altogether, as in paleness from fear : and if to these we add the power of producing a diseased increase of any or every part of the body, we cannot but conclude that they are possessed of muscular powers." *Hunter's Works*, vol. iii. p. 157. See also vol. iv. p. 254. Mr. Gulliver, in his edition of *Hewson's Works*, London, 1846, says (p. 125), that Hunter's "experiments on the functions of the arteries are supported by the latest and best observations on their structure."

[254] "The fact of the muscularity of the iris, which is here presumed from analogy by Mr. Hunter, has been since directly proved by the observations of Bauer and Jacob (*Phil. Trans.* 1822), and indirectly by Berzelius, who found that the iris possesses all the chemical properties of muscle." Palmer's note in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iii. p. 146, London, 1837.

[255] *Adams' Life of Hunter*, pp. 59, 60, 245. *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 43 ; vol. iv. pp. 116–121. *Watson's Principles of Physic*, vol. ii. p. 440.

[256] "Hunter subjects the blood to both mechanical and chemical analysis, and endeavours to determine the characteristic properties of its different constituents." Owen's Preface to vol. iv. of *Hunter's Works*, p. xii. But this gives, perhaps, rather too high an idea of his animal chemistry ; for such was then the miserable state of this extremely important branch of knowledge, that he arrived at the conclusion that "blood gives no analysis excepting that of common animal matter." *Principles of Surgery*, chap. iii. in *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 229.

examined it in different stages of embryonic life, and by minutely tracking it through its periods of development, he made the capital discovery that the red globules of the blood are formed later than its other components. His contemporaries, however, were so little alive to the importance of this great physiological truth that it fell dead upon them, and, being forgotten, it was about fifty years afterwards rediscovered, and was announced in 1832 as a law of nature which had just been brought to light.[257] This is one of many instances in the history of our knowledge which proves how useless it is for a man to advance too far beyond the age in which he lives.[258] But Hunter, besides making the discovery, also saw its meaning. From it he inferred that the function of the red globules is to minister to the strength of the system rather than to its repair.[259] This is now universally admitted ; but it was not admitted till long after his death. Its recognition is chiefly owing to the rapid advance of animal chemistry, and to improvements in the microscope. For by the employment of these resources it has become manifest that the red globules, the respiratory process, the production of animal heat, and the energy of the locomotive organs, are but different parts of a single scheme.[260] Their connexion with each other is established, not only by a comparison of different species, but also by a comparison of different members of the same species. In human beings, for example, the locomotive and other animal functions are more active in persons of a sanguine temperament than in those of a lymphatic temperament ; while in sanguine temperaments the globules are more numerous than in lymphatic ones. The knowledge of this fact we owe to Lecanu ; [261] and to him we are also indebted for an analogous

[257] " In seeking to determine the respective importance of the different constituents of the blood, by the philosophical and most difficult inquiry into their respective periods of formation in the development of the embryo, Hunter made the interesting discovery that the vessels of the embryo of a red-blooded animal circulated in the first instance colourless blood, as in the invertebrate animals. ' The red globules,' he observes, ' seemed to be formed later in life than the other two constituents, for we see while the chick is in the egg the heart beating, and it then contains a transparent fluid before any red globules are formed, which fluid we may suppose to be the serum and the lymph.' I well remember the feelings of surprise with which I listened, while at Paris in 1832, to a memoir read before the Academy of Science, by MM. Delpech and Coste, the object of which was the announcement of the same fact as a novel and important discovery. The statement of the French observers was received with all the consideration which its importance justly merited, without its being suspected that our great physiologist had half a century before embraced it, with all its legitimate deductions, in the extended circle of his investigations." Owen's Preface to vol. iv. of *Hunter's Works*, p. xiii.

[258] Indeed, if we may rely on the references recently given by Mr. Gulliver, which, from his great general accuracy, there seems no reason to question, the fact that the pale blood precedes the red was known even in the time of Glisson. See Gulliver's learned edition of *Hewson's Works*, London, 1846, p. 222. But to the contemporaries of Glisson such a fact was isolated, and consequently useless. Nothing is valuable while it appears to stand alone.

[259] " From the above account it appears that whatever may be their utility in the machine, the red globules certainly are not of such universal use as the coagulating lymph, since they are not to be found in all animals, *nor so early in those that have them* ; nor are they pushed into the extreme arteries, where we must suppose the coagulating lymph reaches ; neither do they appear to be so readily formed. This being the case, *we must conclude them not to be the important part of the blood in contributing to growth, repair, &c. Their use would seem to be connected with strength.*" *A Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-shot Wounds*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iii. p. 68. In another remarkable passage, he touches on the possibility of an increase in the amount of red globules being connected with an increase in the amount of heat. " I will not pretend to determine how far this may assist in keeping up the animal heat." *Observations on the Structure and Œconomy of Whales*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 364.

[260] The evidence of this is collected in the notes above, pp. 33-36.

[261] " According to Lecanu, temperament has an influence upon the composition of the blood. He infers from his analyses that the blood of lymphatic persons is poorer in

fact corroborating the same view. He has shown that the blood of women contains more water and fewer red globules than the blood of men ;[262] so that here again we discern the relation between these globules and the energy of animal life. Inasmuch, however, as these researches were not made until many years after the death of Hunter, the coincidence between them and his speculative conclusions is a striking instance of his power of generalization, and of that unrivalled knowledge of comparative anatomy which supplied him with materials from which, in spite of the backwardness of animal chemistry, he was able to draw an inference which later and minuter researches have decisively verified.[263]

Having thus, by a comprehensive survey of the animal world, associated its remarkable faculty of movement with the state of its blood, Hunter turned his attention to another aspect of the question, and took into consideration the movements of the vegetable world, in the hope that by comparing these two divisions of nature he might detect some law which, being common to both, should unite into one study all the principles of organic motion. Though he failed in this great undertaking, some of his generalizations are very suggestive, and well illustrate the power and grasp of his mind. Looking at the organic kingdom as a whole, he supposed that its capacity of action, both in animals and in vegetables, was of three kinds. The first kind was the action of the individual upon the materials it already possessed ; and this gave rise to growth, secretion, and other functions, in which the juice of the plant was equivalent to the blood of the animal.[264] The second kind of action had for its object to

solid constituents, and especially in blood corpuscules, than that of persons of sanguineous temperament, while the quantity of albumen is much the same in both." *Simon's Animal Chemistry with reference to the Physiology and Pathology of Man*, London, 1845, vol. i. p. 236. Compare *Thomson's Chemistry of Animal Bodies*, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 370.

[262] *Simon's Animal Chemistry*, vol. i. pp. 234, 235. Subsequent experiments have confirmed this. "The proportion of red globules *dried* to 1000 parts of blood, is in healthy males estimated at 127 parts by Andral and Gavarret ; lower and higher figures have been given by other analysts, but this probably is the result of somewhat different modes of proceeding. *In females the proportion of globules is lower.* Becquerel and Rodier make the difference to be about 15 parts per 1000." *Jones and Sieveking's Pathological Anatomy*, London, 1854, p. 23. Hence the greater specific gravity of male blood. See the interesting results of Dr. Davy's experiments in *Davy's Physiological and Anatomical Researches*, London, 1839, vol. ii. p. 32.

[263] Hunter died in 1793. The researches of Lecanu were published in 1831.

Another and still more remarkable proof of the extent to which Hunter outstripped his own age, appears in the following passage, which has just been published in his posthumous works, and in which he anticipates the grandest and most suggestive of all the ideas belonging to the physiology of the nineteenth century. "If we were capable of following the progress of increase of the number of the parts of the most perfect animal, as they first formed in succession, from the very first to its state of full perfection, we should probably be able to compare it with some one of the incomplete animals themselves, of every order of animals in the Creation, being at no stage different from some of the inferior orders. Or, in other words, if we were to take a series of animals, from the more imperfect to the perfect, we should probably find an imperfect animal corresponding with some stage of the most perfect." *Essays and Observations by John Hunter, being his Posthumous Papers*, London, 1861, vol. i. p. 203.

[264] "The natural salutary actions, arising from stimuli, take place both in animals and vegetables, and may be divided into three kinds. The first kind of action, or self-motion, is employed simply in the œconomical operations, by which means the immediate functions are carried on, and the necessary operations performed, with the materials the animal or vegetable is in possession of, such as growth, support, secretion, &c. The blood is disposed of by the actions of the vessels, according to their specific stimulus, producing all the above effects. The juices of a plant are disposed of according to the different actions of the sap-vessels, arising also from their specific stimulus, which is different from that of blood-vessels, but equally produces growth ; but a vine will grow twenty feet in one summer, while a whale, probably, does not grow so much in as many years." *Croonian Lectures on Muscular Motion*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 199.

increase these materials; it was always excited by want, and its result was to nourish and preserve the individual.[265] The third kind was entirely due to external causes, including the whole material world, all the phenomena of which were a stimulus to some kind of action.[266] By combining, in different ways, these different sources of motion, and by studying every incitement to action, first in reference to one of the three great divisions just indicated, and secondly in reference to the *power* of action, as distinguished from the *quantity* of action,[267] Hunter believed that some fundamental truths might be obtained, if not by himself, at all events by his successors. For he thought that, though animals can do many things which plants cannot, still the immediate cause of action is in both cases the same.[268] In animals there is more variety of motion, but in plants there is more real power. A horse is certainly far stronger than a man. Yet a small vine can not only support, but can raise, a column of fluid five times higher than a horse can. Indeed, the power which a plant exercises of holding a leaf erect during an entire day, without pause and without fatigue, is an effort of astonishing vigour, and is one of many proofs that a principle of compensation is at work, so that the same energy which in the animal world is weakened by being directed to many objects, is in the vegetable world strengthened by being concentrated on a few.[269]

[265] "The second kind of action is in pursuit of external influence, and arises from a compound of internal and external stimulus; it is excited by the state of the animal or vegetable, which gives the stimulus of want, and being completed by external stimulus, produces the proper supplies of nourishment. It produces motions of whole parts: thus we see the *Hedysarum gyrans* moving its lesser foliola. This is an action apparently similar to breathing in animals, though, perhaps, it does not answer the same purpose; yet there is an alternate motion in both." *Croonian Lectures*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 200.

[266] "The third kind of motion is from external stimulus, and consists principally of the motion of whole parts, which is not inconsiderable in vegetables, as in the *Dionæa muscipula* and *Mimosa pudica* is very evident." . . . "These actions are similar to what arise in many animals from external stimulus." *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 201.

[267] "I make a material difference between the power and the quantity of action. Some motions may be very small, yet act with great force; while others are of considerable extent, although very weak." *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 204.

[268] "The immediate cause of motion in all vegetables is most probably the same, and it is probably the same in all animals; but how far they are the same in both classes, has not yet been determined. But I think it will appear, in the investigation of this subject, that vegetables and animals have actions evidently common to both, and that the causes of these actions are apparently the same in both; and most probably there is not an action in the vegetable which does not correspond or belong to the animal, although the mode of action in the parts may not be the same, or muscular, in both." *Croonian Lectures*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 196. Compare the section "Of Motion in Vegetables," in *Hunter's Essays*, London, 1861, vol. i. p. 24.

[269] "The variety of motions is greater in animals, and more purposes are answered by them." . . . "The first kind of action appears to be stronger in its power, although less in quantity, in vegetables than in animals; for a small vine was capable of sustaining, and even of raising, a column of sap 43 feet high, while a horse's heart was only capable of supporting a column of blood 8 feet 9 inches high; both of which columns must have been supported by the action of the internal parts, for we must suppose the heart equal, or nearly so, to the strength or action of the other parts of the vascular system; and when we consider that the sap of the tallest tree must be supported, and even raised from the root to the most distant branches, it must appear that the power of such vegetables far exceeds the power of any animal, and, indeed, it is such as the texture of a vegetable only can support. The power of supporting a leaf erect for a whole day is as great an effort of action as that of the elevator palpebrarum muscle of the eye of an animal." *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. pp. 203, 204. See also *Hunter's Essays*, vol. i. p. 342: "It is probable that the vegetable which can the least bear a suspension of its actions, can do so more than the animal which can bear it longest."

In pursuing these speculations, which, amid much that is uncertain, contain, I firmly believe, a large amount of important though neglected truth, Hunter was led to consider how motion is produced by various forces, such as magnetism, electricity, gravitation, and chemical attraction.[270] This carried him into inorganic science, where, as he clearly saw, the foundation of all organic science must be laid. Just as, on the one hand, the human frame could never be successfully studied except by the aid of principles which had been collected from an investigation of animals below man,[271] so, on the other hand, the laws of those very animals must, he said, be approached through the laws of common or inorganic matter.[272] He therefore aimed at nothing less than to unite all the branches of physical science, taking them in the order of their relative complexity, and proceeding from the simplest to the most intricate. With this view he examined the structure of the mineral kingdom, and by an extensive comparison of crystals he sought to generalize the principles of form, in the same way as, by a comparison of animals, he sought to generalize the principles of function. And in doing this he took into account not only regular crystals, but also irregular ones.[273] For he knew that in nature nothing is really irregular or disorderly; though our imperfect apprehension, or rather the backwardness of our knowledge, prevents us from discerning the symmetry of the universal scheme.

The beauty of the plan, and the necessity of the sequence, are not always perceptible. Hence we are too apt to fancy that the chain is broken because we cannot see every link in it. From this serious error Hunter was saved by his genius, even more than by his knowledge. Being satisfied that everything which happens in the material world is so connected and bound up with its antecedents as to be the inevitable result of what had previously occurred, he looked with a true philosophic eye at the strangest and most capricious shapes, because to him they had a meaning and a necessary purpose. To him they were neither strange nor capricious. They were deviations from the natural

[270] *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 255.

[271] In his *Principles of Surgery*, he says (*Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 220), "The human body is what I mean chiefly to treat of; but I shall often find it necessary to illustrate some of the propositions which I shall lay down from animals of an inferior order, in whom the principles may be more distinct and less blended with others, or where the parts are differently constructed, in order to show, from many varieties of structure, and from many different considerations, what are the uses of the same parts in man; or, at least, to show that they are not for the uses which have been commonly assigned to them; and as man is the most complicated part of the whole animal creation, it will be proper, in the first place, to point out general principles, common to all this species of matter, that I may be better understood when I come to the more complicated machine, namely, the human."

[272] "Before we endeavour to give an idea of an animal, it is necessary to understand the properties of that matter of which an animal is composed; but the better to understand animal matter, it is necessary to understand the properties of common matter; else we shall be often applying our ideas of common matter, which are familiar to us, to animal matter, an error hitherto too common, but which we should carefully avoid." *Principles of Surgery*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 211. "In the natural history of vegetables and animals, therefore, it will be necessary to go back to the first or common matter of this globe, and give its general properties; then see how far these properties are introduced into the vegetable and animal operations; or rather, perhaps, how far they are of use or subservient to their actions." *Hunter's Essays*, vol. i. p. 4. "Every property in man is similar to some property, either in another animal, or probably in a vegetable, or even in inanimate matter. Thereby (man) becomes classible with those in some of his parts." *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[273] He made "a valuable collection of crystallizations, both of regular and irregular forms, which he was accustomed to use in his lectures to exemplify the difference between the laws which regulate the growth of organic and the increase of inorganic bodies." *Ottley's Life of Hunter*, p. 138.

course ; but it was a fundamental tenet of his philosophy that nature, even in the midst of her deviations, still retains her regularity.[274] Or, as he elsewhere expresses it, deviation is under certain circumstances part of the law of nature.[275]

To generalize such irregularities, or, in other words, to show that they are not irregularities at all, was the main object of Hunter's life, and was the noblest part of his mission. Hence, notwithstanding his vast achievements in physiology, his favourite pursuit was pathology,[276] where, the phenomena being more complex, the intellect has more play. In this great field he studied the aberrations of structure and of function in the vegetable, as well as in the animal, world ; [277] while, for the aberrations of form, which are the external manifestations of disturbed structure, he took into consideration the appearances presented by the mineral kingdom. There the power of crystallization is the leading feature, and there violations of symmetry constitute the essential disorder, whether the deformity of the crystal is subsequent to its production, or whether, being the result of what happened before its production, it is an original and, if we may so say, congenital defect. In either case, it is a deviation from the normal type, and as such is analogous to the monstrosities, both of animals and of vegetables.[278] The mind of Hunter, by sweeping through this immense range

[274] " Nature is always uniform in her operations, and when she deviates is still regular in her deviations." *Principles of Surgery*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 485 ; see also vol. iv. pp. 44, 45.

[275] " It certainly may be laid down, as one of the principles or laws of nature, to deviate under certain circumstances." *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 278.

[276] Dr. Adams, who knew him personally, says that he studied " physiology, more particularly as connected with pathology." *Adams' Life of Hunter*, p. 77.

[277] His *Principles of Surgery* contain some curious evidence of his desire to establish a connexion between animal and vegetable pathology. See, for instance, his remarks on " local diseases " (*Works*, vol. i. p. 341) ; on the influence of the seasons in producing diseases (vol. i. pp. 345, 346) ; and on the theory of inflammation exhibited in an oak-leaf (vol. i. p. 391). But even now too little is known of the diseases of the vegetable world to enable their study to be incorporated with the science of the diseases of the animal world ; and in the time of Hunter the attempt was still less promising. Still, the effort shows the grandeur and range of the man's mind ; and though little was effected, the method was right. So, too, in one of his essays on the *Power of Producing Heat*, he says, " In the course of a variety of experiments on animals and vegetables, I have frequently observed that the result of experiments in the one has explained the œconomy of the other, and pointed out some principle common to both." *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 136.

[278] " Nature being pretty constant in the kind and number of the different parts peculiar to each species of animal, as also in the situation, formation, and construction of such parts, we call everything that deviates from that uniformity a ' monster,' whether (it occur in) crystallization, vegetation, or animalization. There must be some principle for those deviations from the regular course of nature, in the economy of such species as they occur in. In the present inquiry it is the animal creation I mean to consider. Yet, as there may be in some degree an analogy between all the three (kingdoms of nature), I shall consider the other two, so far as this analogy seems to take place." . . . " Monsters are not peculiar to animals : they are less so in them, perhaps, than in any species of matter. The vegetable (kingdom) abounds with monsters ; and perhaps the uncommon formation of many crystals may be brought within the same species of production, and accounted for upon the same principle, viz. some influence interfering with the established law of regular formation. Monsters in crystals may arise from the same cause, as mentioned in the ' Introduction ; ' viz. either a wrong arrangement of the parts of which the crystal is to be composed, or a defect in the formation, from the first setting out being wrong, and (the formation) going on in the same (wrong) line. The principle of crystallization is in the solution ; yet it requires more to set it a going, or into action, such, e.g., as a solid surface. The deficiency in the production of a true crystal may be in the solution itself ; or I can conceive that a very slight circumstance might alter the form of a crystal, and even give the disposition for one (crystal) to form upon another.

of thought, attained to such commanding views of the philosophy of disease, that in that department he is certainly without a rival. As a physiologist he was equalled, or perhaps excelled, by Aristotle; but as a pathologist he stands alone, if we consider what pathology was when he found it, and what it was when he left it.[279] Since his death the rapid advance of morbid anatomy and of chemistry has caused some of his doctrines to be modified, and some of them to be overturned. This has been the work of inferior men, wielding superior chemical and microscopical resources. To say that the successors of John Hunter are inferior to him is no disparagement to their abilities, since he was one of those extremely rare characters who only appear at very long intervals, and who, when they do appear, remodel the fabric of knowledge. They revolutionize our modes of thought; they stir up the intellect to insurrection; they are the rebels and demagogues of science. And though the pathologists of the nineteenth century have chosen a humbler path, this must not blind us to their merits, or prevent us from being grateful for what they have done. We cannot, however, be too often reminded that the really great men, and those who are the sole permanent benefactors of their species, are not the great experimenters, nor the great observers, nor the great readers, nor the great scholars, but the great thinkers. Thought is the creator and vivifier of all human affairs. Actions, facts, and external manifestations of every kind, often triumph for a while; but it is the progress of ideas which ultimately determines the progress of the world. Unless these are changed, every other change is superficial, and every improvement is precarious. It is however evident that in the present state of our knowledge all ideas respecting nature must refer either to the normal or to the abnormal; that is to say, they must be concerned either with what is regular, uniform, and obedient to recognized principles, or else with what is irregular, perturbed, and disobedient. Of these two divisions, the first belongs to science; the second, to superstition. John Hunter formed the superb conception of merging both classes of ideas into one, by showing that nothing is irregular, that nothing is perturbed, that nothing is disobedient. Centuries, perhaps, may elapse before that conception will be consummated. But what Hunter effected towards it places him at the head of all pathologists, ancient or modern. For with him the science of pathology did not mean the laws of disease in man alone, or even in all animals, or even in the whole organic kingdom; but it meant the laws of disease and of malformation in the entire material world, organic and inorganic. His great object was to raise a science of the abnormal. He determined to contemplate nature as a vast and united whole, exhibiting, indeed, at different times different appearances, but preserving amidst every change a principle of uniform and uninterrupted order, admitting of no deviation, undergoing no disturbance, and presenting no real irregularity, albeit to the common eye irregularities abound on every side.

As pathology was the science to which Hunter was most devoted, so also was it that in which his natural love of deduction was most apparent. Here, far more than in his physiological inquiries, do we find a desire to multiply

Quickness in the progress of crystallization produces irregularity and diminution in size." *Hunter's Essays*, London, 1861, vol. i. pp. 239–241. The reader must remember that when these remarks were written, the phenomena of crystallization had not been subjected to that exact mathematical treatment which subsequently revealed so many of their laws. Indeed, the goniometer was then so coarse an instrument that it was impossible to measure the angles of crystals with accuracy.

[279] Abernethy says, "He appears to me as a new character in our profession; and, briefly to express his peculiar merit, I may call him the first and great physionosologist, or expositor of the nature of disease." *Abernethy's Hunterian Oration*, p. 29, London, 1819. "He may be regarded as the first who applied the great truths of anatomical and pyhsiological science to these most important subjects, by tracing the processes which, nature employs in the construction of organic changes, in building up new formations, and in repairing the effects of injury or disease." *Hodgson's Hunterian Oration*, 1855, p. 32.

original principles from which he could reason; in opposition to the inductive method, which always aims at diminishing these principles by gradual and successive analysis.* Thus, for instance, in his animal pathology, he attempted to introduce, as an ultimate principle from which he could argue, the idea that all diseases move more rapidly towards the skin than towards internal parts, by virtue of some hidden force, which also obliges vegetables to approach the surface of the earth.[280] Another favourite proposition, which he often used as a major premiss, and by its aid constructed deductively a pathological argument, was that in no substance, be it what it may, can two processes go on in the same part at the same time.[281] By applying this universal proposition to the more limited phenomena of animal life, he inferred that two general diseases cannot coexist in the same individual; and he relied so much on this ratiocination that he refused to credit any testimony by which it was impugned.[282] There is reason to believe that his conclusion is erroneous, and that different diseases can so accompany each other as to be united in the same individual, at the same time, and in the same part.[283] Whether or not this be the case, it is equally inter-

[280] "The specific qualities in diseases also tend more rapidly to the skin than to the deeper-seated parts, except the cancer: although, even in this disease, the progress towards the superficies is more quick than its progress towards the centre." . . . "In short, this is a law of nature, and it probably is upon the same principle by which vegetables always approach the surface of the earth." *A Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-shot Wounds*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iii. p. 285. "Granulations always tend to the skin, which is exactly similar to vegetation, for plants always grow from the centre of the earth towards the surface; and this principle was taken notice of when we were treating of abscesses coming towards the skin." *Ibid.*, pp. 489, 490.

[281] "It may be admitted as an axiom that two processes cannot go on at the same time in the same part of any substance." *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 96. Compare *Hunter's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 333; "As it appears, in general, that Nature can hardly make one part perform two actions with advantage."

[282] "Thus, we hear of pocky itch and of scurvy and the venereal disease combined; but this supposition appears to me to be founded in error. I have never seen any such cases, *nor do they seem to be consistent with the principles of morbid action* in the animal œconomy. It appears to me beyond a doubt that no two actions can take place in the same constitution, or in the same part, at one and the same time." *Hunter's Works*, vol. ii. p. 132. "As I reckon every operation in the body an action, whether universal or partial, *it appears to me beyond a doubt* that no two actions can take place in the same constitution, nor in the same part, at one and the same time; the operations of the body are similar in this respect to actions or motions in common matter. *It naturally results from this principle*, that no two different fevers can exist in the same constitution, nor two local diseases in the same part, at the same time. There are many local diseases which have dispositions totally different, but having very similar appearances, have been supposed by some to be one sort of disease, by others to be a different kind, and by others again a compound of two diseases." . . . "These, therefore, are often supposed to be mixed, and to exist in the same part. Thus we hear of a pocky-scurvy, a pocky-itch, rheumatic-gout, &c. &c., which names, *according to my principle*, imply a union that cannot possibly exist." *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 3, 4.

[283] Dr. Robert Williams (*Encyclopædia of the Medical Sciences*, London, 1847, 4to, p. 688), says, "The diagnosis between gout and rheumatism is often exceedingly difficult, so much so that nosologists have given a mixed class, or rheumatic gout. Mr. Hunter warmly opposed this compound appellation, for, in his opinion, no two distinct diseases, or even distinct diatheses, can co-exist in the same constitution; a law, it must be admitted, to have many exceptions." Compare *Watson's Principles and Practice of Physic*, London, 1857, vol. i. p. 312: "Acting upon the aphorism of John Hunter (an aphorism, however, which requires some qualification), that two diseases or actions cannot go on in a part at the same time." According to another authority, "There can be little doubt

[* See edit. note above, p. 792.—Ed.]

esting to notice the process of thought which led Hunter to bestow infinitely more pains in arguing from the general theory than in arguing to it. Indeed, he can hardly be said to have argued to it at all, since he obtained it by a rough and hasty generalization from what seemed to be the obvious properties of inorganic matter. Having thus obtained it, he applied it to the pathological phenomena of the organic world, and especially of the animal world. That he should have adopted this course is a curious proof of the energy of his deductive habits, and of the force of mind which enabled him so to set at naught the traditions of his English contemporaries as to follow a method which, in the opinion of every one who surrounded him, was not only full of danger, but could never lead to truth.

Other parts of his pathology abound with similar instances, which show how anxious he was to assume principles on which he could build arguments. Of this kind were his ideas respecting sympathy, as connected with action. He suggested that the simplest forms of sympathy would probably be found in the vegetable world, because there the general arrangements are less intricate than in the animal world.[284] On this supposition he constructed a series of curious and refined speculations, of which, however, I must confine myself to giving a very short summary. As animals sympathize more than vegetables, this helps us to understand why it is that their movements are more numerous. For sympathy, being a susceptibility to impression, is also a principle of action.[285] Like other principles of action, it may be either natural or diseased.[286] But whichever it be, it can in plants have only one mode of development, because in them it can only be influenced by stimulus; while in animals, which have sensation, it has necessarily three modes, one from stimulus, one from sensation, and a third compounded of the other two.[287] These are the largest divisions of sympathy, if we consider the organic world as a whole. In single cases, however, sympathy admits of still further subdivision. We may reason from it in reference to the age of the individual;[288] we may also reason from it in reference to temperament, since, in point of fact, temperament is nothing but susceptibility

that two or more zymotic processes do often go on simultaneously in the blood and body; a fact of profound interest to the pathologist, and worthy of attentive investigation." *Report on the Public Health for* 1847, in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. xi. p. 168, London, 1848. See also, on the co-existence of specific poisons, *Erichsen's Surgery*, 2nd edit. London, 1857, p. 430. Mr. Paget, in his striking and eminently suggestive *Lectures on Pathology*, London, 1853, vol. ii. pp. 537, 538, has made some interesting remarks on one part of the theory of coexistence; and his observations, so far as they go, tend to corroborate Hunter's view. He has put very forcibly the antagonism between cancer and other specific diseases; and especially between the cancerous diathesis and the tuberculous.

[284] "The most simple sympathy is perhaps to be found in vegetables, these being much more simple than the most simple animal." *Principles of Surgery*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 327.

[285] "This principle of action, called sympathy," &c. *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 318.

[286] "Sympathy may be divided into two kinds, the natural and the diseased." *Principles of Surgery*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 320; see also *A Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, &c.*, in *Works*, vol. iii. p. 6.

[287] *Croonian Lectures on Muscular Motion*, in *Hunter's Works*, vol. iv. p. 207; and exactly the same words in his *Phytology*, in *Hunter's Essays*. London, 1861, vol. i. p. 361.

[288] "Local or partial sympathy is found more in old than in young; whereas universal sympathy is more in young than in old. Sympathy is less determined in young persons, every part being then ready to sympathize with other parts under disease." . . . "As the child advances, the power of sympathy becomes partial, there not being now, in the constitution, that universal consent of parts, but some part, which has greater sympathy than the rest, falls into the whole irritation; therefore the whole disposition to sympathy is directed to some particular part. The different organs acquire more and more of their own independent actions, as the child grows older." *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. pp. 322, 323.

to action.[289] And when sympathy is in action, we may, by analyzing our idea of it, reduce it to five different heads, and may classify it as continued, or contiguous, or remote, or similar, or dissimilar.[290] All these supplied Hunter with principles from which, by reasoning deductively, he attempted to explain the facts of disease; for, according to him, disease merely consists in a want of combination of actions.[291] By this process of thought, he was induced to neglect those predisposing causes to which inductive pathologists pay great attention, and with which the works of his English contemporaries were much occupied. Such causes could only be generalized from observation, and Hunter made no account of them. Indeed, he even denies their real existence, and asserts that a predisposing cause is simply an increased susceptibility to form disposition to action.[292]

By reasoning from the twofold ideas of action and of sympathy, Hunter constructed the deductive or synthetic part of his pathology. This he did as a Scotchman, and to this, had he always lived in Scotland, he would probably have confined himself. But being for forty years surrounded by Englishmen, and having his mind impregnated by English habits, he contracted something of their mode of thought. We accordingly find that a considerable portion of his pathology is as inductive as the most eager disciple of Bacon could desire; forming in this respect a striking contrast to the purely synthetic method of Cullen, the other great pathologist of Scotland. In the attempt, however, which Hunter made to mix these two methods, he perplexed both himself and his readers. Hence that obscurity which even his warmest admirers have noticed, though they have not perceived its cause.* Vast as his powers were, he was unable to effect a complete union between induction and deduction. That this should have happened will not surprise any one who considers how some of the greatest thinkers have failed in this, the most difficult of all enterprises. Among the ancients, Plato failed in induction, and all his followers failed with him; since none of them have placed sufficient confidence in facts, and in the process of reasoning from particulars to generals. Among the moderns, Bacon was deficient in deduction, and every Baconian has been similarly defi-

[289] "Susceptibilities for dispositions and actions appear to me to be the same with what are usually understood by temperament. Temperament is the state of the body fitting it for the disposition or action it is then in." *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 307.

[290] *Hunter's Works*, vol. iii. p. 393.

[291] "As every natural action of the body depends, for its perfection, on a number of circumstances, we are led to conclude that all the various combining actions are established while the body is in health, and well disposed; but this does not take place in diseased actions, for disease, on the contrary, consists in the want of this very combination." *Hunter's Works*, vol. iii. p. 10. Compare vol. i. p. 310: "I have explained that a disease is a disposition for a wrong action, and that the action is the immediate effect of the disposition, and that either the actions, or the effects of those actions, *produce the symptoms which are generally called the disease*; such as sensations, which are commonly pain of all kinds, sickness, alteration visible or invisible in the structure of the part or parts that act, and sympathy."

[292] "There is no such thing, strictly speaking, as a predisposing cause. What is commonly understood by a predisposing cause is an increased susceptibility to form disposition to action. When I say I am predisposed for such and such actions, it is only that I am very susceptible of such and such impressions." *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. 303. See also p. 301: "The most simple idea I can form of an animal being capable of disease is, that every animal is endued with a power of action, and a susceptibility of impression, which impression forms a disposition, which disposition may produce action, which action becomes the immediate sign of the disease; all of which will be according to the nature of the impression and of the part impressed."

[* The explanation is probably simpler than Buckle makes out. Hunter was lacking in verbal or expository faculty to start with, and his obscurity has often nothing to do with his theoretic standpoint.—ED.]

cient ; it being the essential vice of that school to despise reasoning from general propositions, and to underrate the value of the syllogism. It may indeed be doubted if the history of the world supplies more than two instances of physical philosophers being as great in one form of investigation as in the other. They are Aristotle and Newton, who wielded each method with equal ease, combining the skill and boldness of deduction with the caution and perseverance of induction, masters alike of synthesis and of analysis, as capable of proceeding from generals to particulars, as from particulars to generals, sometimes making ideas precede facts, and sometimes making facts precede ideas, but never faltering, never doubting which course to take, and never allowing either scheme unduly to encroach on its opposite.* That Hunter should be unable to perform this, merely proves that he was inferior to these two men, whose almost incredible achievements entitle them to be termed the prodigies of the human race. But what he did was wonderful, and, in his own department, has never been rivalled. Of the character and extent of his inquiries I have given a sketch which, notwithstanding its imperfections, may serve to illustrate the antagonism of the Scotch and English intellects, by showing how the methods peculiar to each nation struggled for mastery in that great mind, which was exposed to the action of both. Which method predominated in Hunter it would be hard to say. But it is certain that his understanding was troubled by their conflict. It is also certain that, owing to his love of deduction, or of reasoning from general ideas, he exercised much less sway over his English contemporaries than he would have done if he had exclusively followed their favourite method of reasoning from particular facts. Hence the disproportion between his influence and his merits. As to his merits, it is now admitted that, in addition to his physiological discoveries, and the great pathological views which he propounded, we may trace to him nearly all the surgical improvements which were introduced within about forty years after his death.[293] He was the first who explained, and indeed the first who recognized, the disease of inflammation of the veins, which is of frequent occurrence, and under the name of phlebitis has latterly been much studied, but which before his time had been ascribed to the most erroneous causes.[294] On general inflammation he threw so much light that the

[293] Hunter died in 1793. In 1835 Mr. Palmer writes : "Those who have traced the progress of modern surgery to its true source, will not fail to have discerned, in the principles which Hunter established, the germs of almost all the improvements which have been since introduced." *Hunter's Works*, vol. i. p. vii. Eighteen years later, Mr. Paget says of Hunter's views respecting the healing of injuries : "In these sentences Mr. Hunter has embodied the principle on which is founded the whole practice of subcutaneous surgery ; a principle of which, indeed, it seems hardly possible to exaggerate the importance." *Paget's Lectures on Surgical Pathology*, London, 1853, vol. i. p. 170. At pp. 197, 198 : "After what I have said respecting the process of immediate union, it may appear that Mr. Hunter was more nearly right than his successors."

[294] "Inflammation of the veins, originally studied by Hunter, has of late years attracted the attention of many distinguished Continental and British pathologists." *Erichsen's Surgery*, London, 1857, p. 475. "No subject more amply illustrates the essential services which the science and art of medicine have derived from pathological anatomy than that of phlebitis. By this study many a dark point in the phenomena of disease has been either thoroughly elucidated, or, at all events, rendered more comprehensible. We need only refer to the so-termed malignant intermittents, consequent upon wounds and surgical operations,—to certain typhoid conditions, puerperal diseases, and the like. John Hunter, the elder Meckel, and Peter Frank, were the first to commence the investigation." *Hasse's Anatomical Description of the Diseases of the Organs of Circulation and Respiration*, London, 1846, p. 10. "Hunter was the first to open the way, and since that period the scalpel has shown that many previously unintelligible

[* Whatever is to be said of Newton, this eulogy of Aristotle will not now be widely concurred in. Compare Benn, *The Greek Philosophers*, 1882, vol. i. ch. 6 ; Berry, *Short History of Astronomy*, 1898, p. 33 ; Lange, *Hist. of Materialism*, Eng. tr. i. 82–90.—Ed.]

doctrines which he advocated, and which were then ridiculed as whimsical novelties, are now taught in the schools, and have become part of the common traditions of the medical profession.[295] He moreover introduced what is probably the most capital improvement in surgery ever effected by a single man; namely, the practice in aneurism of tying the artery at a distance from the seat of disease. This one suggestion has saved thousands of lives; and both the suggestion and the first successful execution of it are entirely owing to John

malignant conditions are attributable to phlebitis." *Jones and Sieveking's Pathological Anatomy*, London, 1854, p. 362. On the application of this discovery to the theory of inflammation of the spleen, see *Rokitansky's Pathological Anatomy*, vol. ii. p. 173, London, 1849; compare vol. iv. p. 335.

[295] Sir Benjamin Brodie says: "It is true that the essential parts of John Hunter's doctrines as to inflammation and its consequences are now so incorporated with what is taught in the schools, that to be acquainted with them you need not seek them in his works; but I recommend you, nevertheless, to make these your especial study, for the sake of the other valuable information which they contain, and the important views in physiology and pathology which, in almost every page, are offered to your contemplation." *Brodie's Lectures on Pathology and Surgery*, London, 1846, p. 25. "John Hunter, whose treatise on Inflammation is a mine in which all succeeding writers have dug." *Watson's Principles and Practice of Physic*, London, 1857, vol. i. p. 146. "The appeal to philosophical principles in Hunter's works was indeed the cause of their being a closed volume to his less enlightened contemporaries; but though the principles implied or expressed subjected them to the scorn and neglect of those less imbued with the spirit of philosophy, the results of those principles, verified as they were by facts, have gradually and insensibly forced themselves on the conviction of the profession; and though adopted silently and without acknowledgment, as if the authors themselves had forgotten or were ignorant from whence they were derived, they now form the very groundwork of all books, treatises, and lectures on professional subjects." *Green's Vital Dynamics*, London, 1840, p. 81. Finally, I will quote the very recent testimony of Mr. Simon, who, in his masterly and singularly beautiful essay on Inflammation, has not only brought together nearly everything which is known on that interesting subject, but has shown himself to be possessed of powers of generalization rare in the medical profession, or indeed in any other profession. "Without undue partiality, an Englishman may be glad to say that the special study of Inflammation dates from the labours of John Hunter. An indefatigable observer of nature, untrammelled by educational forms, and thoroughly a sceptic in his method of study, this large-minded surgeon of ours went to work at inflammation with a full estimate of the physiological vastness of his subject. He saw that, in order to understand inflammation, he must regard it, not as one solitary fact of disease, but in connexion with kindred phenomena—some of them truly morbid in their nature, but many of them within the limits of health. He saw that, for any one who would explain inflammation, all inequalities of blood-supply, all periodicities of growth, all actions of sympathy, were part of the problem to be solved." . . . "He cannot be understood without more reflection than average readers will give; and only they who are content to struggle through a veil of obscure language, up to the very reality of his intent, can learn with how great a master they are communing." . . . "Doubtless, he was a great discoverer. But it is for the spirit of his labours, even more than for the establishment of new doctrine, that English surgery is for ever indebted to him. Of facts in pathology, he may, perhaps, be no permanent teacher; but to the student of medicine he must always be a noble pattern. Emphatically, it may be said of him, that he was the physiological surgeon. Others before him (Galen, for instance, eminently) had been at once physiologists and practitioners; but science in their case had come little into contact with practice. Never had physiology been so incorporated with surgery, never been so applied to the investigation of disease and the suggestion of treatment, as it was by this master-workman of ours. And to him, so far as such obligations can be personal, we assuredly owe it that for the last half-century the foundations of English surgery have, at least professedly, been changing from a basis of empiricism to a basis of science." *Simon on Inflammation*, in *A System of Surgery*, edited by T. Holmes, London, 1860, vol. i. pp. 134–136.

Hunter, who, if he had done nothing else, would on this account alone have a right to be classed among the principal benefactors of mankind.[296]

But so far as his own immediate reputation was concerned, all was in vain. He was in the midst of a people who had no sympathy with that mode of thought which was most natural to him. They cared nothing for ideas, except with a view to direct and tangible results; he valued ideas for themselves, and for the sake of their truth, independently of all other considerations. His English contemporaries, prudent, sagacious, but short-sighted, seeing few things at a time, but seeing those things with admirable clearness, were unable to appreciate his comprehensive speculations. Hence, in their opinion, he was little else than an innovator and an enthusiast.[297] Hence, too, even the practical improvements which he introduced were coldly received, because they proceeded from so suspicious a source. The great Scotchman, thrown among a nation whose habits of mind were uncongenial to his own, stood, says one of the most celebrated of his disciples, in a position of solitary and comfortless superiority.[298] Indeed, so little was he regarded by that very profession of which he was the chiefest ornament, that during the many years in which he delivered lectures in London on anatomy and on surgery, his audience never amounted to twenty persons.[299]

I have now completed my examination of the Scotch intellect as it unfolded itself in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The difference between

[296] Mr. Bowman, in his *Principles of Surgery* (*Encyclopædia of the Medical Sciences*, London, 4to, 1847) says (p. 831): "Before the time of Hunter, the operation was performed by cutting into the sac of the aneurism, and tying the vessel above and below. So formidable was this proceeding in its consequences, that amputation of the limb was frequently preferred, as a less dangerous and fatal measure. The genius of Hunter led him to tie the femoral artery, in a case of popliteal aneurism, leaving the tumour untouched. The safety and efficacy of this mode of operating have now been fully established, and the principle has been extended to all operations for the cure of this formidable disease." See also p. 873; *Paget's Surgical Pathology*, vol. i. pp. 36, 37; and *Erichsen's Surgery*, pp. 141, 142, 508, 509.

[297] "The majority of Hunter's contemporaries considered his pursuits to have little connexion with practice, charged him with attending to physiology more than surgery, and looked on him as little better than an innovator and an enthusiast." *Ottley's Life of Hunter*, p. 126. In a work which was written by a surgeon only the year after Hunter died, the reader is told, in regard to his remarkable inquiries respecting animal heat, that "his experiments, if they be true, carry with them no manner of information:—if they be true, no effect for the benefit of man can possibly be derived from them." *Foot's Life of Hunter*, London, 1794, p. 116. At p. 225, the same practitioner reproaches the great philosopher with propounding "purely a piece of theory, without any practical purpose whatever." Foot, indeed, wrote under the influence of personal feelings, but he rightly judged that these were the sort of charges which would be most likely to prejudice the English public against Hunter. It never occurred to Foot, any more than it would occur to his readers, that the quest of truth as truth is a magnificent object, even if its practical benefit is imperceptible. One other testimony is worth quoting. Sir Astley Cooper writes of Cline: "His high opinion of Mr. Hunter shows his judgment; for almost all others of Mr. Hunter's contemporaries, although they praise him now, abused him while he lived." *The Life of Sir Astley Cooper, by Bransby Blake Cooper*, London, 1843, vol. ii. p. 337.

[298] "Those who far precede others must necessarily remain alone; and their actions often appear unaccountable, nay, even extravagant, to their distant followers, who know not the causes that give rise to them, nor the effects which they are designed to produce. In such a situation stood Mr. Hunter with relation to his contemporaries. It was a comfortless precedence, for it deprived him of sympathy and social co-operation." *Abernethy's Hunterian Oration*, p. 49.

[299] "These he continued for several years; but so far were his talents and his enlightened views from exciting the attention they merited, that his hearers never amounted to twenty." *Ottley's Life of Hunter*, p. 28.

those two periods must strike every reader. In the seventeenth century the ablest Scotchmen wasted their energies on theological subjects, respecting which we have no trustworthy information, and no means of obtaining any. On these topics different persons and different nations, equally honest, equally enlightened, and equally competent, have entertained, and still entertain, the most different opinions, which they advocate with the greatest confidence, and support by arguments perfectly satisfactory to themselves, but contemptuously rejected by their opponents. Each side deeming itself in possession of the truth, the impartial inquirer, that is, he who really loves truth and knows how difficult it is to obtain it, seeks for some means by which he may fairly adjudicate between these conflicting pretensions, and determine which is right and which is wrong. The further he searches, the more he becomes convinced that no such means are to be found, and that these questions, if they do not transcend the limits of the human understanding, do certainly transcend its present resources, and have no chance of being answered, while other and much simpler problems are still unsolved. It would be strange indeed if we, ignorant of so many lower and subordinate matters, should be able to reach and penetrate these remote and complicated mysteries. It would be strange if we, who, notwithstanding the advances we have made, are still in the infancy of our career, and who, like infants, can only walk with unsteady gait, and are scarce able to move without stumbling, even on plain and level ground, should nathless succeed in scaling those dizzy heights which, overhanging our path, lure us on where we are sure to fall. Unfortunately, however, men are in every age so little conscious of their deficiencies that they not only attempt this impossible task, but believe they have achieved it. Of those who are a prey to this delusion, there are always a certain number who, seated on their imaginary eminence, are so inflated by the fancied superiority, as to undertake to instruct, to warn, and to rebuke the rest of mankind. Giving themselves out as spiritual advisers, and professing to teach what they have not yet learned, they exhibit in their own persons that most consistent of all combinations, a combination of great ignorance with great arrogance. From this other evils inevitably follow. The ignorance produces superstition; the arrogance produces tyranny. Hence it is that in a country like Scotland, where the pressure of long-continued and adverse circumstances has consolidated the power of these pretenders to wisdom, such sad results become conspicuous in every direction. Not only the national character, but also the national literature, feels their influence, and is coloured by them. It was therefore natural that in Scotland in the seventeenth century, when the authority of the clergy was most uncontrolled, the consequences of that authority should be most apparent. It was natural that a literature should be created such as that of which I have given some account; a literature which encouraged superstition, intolerance, and bigotry; a literature full of dark misgivings, and of still darker threats; a literature which taught men that it was wrong to enjoy the present, and that it was right to tremble at the future; a literature, in a word, which, spreading gloom on every side, soured the temper, corrupted the affections, numbed the intellect, and brought into complete discredit those bold and original inquiries without which there can be no advance in human knowledge, and consequently no increase of human happiness.

To this the literature of the eighteenth century offered a striking and most exhilarating contrast. It seemed as if in a moment all was changed. The Baillies, the Binnings, the Dicksons, the Durhams, the Flemings, the Frasers, the Gillespies, the Guthries, the Halyburtons, the Hendersons, the Rutherfords, and the rest of that monkish rabble, were succeeded by eminent and enterprising thinkers, whose genius lighted up every department of knowledge, and whose minds, fresh and vigorous as the morning, opened for themselves a new career, and secured for their country a high place in the annals of European intellect. Something of what they effected I have endeavoured to narrate; much, however, has been left untold. But I have brought forward sufficient evidence to convince even the most sceptical reader of the splendour of their achievements, and of the difference between the noble literature which they produced and those wretched compositions which disfigured the preceding century.

Still, great as the difference was, the two literatures had, as I have shown, one important point in common. Both were essentially deductive ; and the proof of this I have given at considerable length, because, though it has, so far as I am aware, escaped the attention of all previous inquirers, its consequences were of the utmost moment to the fortunes of Scotland, and are moreover full of interest to those who, in their investigations of human affairs, desire to penetrate below the mere surface and symptoms of things.

If we take a general view of those countries where science has been cultivated, we shall find that, wherever the deductive method of inquiry has predominated, knowledge, though often increased and accumulated, has never been widely diffused. On the other hand we shall find that, when the inductive method has predominated, the diffusion of knowledge has always been considerable, or at all events has been beyond comparison greater than when deduction was prevalent. This holds good not only of different countries, but also of different periods in the same country. It even holds good of different individuals in the same period, and in the same country. If in any civilized nation two men equally gifted were to propound some new and startling conclusion, and one of these men were to defend his conclusion by reasoning from ideas or general principles, while the other man defended his by reasoning from particular and visible facts, there can be no doubt that, supposing all other things the same, the latter man would gain most adherents. His conclusion would be more easily diffused, simply because a direct appeal, in the first instance, to palpable facts, strikes the vulgar with immediate effect ; while an appeal to principles is beyond their ken, and as they do not sympathize with it, they are apt to ridicule it. Facts seem to come home to every one, and are undeniable.* Principles are not so obvious, and, being often disputed, they have, to those who do not grasp them, an unreal and illusory appearance, which weakens their influence. Hence it is that inductive science, which always gives the first place to facts, is essentially popular, and has on its side those innumerable persons who will not listen to the more refined and subtle teachings of deductive science. Hence, too, we find historically that the establishment of the modern inductive philosophy, with its varied and attractive experiments, its material appliances, and its constant appeal to the senses, has been intimately connected with the awakening of the public mind, and coincides with that spirit of inquiry, and with that love of liberty, which have been constantly advancing since the sixteenth century. We may assuredly say that scepticism and democracy are the two leading features of this great scientific movement. The seventeenth century, which ushered in the Baconian philosophy, was remarkable for its insubordinate spirit, especially in the country where that philosophy originated, and where it most flourished. In the next age it was transplanted into France, and there too it worked upon the popular mind, and was, as I have already pointed out, one of the principal causes of the French Revolution.

If we look still closer into this interesting question, we shall find further corroboration of the view that the inferences of an inductive philosophy are more likely to be diffused than those of a deductive one. Inductive science rests immediately upon experience, or at all events upon experiment, which is merely experience artificially modified. Now an immense majority of mankind, even in the most advanced countries, are by the constitution of their minds incapable of seizing general principles and applying them to daily affairs, without doing serious mischief either to themselves or to others. Such an application requires not only great dexterity but also a knowledge of those disturbing causes which affect the operation of all general theorems. The task, being so difficult to perform, is rarely attempted ; and average men, possessed of a tolerably sound

[* It depends upon the nature of the facts. As Buckle has shown, the clergy found general acceptance for their " principles " because certain doctrinal " facts " were taken for granted. But the Copernican theory, which established a new order of facts, was slow to win acceptance ; and the facts of geology and biology and the " higher criticism " fared similarly.—Ed.]

judgment, do with good reason rely mainly on experience, which is to them a safer and more useful guide than any principle, however accurate and scientific it might be. This begets in their minds a prejudice on behalf of experimental inquiries, and a corresponding dislike of the opposite and more speculative method. And it can, I think, hardly be doubted that one of the causes of the triumph of the Baconian philosophy is the growth of the industrious classes, whose business-like and methodical habits are eminently favourable to empirical observations of the uniformities of sequence, since, indeed, on the accuracy of such observations the success of all practical affairs depends. Certainly we find that the overthrow of the purely deductive scholasticism of the Middle Ages has been everywhere accompanied by the spread of trade ; and whoever will carefully study the history of Europe will discern many traces of a connexion between the two movements, both of which are marked by an increasing respect for material and empirical interests, and a disregard of ideal and speculative pursuits.

The relation between all this and the popular tendency of induction is obvious. For one person who can think, there are at least a hundred persons who can observe. An accurate observer is no doubt rare ; but an accurate thinker is far rarer. Of this the proofs are too abundant to be disputed. Indeed, no one can mix with his fellow-creatures without seeing how much more natural it is for them to notice than to reflect ; and how extremely unusual it is to meet with any one whose conversation or whose writings bear marks of patient and original thought. And inasmuch as thinkers are more prone to accumulate ideas, while observers are more prone to accumulate facts, the overwhelming predominance of the observing class is a decisive reason why induction, which begins with facts, is always more popular than deduction, which begins with ideas. It is often said, and probably with truth, that all deduction is preceded by induction ; so that, in every syllogism, the major premiss, however obvious and necessary it may appear, is merely a generalization of facts, or a record of what the senses had already observed. But this opinion, whether true or false, does not affect what I have just stated, because it concerns the origin of our knowledge, and not its subsequent treatment ; that is to say, it is a metaphysical opinion, rather than a logical one. For, even supposing that all deduction rests ultimately on induction, it is, nevertheless, certain that there are innumerable cases in which the induction takes place at so early a period of life that we are unconscious of it, and can by no effort recall the process. The axioms of geometry afford a good specimen of this. No one can tell when or how he first believed that the whole is greater than its part, or that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another. All these preliminary steps are concealed from us, and the strength and dexterity of deduction are displayed in the subsequent steps by which the major premiss is adjusted, and, as it were, fitted to the minor. This often requires great subtlety of thought, and in every instance the external world is put aside, and lost sight of. The process, being ideal, has no concern either with observations or experiments. The suggestions of the senses are shut out, while the mind passes through a long train of successive syllogisms, in which each conclusion is turned into the premiss of a new argument, until at length an inference is deductively obtained which, to those who merely hear it enunciated, seems to have no connexion with the first premisses, though in reality it is the necessary consequence of them.

A method so recondite, and so hidden from the public gaze, can never command the public sympathy. Unless, therefore, the human mind should undergo some remarkable change in its nature as well as in its resources, the sensuous process of working upwards from particular facts to general principles will always be more attractive than the ideal process of working downwards from principles to facts. In both cases there is no doubt a line of argument essentially ideal ; just as in both cases there is an assemblage of facts essentially sensuous. No method is pure, or stands entirely by itself. But inasmuch as in induction the facts are more prominent than the ideas, while in deduction the ideas are more prominent than the facts, it is evident that conclusions arrived at by the former plan will as a general rule obtain a wider assent than conclusions arrived at by the latter plan. Obtaining a wider assent, they will produce more decisive

results, and will be more likely to shape the national character and influence the course of national affairs.

The only exception to this is theology. There the inductive method, as I have already observed, is inapplicable, and nothing remains but deduction, which is quite sufficient for the purposes of the theologian. For he has a peculiar resource which supplies him with general principles from which he can argue; and the possession of this resource forms the fundamental difference between him and the man of science. Science is the result of inquiry; theology is the result of faith. In the one the spirit of doubt; in the other the spirit of belief. In science originality is the parent of discovery, and is therefore a merit; in theology it is the parent of heresy, and is therefore a crime. Every system of religion the world has yet seen recognizes faith as an indispensable duty; but to every system of science it is a hindrance instead of a duty, inasmuch as it discourages those inquisitive and innovating habits on which all intellectual progress depends. The theologian, thus turning credulity into an honour, and valuing men in proportion as they are simple-minded and easy of belief, has little need to trouble himself with facts, which indeed he sets at open defiance in his eagerness to narrate portentous and often miraculous events. To the inductive philosopher such a licence is forbidden. He is obliged to ground his inferences on facts which no one disputes, or which, at all events, any one can either verify for himself, or see verified by others. And if he does not adopt this course, his inferences, be they ever so true, will have the greatest difficulty in working themselves into the popular mind, because they will savour of a subtlety and refinement of thought which, more than anything else, predisposes common understandings to reject the conclusions at which philosophers arrive.

From the facts and arguments contained in this and the preceding chapter, the reader will, I trust, be able to see why it was that the Scotch intellect during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was pre-eminently deductive; and also why it was that, in the eighteenth century, the Scotch literature, notwithstanding its brilliancy, its power, and the splendid discoveries of which it was the vehicle, produced little or no effect on the nation at large. That literature, by its bold and innovating character, seemed peculiarly fitted to disturb ancient prejudices, and to rouse up a spirit of inquiry. But its method, both of investigation and of proof, was too refined to suit ordinary understandings.* Therefore, upon ordinary understandings it was inoperative. In Scotland, as in ancient Greece and in modern Germany, the intellectual classes, being essentially deductive, have been unable to influence the main body of the people.† They have considered things at too great an altitude, and at too great a remove. In Greece, Aristotle alone had a true idea of what induction really was. But even he knew nothing of crucial instances and the theory of averages, the two capital resources of that inductive philosophy which we now possess. Neither did he, nor any of the great German philosophers, nor any of the great Scotch philosophers, attach sufficient importance ‡ to the slow and cautious method of gradually rising from each generalization to the one immediately above it, without omitting any intermediate generalization. On this method Bacon, indeed, insists too strongly,

[* There is a perplexity here which Buckle has not sought to solve. If "the Scotch intellect" was deductive, why should deductive reasoning fail to "suit" it, even in the case of the common people? If they could best be appealed to by inductive reasoning, why say the national intellect is deductive? It seems necessary to restate the case. Deductive dialectic resulted from the pulpit practice; but pulpit authority, rooted in a popular form of church government, excluded sceptical doctrine of all kinds. The obstacle was thus secondary, not primary.—Ed.]

[† The clergy, in terms of Buckle's own exposition, are "essentially deductive," and yet *have* a great influence over the people. It is thus not the dialectic method, but the preliminary beliefs, and the state of culture as determining these, that explain the small influence of the critical literature in the period in question.—Ed.]

[‡ Above, p. 873, Aristotle has been credited with a perfect sense of the relative importance of the two methods.—Ed.]

since many most important discoveries have been made independently of it, or, I should rather say, in contradiction to it. But it is a wonderful weapon, and none except men of real genius can dispense with its use. And when they do dispense with it, they cut themselves off from the general sympathies of their age and country. For these small and proximate generalizations, which they neglect, are precisely those parts of philosophy which, being least removed from the region of visible facts, are best understood by the people, and therefore form the only common ground between thinkers and practitioners. They are a sort of middle term, which, being comprehended by both classes, is accessible to either. In all deductive reasoning this intermediate and, if I may so say, neutral territory disappears, and the two classes have no meeting-place. Hence it is that the Scotch philosophy, like the German philosophy, and like the Greek philosophy, has had no national influence. But in England since the seventeenth century, and in France since the eighteenth century, the prevailing philosophy has been inductive, and has therefore not only affected the intellectual classes, but also moved the public mind. The German philosophers are far superior, both in depth and in comprehensiveness, to the philosophers either of France or of England. Their profound researches have however done so little for their country that the German people are every way inferior to the French and English people. So too in the philosophy of ancient Greece we find a vast body of massive and original thought, and, what is infinitely better, we find a boldness of inquiry and a passionate love of truth such as no modern nation has surpassed, and few modern nations have equalled. But the method of that philosophy was an insuperable barrier to its propagation. The people were untouched, and went grovelling on in their old folly, a prey to superstitions, most of which the great thinkers despised and often attacked, but could by no means root out. Bad, however, as those superstitions were, we may confidently say that they were less noxious, that is, less detrimental to the happiness of man, than the repulsive and horrible notions advocated by the Scotch clergy, and sanctioned by the Scotch people. And on those notions the Scotch philosophy could make no impression. In Scotland, during the eighteenth century, superstition and science, the most irreconcilable of all enemies, flourished side by side, unable to weaken each other, and unable indeed to come into collision with each other.* There was coexistence without contact. The two forces kept apart, and the result was that while the Scotch thinkers were creating a noble and most enlightened literature, the Scotch people, refusing to listen to those great masters of wisdom which their country possessed, remained in darkness, leaving the blind to follow the blind, and no one there to help them.

It is indeed curious to observe how little effect was produced by the many great works written by Scotchmen in the eighteenth century. If we except the *Wealth of Nations*, I can hardly call to mind one which has perceptibly influenced public opinion. The reason of this exception may be easily explained. The *Wealth of Nations* restricted the action of government within narrower limits than had ever been assigned to it by any other book of great merit. No previous political writer of admitted genius had left so much to the people, and had demanded for them so much liberty in managing their own affairs, as Adam Smith did. The *Wealth of Nations*, being thus eminently a democratic book, was sure to find favour in Scotland, which was eminently a democratic country. Directly men heard its conclusions, they were prejudiced in favour of its arguments. So, too, in England, that love of liberty which for many centuries has been our leading characteristic, and which does us more real honour than all our conquests, all our literature, and all our philosophy put together, invariably causes a popular bias on behalf of any claim to freedom. We, therefore, notwithstanding the activity of interested parties, were predisposed to the side of free trade as one of the means of letting each man do what he liked with his own. But to imagine that ordinary minds are capable of mastering such a work as the

[* An exaggeration. Superstition was certainly weakened in the eighteenth as compared with the seventeenth century.—Ed.]

Wealth of Nations, and of following without confusion its long and intricate arguments, is simply absurd. It has been read by tens of thousands of persons who accept its conclusions because they like them; which is merely saying because the movement of the age tends that way.* The other great work of Adam Smith, namely the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, has had no influence except on a very small class of metaphysicians, although its style is, as some think, superior to that of the *Wealth of Nations*, and it is certainly easier to understand. It is moreover much shorter, which to most readers is no small recommendation; and it deals with subjects of great interest, which come home to the feelings of all. But the age, not caring for its conclusions, neglected its arguments. On the other hand, the *Wealth of Nations* harmonized with the general tendency, and its success was supreme. It quickly moved, not only philosophers, but even statesmen and politicians, who eventually † put into force its leading recommendations, though, as their laws and their speeches abundantly prove, they have never succeeded in mastering those great principles which underlie it, and of which the freedom of trade is but a minor accessory.

Putting aside the *Wealth of Nations*, we shall find that the Scotch literature of the eighteenth century did scarcely anything for Scotland, considered as a whole. How it has failed in its great aim of weakening superstition is but too apparent to whoever has travelled in that country, and observed the habits and turn of mind still predominant. Many able and enlightened men who live there are so cowed by the general spirit that for their own comfort, and for the peace of their families, they make no resistance, but tacitly comply with what they heartily despise. That they err in doing so, I at least firmly believe; though I know that many honest and in every respect competent judges are of opinion that no man is bound to be a martyr, or to jeopardize his personal interests, unless he clearly sees his way to some immediate public good. To me however it appears that this is a narrow view, and that the first duty of every one is to set his face in direct opposition to what he believes to be false, and, having done that, leave the results of his conduct to take care of themselves. Still, the temptation to a contrary course is always very strong, and in a country like Scotland is by many deemed irresistible. In no other Protestant nation, and indeed in no Catholic nation except Spain, will a man who is known to hold unorthodox opinions find his life equally uncomfortable.‡ In a few of the large towns he may possibly escape animadversion if his sentiments are not too bold, and are not too openly expressed. If he is timid and taciturn, his heresy may perchance be overlooked. But even in large towns impunity is the exception, and not the rule. Even in the capital of Scotland, in that centre of intelligence which once boasted of being the Modern Athens, a whisper will quickly circulate that such an one is to be avoided, for that he is a free-thinker; as if free-thinking were a crime, or as if it were not better to be a free-thinker than a slavish thinker. In other parts, that is, in Scotland generally, the state of things is far worse. I speak not on vague rumour, but from what I know as existing at the present time, and for the accuracy of which I vouch and hold myself responsible. I challenge any one to contradict my assertion, when I say that, at this moment, nearly all over Scotland the finger of scorn is pointed at every man who, in the exercise of his sacred and inalienable right of free judgment, refuses to acquiesce in those religious notions and to practise those religious

[* Here again it is in effect denied that Smith in any degree *made* the movement of the age. On that view, wherein lay the importance of his book? And how can any book be important? Below, it is avowed that Smith's book *moved* politicians. On the general principles above laid down, however, it was radically unfitted to influence either Scotland or England, the former being theological in its deductiveness, and the latter too inductive to care for deduction. It is more reasonable to say that Smith modified the habits of thought of both countries.—Ed.]

[† I.e., after seventy years! Such practical success is not exactly dazzling.—Ed.]

[‡ Probably matters were as bad, when Buckle wrote, in Scandinavia. Certainly they were in Ulster.—Ed.]

customs which time, indeed, has consecrated, but many of which are repulsive to the eye of reason, though to all of them, however irrational they may be, the people adhere with sullen and inflexible obstinacy. Knowing that these words will be widely read and circulated in Scotland, and averse as I naturally am to bring on myself the hostility of a nation for whose many sterling and valuable qualities I entertain sincere respect, I do nevertheless deliberately affirm that in no civilized country is toleration so little understood, and that in none is the spirit of bigotry and of persecution so extensively diffused. Nor can any one wonder that such should be the case, who observes what is going on there. The churches are as crowded as they were in the Middle Ages, and are filled with devout and ignorant worshippers, who flock together to listen to opinions of which the Middle Ages alone were worthy.* Those opinions they treasure up, and when they return to their homes, or enter into the daily business of life, they put them in force. And the result is that there runs through the entire country a sour and fanatical spirit, an aversion to innocent gaiety, a disposition to limit the enjoyments of others, and a love of inquiring into the opinions of others, and of interfering with them, such as is hardly anywhere else to be found; while in the midst of all this there flourishes a national creed, gloomy and austere to the last degree, a creed which is full of forebodings and threats and horrors of every sort, and which rejoices in proclaiming to mankind how wretched and miserable they are, how small a portion of them can be saved, and what an overwhelming majority is necessarily reserved for excruciating, unspeakable, and eternal agony.

Before bringing this volume to a close, it may be fitting that I should narrate an event which, notwithstanding its recent occurrence, and the great attention it excited at the time, has, amid the pressure of weightier matters, fallen into comparative oblivion, although it is full of interest to those who study the various forms of national character, while it moreover supplies an admirable illustration of the essential antagonism which still exists between the Scotch and English minds; an antagonism extremely remarkable when found among nations both of whom, besides being contiguous and constantly mixing together, speak the same language, read the same books, belong to the same empire, and possess the same interests, and yet are in many important respects as different as if there had never been any means of their influencing each other, and as if they had never had any thing in common.

In the year 1853 the cholera, after having committed serious ravages in many parts of Europe, visited Scotland. There it was sure to find numerous victims among a badly fed, badly housed, and not over-cleanly people. For if there is one thing better established than another respecting this disease, it is that it invariably attacks with the greatest effect those classes who from poverty or from sloth are imperfectly nourished, neglect their persons, and live in dirty, ill-drained, or ill-ventilated dwellings. In Scotland such classes are very numerous. In Scotland, therefore, the cholera must needs be very fatal. In this there was nothing mysterious. On the contrary, the mystery would have been if an epidemic like the Asiatic cholera had spared a country like Scotland, where all the materials were collected on which pestilence feeds, and where filth, penury, and disorder abound on every side.

Under these circumstances it must have been evident, not merely to men of science but to all men of plain, sound understanding, who would apply their minds to the matter without prejudice, that the Scotch had only one way of successfully grappling with their terrible enemy. It behoved them to feed their

[* The amount of progress made since Buckle wrote may be gathered from a report in the *Weekly Scotsman* of May 30, 1903, bearing the headings :—"What do our Ministers Believe?" "Suckled in a Creed Outworn." The report is an account of a speech in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland by Principal Story of Glasgow, on the question of creed subscription. Dr. Story makes reference to "the steady, the growing dissatisfaction" with the rule of subscription, and goes on to indict some of the ethical doctrines of the Confession in a fashion suggestive of a free-thinking lecture.—ED.]

poor, to cleanse their cesspools, and to ventilate their houses. If they had done this, and done it quickly, thousands of lives would have been spared. But they neglected it, and the country was thrown into mourning. Nay, they not only neglected it, but, moved by that dire superstition which sits like an incubus upon them, they adopted a course which, if it had been carried into full operation, would have aggravated the calamity to a frightful extent. It is well known that whenever an epidemic is raging, physical exhaustion and mental depression make the human frame more liable to it, and are therefore especially to be guarded against. But though this is a matter of common notoriety, the Scotch clergy, backed, sad to say, by the general voice of the Scotch people, wished the public authorities to take a step which was certain to cause physical exhaustion, and to encourage mental depression. In the name of religion, whose offices they thus abused and perverted to the detriment of man, instead of employing them for his benefit, they insisted on the propriety of ordering a national fast, which in so superstitious a country was sure to be rigidly kept, and, being rigidly kept, was equally sure to enfeeble thousands of delicate persons, and, before twenty-four hours were passed, prepare them to receive that deadly poison which was already lurking around them, and which hitherto they had just strength enough to resist. The public fast was also to be accompanied by a public humiliation, in order that nothing might be wanting to appal the mind and fill it with terror. On the same occasion the preachers were to thunder from their pulpits and proclaim aloud the sins of the land ; while the poor benighted people, panic-struck, were to sit in awe, were to remain the whole day without proper nourishment, and retire to their beds, weeping and starved. Then it was hoped that the Deity would be propitiated, and the plague be stayed. As soon as the entire nation had taken the course which of all others was most certain to increase the mortality, it was believed that man having done his worst, the Almighty would interpose, would violate the laws of nature, and, by working a miracle, would preserve his creatures from what, without a miracle, would be the inevitable consequence of their own deliberate act.

This was the scheme projected by the Scotch clergy, and they were determined to put it into execution. To give greater effect to it, they called upon England to help them, and in the autumn of 1853 the Presbytery of Edinburgh, thinking that from their position they were bound to take the lead, caused their Moderator to address a letter, ostensibly to the English Minister, but in reality to the English nation. In this choice production, a copy of which is now lying before me, the Home Secretary is assured that the members of the Presbytery had delayed appointing a day for fasting and humiliation on their own ecclesiastical authority, because they thought it likely that one would be appointed by the royal authority. But as this had not been done, the Presbytery respectfully requested to be informed if it was intended to be done. They apologized for the liberty they were taking ; they had no desire unduly to intrude themselves ; neither did they wish the Home Secretary to answer their question unless he felt himself justified in doing so. Still, if he were able to answer it, they would be glad. For there was no doubt that Asiatic cholera was in the country ; and such being the case, the Presbytery of Edinburgh were interested in knowing if the appointment by the Queen of a national fast was in contemplation.[300]

This letter, which, through the medium of the press, was sure to become well known and to be widely read, was evidently intended to act on public opinion in England. It was in fact a covert reproach on the English Government for having neglected its spiritual duties, and for not having perceived that fasting

[300] "The members were of opinion," writes the Moderator, "The members were of opinion that it was likely, in the circumstances, that a national fast would be appointed on royal authority. For this reason, they delayed making an appointment for this locality, and directed me, in the meantime, respectfully to request that you would be pleased to say—if you feel yourself at liberty to do so—whether the appointment of a national fast by the Queen is in contemplation. The Presbytery hope to be excused for the liberty they use in preferring this request."

was the most effectual way of stopping an epidemic. In Scotland, generally, it received great praise, and was regarded as a dignified rebuke addressed to the irreligious habits of the English people, who, seeing the cholera at their doors, merely occupied themselves with sanitary measures, and carnal devices to improve the public health, showing thereby that they trusted too much to the arms of the flesh. In England, on the other hand, this manifesto of the Scotch Church was met with almost universal ridicule, and indeed found no favourers except among the most ignorant and credulous part of the nation.* The minister to whom it was addressed was Lord Palmerston, a man of vast experience, and perhaps better acquainted with public opinion than any politician of his time. He, being well aware of the difference between Scotland and England, knew that what was suitable for one country was not suitable for the other, and that notions which the Scotch deemed religious, the English deemed fanatical. On a former occasion, the imperial government, yielding to the clamour which a few active and interested men succeeded in raising, had been foolish enough to set themselves in this matter in opposition to the temper of the age, and to enjoin public observances which, happily, were not strictly obeyed, but which, in so far as they were obeyed, heightened the general terror by reinforcing natural fears with supernatural ones, and thus, depressing the nervous system, increased the chance of mortality from the pestilence. To have the plague in our country is bad enough, since, do what we may, many victims will be struck down by it. But a fearful responsibility is entailed upon those who, at such a period, instead of exerting themselves to check its ravages, either by precautionary measures or by soothing and reassuring the people, do everything in their power to aggravate the calamity, by encouraging that superstitious dread which weakens the popular energy at the very moment when energy is most requisite, and troubles the coolness, the self-reliance, and self-possession, without which no crisis of national danger can ever be averted.

This time, however, there was no risk of the government committing so serious a blunder. Lord Palmerston, who knew that the sound sense of the English people would support him in what he was doing, directed a letter to be sent to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, which, unless I am greatly mistaken, will in future ages be quoted as an interesting document for illustrating the history of the progress of public opinion. A century ago, any statesman who had written such a letter would have been driven from office by a storm of general indignation. Two centuries ago, the consequences to him would have been still more disastrous, and would indeed have ruined him socially, as well as politically. For in it he sets at defiance those superstitious fancies respecting the origin of disease which were once universally cherished as an essential part of every religious creed. Traditions, the memory of which is preserved in the theological literature of all Pagan countries, of all Catholic countries, and of all Protestant countries, are quietly put aside as if they were matters of no moment, and as if it were not worth while to discuss them. The Scotch clergy, occupying the old ground on which the members of their profession had always been accustomed to stand, took for granted that the cholera was the result of the Divine anger, and was intended to chastize our sins. In the reply which they now received from the English Government, a doctrine was enunciated which to Englishmen seems right enough, but which to Scotchmen sounded very profane.† The Presbytery were informed that the affairs of this world are regulated by natural laws, on the observance or neglect of which the weal or woe of mankind depends.[301] One

[301] "The weal or woe of mankind depends upon the observance or neglect of those laws."

[* Buckle here somewhat overstates the English enlightenment of his day. The ignorant and credulous, then as now, formed a large party.—Ed.]

[† This passage, which affirms that Englishmen in general were rationalistic, and Scotchmen in general supernaturalistic, is one of the fallacies which flow from the habit of taking nations as entities in matters of opinion.—Ed.]

of those laws connects disease with the exhalations of bodies ; and it is by virtue of this law that contagion spreads, either in crowded cities, or in places where vegetable decomposition is going on. Man, by exerting himself, can disperse or neutralize these noxious influences. The appearance of the cholera proves that he has not exerted himself. The towns have not been purified ; hence the root of the evil. The Home Secretary, therefore, advised the Presbytery of Edinburgh that it was better to cleanse than to fast. He thought that the plague being upon them, activity was preferable to humiliation. It was now autumn, and before the hot weather would return a considerable period must elapse. That period should be employed in destroying the causes of disease, by improving the abodes of the poor. If this were done, all would go well. Otherwise, pestilence would be sure to revisit them, " in spite "—I quote the words of the English minister—" in spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united but inactive nation." [302]

This correspondence between the Scotch clergy and the English statesman is not to be regarded as a mere passing episode of light or temporary interest. On the contrary, it represents that terrible struggle between theology and science which, hav ng begun in the persecution of science and in the martyrdom of scientific men, has in these later days taken a happier turn, and is now manifestly destroying that old theological spirit which has brought so much misery and ruin upon the world. The ancient superstition, which was once universal, but is now slowly though surely dying away, represented the Deity as being constantly moved to anger, delighting in seeing His creatures abase and mortify themselves, taking pleasure in their sacrifices and their austerities, and, notwithstanding all they could do, constantly inflicting on them the most grievous punishments, among which the different forms of pestilence were conspicuous. It is by science, and by science alone, that these horrible delusions are being dissipated. Events which formerly were deemed supernatural visitations are now shown to depend upon natural causes, and to be amenable to natural remedies. Man can predict them, and man can deal with them. Being the inevitable result of their own antecedents, no room is left for the notion of their being special inflictions. This great change in our opinions is fatal to theology, but is serviceable to religion. For by it science, instead of being the enemy of religion, becomes its ally. Religion is to each individual according to the inward light with which he is endowed. In different characters, therefore, it assumes different forms, and can never be reduced to one common and arbitrary rule. Theology on the other hand, claiming authority over all minds, and refusing to recognize their essential divergence, seeks to compel them to a single creed, and sets up one standard of absolute truth, by which it tests every one's opinions ; presumptuously condemning those who disagree with that standard. Such arrogant pretensions need means of support. Those means are threats which in ignorant times are universally believed, and which by causing fear produce submission. Hence it is that the books of every theological system narrate acts of the grossest cruelty, which, without the least hesitation, are ascribed to the direct interposition of God. Humane and gentle natures revolt at such cruelties, even while they try to believe them. It is the business of science to purify theology, by showing that there has been no cruelty, because there has been no interposition. Science ascribes to natural causes what theology ascribes to supernatural ones. According to this view, the calamities with which the

[302] " Lord Palmerston would therefore suggest that the best course which the people of this country can pursue to deserve that the further progress of the cholera should be stayed, will be to employ the interval that will elapse between the present time and the beginning of next spring in planning and executing measures by which those portions of their towns and cities which are inhabited by the poorest classes, and which, from the nature of things, must most need purification and improvement, may be freed from those causes and sources of contagion which, if allowed to remain, will infallibly breed pestilence, and be fruitful in death, in spite of all the prayers and fastings of a united but inactive nation."

world is afflicted are the result of the ignorance of man, and not of the interference of God. We must not, therefore, ascribe to Him what is due to our own folly, or to our own vice. We must not calumniate an all-wise and all-merciful Being by imputing to Him those little passions which move ourselves, as if He were capable of rage, of jealousy, and of revenge, and as if He, with outstretched arm, were constantly employed in aggravating the sufferings of mankind, and making the miseries of the human race more poignant than they would otherwise be.

That this remarkable improvement in religious ideas is due to the progress of physical science is apparent not only from general arguments which would lead us to anticipate that such must be the case, but also from the historical fact that the gradual destruction of the old theology is everywhere preceded by the growth and diffusion of physical truths. The more we know of the laws of nature, the more clearly do we understand that everything which happens in the material world, pestilence, earthquake, famine, or whatever it may be, is the necessary result of something which had previously happened. Cause produces effect, and the effect becomes in its turn a cause of other effects. In that operation we see no gap, and we admit of no pause. To us the chain is unbroken ; the constancy of nature is unviolated. Our minds become habituated to contemplate all physical phenomena as presenting an orderly, uniform, and spontaneous march, and running on in one regular and uninterrupted sequence. This is the scientific view. It is also the religious view. Against it we have the theological view ; but that which has already lost its hold over the intellect of men is now losing its hold over their affections, and is so manifestly perishing that at present no educated person ventures to defend it, without so limiting and guarding his meaning as to concede to its opponents nearly every point which is really at issue.

While, however, in regard to the material world, the narrow notions formerly entertained are in the most enlightened countries almost extinct, it must be confessed that in regard to the moral world the progress of opinion is less rapid. The same men who believe that Nature is undisturbed by miraculous interposition, refuse to believe that Man is equally undisturbed. In the one case they assert the scientific doctrine of regularity ; in the other they assert the theological doctrine of irregularity. The reason of this difference of opinion is that the movements of nature are less complex than the movements of man. Being less complex, they are more easily studied, and more quickly understood. Hence we find that while natural science has long been cultivated, historical science hardly yet exists. Our knowledge of the circumstances which determine the course of mankind is still so imperfect, and has been so badly digested, that it has produced scarcely any effect on popular ideas. Philosophers indeed are aware that here as elsewhere there must be a necessary connexion between even the most remote and dissimilar events. They know that every discrepancy is capable of being reconciled, though we, in the present state of knowledge, may be unequal to the task. This is their faith, and nothing can wean them from it. But the great majority of people have a different faith. They believe that what is unexplained is inexplicable, and that what is inexplicable is supernatural. Science has explained an immense number of physical phenomena, and therefore, even to the vulgar, those phenomena no longer seem supernatural, but are ascribed to natural causes. On the other hand, science has not yet explained the phenomena of history ; consequently the theological spirit lays hold of them, and presses them into its own service. In this way there has arisen that famous and ancient theory which has received the name of the moral government of the world. It is a high-sounding title, and imposes on many who, if they examined its pretensions, would never be duped by them. For, like that other notion which we have just considered, it is not only unscientific but it is eminently irreligious. It is in fact an impeachment of one of the noblest attributes of the Deity. It is a slur on the Omniscience of God. It assumes that the fate of nations, instead of being the result of preceding and surrounding events, is specially subject to the control and interference of Providence. It assumes that there are great public emergencies in which such interference is needed. It assumes that, without the interference, the course of affairs could not

run smoothly; that they would be jangled and out of tune; that the play and harmony of the whole would be incomplete. And thus it is that the very men who at one moment proclaim the Divine Omniscience, do at the next moment advocate a theory which reduces that Omniscience to nothing, since it imputes to an All-Wise Being that the scheme of human affairs, of which He must from the beginning have foreseen every issue and every consequence, is so weakly contrived as to be liable to be frustrated; that it has not turned out as He could have wished; that it has been baffled by His own creatures; and that to preserve its integrity its operations must be tampered with, and its disorders redressed. The great Architect of the universe, the Creator and Designer of all existing things, is likened to some clumsy mechanic, who knows his trade so ill that he has to be called in to alter the working of his own machine, to supply its deficiencies, to fill up its flaws, and to rectify its errors.

It is time that such unworthy notions should come to an end. It is time that what has long been known to philosophers should also be known to historians, and that the history of mankind should cease to be troubled by what, to those who are imbued with the scientific spirit, must seem little better than arrant trifling. Of two things, choose one. Either deny the Omniscience of the Creator, or else admit it. If you deny it, you deny what, to my mind at least, is a fundamental truth, and on these matters there can be no sympathy between us. But if you admit the Omniscience of God, beware of libelling what you profess to defend. For when you assert what is termed the moral government of the world, you slander Omniscience, inasmuch as you declare that the mechanism of the entire universe, including the actions both of Nature and of Man, planned as it is by Infinite Wisdom, is unequal to its duties, unless that same Wisdom does from time to time interfere with it. You assert, in fact, either that Omniscience has been deceived, or that Omnipotence has been defeated. Surely, they who believe, and whose pride and happiness it is to believe, that there is a Power above all and before all, knowing all and creating all, ought not to fall into such a snare as this. They who, dissatisfied with this little world of sense, seek to raise their minds to something which the senses are unable to grasp, can hardly fail, on deeper reflection, to perceive how coarse and material is that theological prejudice which ascribes to such a Power the vulgar functions of a temporal ruler, arrays Him in the garb of an earthly potentate, and represents Him as meddling here and meddling there, uttering threats, inflicting punishments, bestowing rewards. These are base and grovelling conceptions, the offspring of ignorance and of darkness. Such gross and sordid notions are but one remove from actual idolatry. They are the draff and offal of a bygone age, and we will not have them obtruded here. Well suited they were to those old and barbarous times when men, being unable to refine their ideas, were therefore unable to purify their creed. Now, however, they jar upon us; they do not assimilate with other parts of our knowledge; they are incongruous; their concord is gone.* Everything is against them. They stand alone; there is nothing left with which they harmonize. The whole scope and tendency of modern thought force upon our minds conceptions of regularity and of law to which they are diametrically opposed. Even those who cling to them do so from the influence of tradition, rather than from complete and unswerving belief. That child-like and unhesitating faith with which the doctrine of interposition was once received, is succeeded by a cold and lifeless assent, very different from the enthusiasm of former times. Soon, too, this will vanish, and men will cease to be terrified by phantoms which their own ignorance has reared. This age, haply, may not witness the emancipation; but so surely as the human mind advances, so surely will that emancipation come. It may come quicker than any one expects. For we are stepping on far and fast. The signs of the time are all around, and they who list may read. The handwriting is on the wall; the fiat has gone forth; the ancient empire shall be subverted; the dominion of superstition, already decaying, shall break away, and crumble

[* Compare the closing sentence and note thereon.—Ed.]

into dust; and new life being breathed into the confused and chaotic mass, it shall be clearly seen that from the beginning there has been no discrepancy, no incongruity, no disorder, no interruption, no interference; but that all the events which surround us, even to the furthest limits of the material creation, are but different parts of a single scheme which is permeated by one glorious principle of universal and undeviating regularity.*

[* It is hardly necessary to repeat, in conclusion, that such propositions as the above concerning "discrepancy," "disorder," "interruption," and so on, merely empty these terms of all meaning. But it may be well to note that the general doctrine of these closing pages cancels that put forth at the close of the section on Spain.—Ed.]

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